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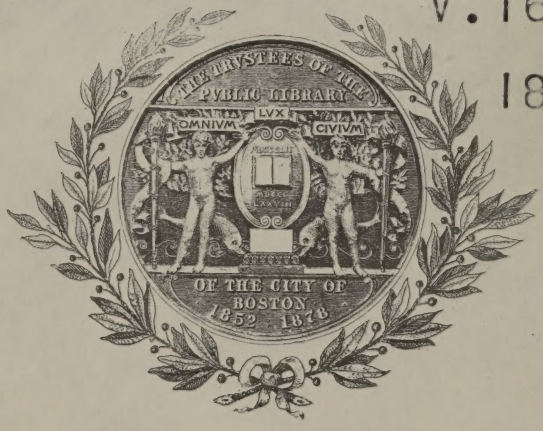

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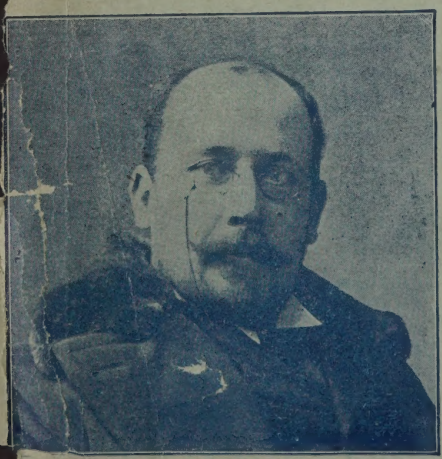

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No. D.

JULY, 1898.

WHAT BRITAIN HAS DONE FOR EGYPT.

BY RALPH RICHARDSON, F. R. S. E., F. S. A., SCOT., HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

When I left for Egypt last December I took with me the North American Review for that month, containing Mr. Penfield's remarkable article, entitled "England's Absorption of Egypt." I may mention at once that neither in Britain nor in Egypt have I ever heard the term "absorption" applied to the British "occupation" of Egypt; and I have never received, either at home or abroad, any corroboration of Mr. Penfield's assertion that my countrymen led strangers to believe that Egypt has "been severed from the Ottoman Empire and incorporated as an integral part of Queen Victoria's realm." He maintains that by unparalleled audacity Britain has taken possession of Egypt, the fact being that Britain intervened in 1882 to save Egypt from anarchy and that the occupation of Egypt by Britain was and is desired and sanctioned by four out of the six Great Powers of Europe.

The reason why the British occupation continues is that, if it ceased, the prosperity of Egypt, the result of Britain's magnificent work there since 1882, would come to an end. I shall proceed to point out in detail what Britain has done for Egypt, but I may preface my remarks by stating that none are more cognizant

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of, or grateful for, the benefits conferred by Britain upon their country than the Egyptian natives themselves. To them the year 1882 marks a new departure, a turning point in the history of their sorely tried country, a year when oppression came to an end, when justice was done, when liberty and peace were at last enjoyed, when savage modes of collecting taxes ceased, when a man's life and property were safe, when Egypt, after centuries of misrule, again knew what security and prosperity mean.

To show that I am not exaggerating when I maintain that these are the opinions of the natives of Egypt, I refer to a pamphlet written by one of their number which was published at Cairo in January, 1898. It is entitled "*Le Fellah ou la Reaction Dementie. Par un Jeune Egyptien, Ahmed Mokbel.*" The pamphlet is written in French, an ironical compliment to the three French newspapers in Cairo which daily abuse the British Administration. Ahmed Mokbel contrasts the tyranny under which the Egyptian fellah so long suffered with the justice, sympathy and liberty he has received since the British administration began. "If," he says, "there is anyone in Egypt who ought to express his gratitude to and satisfaction with the British, it is undoubtedly the fellah. Before the British came, the fellah was a being always shunned and disowned; if anyone stooped to address him, it was only with contempt or with the aid of the *Courbache*, the sole interpreter between him and his superiors.

Ahmed Mokbel then refers with scorn to the French newspapers in Cairo.

"No matter," he declares, "what incendiary and fanatical journals may assert in order to incite the fellah against the British occupation, this is what the fellah replies:

"'You say and repeat that the British bear us ill-will; that they cause us much evil; that they will soon establish a Protectorate over us, etc.

"'Well, what does that matter to us now, seeing that before the British came we were treated like beasts and that since their occupation we are actually regarded as human beings?'

"If among my readers there are any who doubt the truth of what I say, let them travel through the fields of Egypt and put this question to the fellah: 'Do you like the British? What do you think of them?' They will hear the fellah exclaim:

"'I like the British; yes, I like them with all my heart, as much as I like my own children.'"

This outburst of gratitude is a remarkable tribute to the beneficence of British rule in Egypt. When the French governed

Egypt they certainly never received it. How much would they give to obtain a similar tribute from a single native of one of their African possessions!*

Let us, however, hear in more detail and in Ahmed Mokbel's own words the grounds of the fellaheen's gratefulness to their British administrators. He represents a fellah giving the following reasons for liking the British:

"(1.) The British abolished for me the accursed torture of the *Courbache*, enabling me to live longer for my children than my unfortunate father was able to live for me and my brothers.

"(2.) The British have protected me from tyrants.

"(3.) Thanks to them, I pay no taxes which I ought not to pay.

"(4.) I am no more harnessed to the plough, as I formerly was, to gratify the caprice or pleasure of the cruel Turks.

"(5.) Thanks to the British, I no longer behold lying on the ground, bathed in blood, the body of my beloved wife, the innocent companion of my misfortunes and sufferings—a homicide which was formerly committed with impunity and relish throughout Egypt. The only relief for me then was to let my heart weep, for I dared not weep publicly.

"(6.) Thanks to the British, I enjoy my frugal evening meal surrounded by my children, and I am clad in winter better than in summer.

"(7.) Thanks to the British, my young cotton plants do not perish for want of water as formerly, when water was only given abundantly to rich proprietors at a high price, while we poor devils of fellaheen, having nothing to offer, saw our plants dying of drought.

"In one word, I prefer the British to all others, and, that being the case, would it be reasonable for me to complain of them?"

Such is the testimony of a native of Egypt. What is there to set against it? That of the French Egyptian newspapers airing the opinions of the small French colony in Egypt; or that of some French tourist like M. Louis Malosse, whose "*Impressions d' Egypte,*" published at Paris in 1896, show through what yellow and distorting spectacles French travellers view everything in Egypt since 1882. I cannot add that of Mr. Penfield, for, after sharply attacking British methods of government, he somewhat illogically adds: "For half a dozen years Egypt has fairly bristled with prosperity. The story of that country's emergence

* Baron de Malortie, an independent authority, shows that from the time of Mohammed Ali (the founder of the Khedivial dynasty) the French were disliked and mistrusted alike by Khedive, officials and natives. (*Egypt*, 1882, pp. 47 and 272.) Sir Alfred Milner remarks: "The disposition of France to bully Egypt does not date from 1882. . . . Cordial detestation of French diplomacy, bitter resentment of the manner in which France took every possible advantage of the dependent position of Egypt" was always evinced by every Egyptian native official (*England in Egypt*, 1893, p. 420).

from practical bankruptcy until its securities are quoted nearly as high as English consols reads like a romance; and there is no better example of economical progress, through administrative reform, than is presented by Egypt under British rule."

When we recollect that, according to the census of June 1, 1897, the population of Egypt proper was 9,654,233, while the European residents in Egypt were estimated in 1896 to number only 112,000,* it is evident that if the British administration gives satisfaction to the natives of Egypt Britain has fulfilled her mission there. I have cited a native's opinion. Let me also cite that of *Al Mokattam,* the great native newspaper of Cairo, appearing daily in Arabic. In an issue in January last it declared: "Everyone admits that the means of subsistence have been improved by the reforms introduced by the British occupation. *Life in Egypt is very much better now than formerly.*" I took every opportunity when in Egypt of gauging the correctness of these opinions and whatever strictures on British government I heard proceed from the French colony and its sympathizers. I never heard anything but enthusiastic laudation of British rule from the natives themselves. "Egypt for the Egyptians" was declared by Lord Dufferin to be the watchword of Britain in Egypt, and if the millions are satisfied the thousands must put up with the administration. But, from personal inquiry, I am convinced that the majority of the Europeans in Egypt, who are Greek and Italian traders (the French being a very small minority), are so pleased with the peace and security afforded by British rule, that they would not have any other substituted.

In stating the benefits conferred upon Egypt since the British occupation began in 1882, the difficulty is to know where to commence. Nearly everything has been changed in Egypt since 1882 and, in the opinion of the natives, everything has been changed for the better. Looking back upon pre-British times with horror and indignation, Ahmed Mokbel exclaims: "What a difference from the situation to-day! The fellaheen, formerly so despised, so degraded, so terrorized, have won a place in the sunshine of liberty and equality and speak with confidence."

Perhaps the first thing that now strikes the European on arriving in Egypt is the universal observance of law and order. The cause of that is the magnificent police force instituted and or-

* *Baedeker's Hand-Book,* 4th Edn., 1898.

ganized by the British administration. Formerly Port Saïd was described as a "hell upon earth." I walked with ladies through its streets after 11 one night and quietness and order were everywhere apparent. The reason was obvious. The town is now thoroughly policed, the police station occupying the center of the town and a policeman being stationed at every street junction. Of course the policemen are all Egyptians, and a more intelligent or sturdier force could not be found. Nor do police duties end there. Stands for carts and donkeys are at fixed sites throughout Cairo, each stand bearing the number of carts or donkeys to be accommodated; cabs and drivers have their numbers, tramways have their stations. The policeman is even called in, as at Philae, to enable tourists to see the temples unmolested by beggars; and when he disappears above the first cataract and the unhappy tourist is mobbed by an entire village demanding with one voice "Bakshish!" the traveller realizes what Lower Egypt must have been like before 1882, and thanks heaven for the British administration.

While the British insured law and order throughout Egypt by the formation of an effective police, they also relieved the fellah from two of the greatest scourges to which he had long been subject, viz., the *Corvée* and the *Courbache*, French terms which have no English equivalent, being foreign to Anglo-Saxon ideas. By means of the *Corvée*, the Khedive or Government in pre-British days could summon from their agricultural labors any number of fellaheen, and could employ them for any length of time on any manner of work the officials chose, the pay of the fellaheen being *nil* and their food sometimes bread and onions. It was doubtless an extremely cheap mode of labor for the governing classes, but a gross abuse of power. Probably the Pyramids and the Temples of the Pharaohs were built in this way, but in those old pagan days cruelty and oppression went hand in hand. It is extraordinary, however, to find Pharaonic practices existing so late in Egypt as during the making of the Suez Canal, when the forced labor of the natives involved the sacrifice of thousands of lives, under French auspices.* Since 1888 forced labor has only been used for the protection of the Nile banks during the period of flood. Previous to that year the *Corvée*

* "The forced labor of the peasantry in digging the canal was found to involve such intolerable hardships, that Ismail Pasha was obliged to put a stop to it."—Milner's *England in Egypt*, p. 419.

involved the employment of some 200,000 men every year for 100 days. This wretched system was finally abolished in 1888.*

If the *Corveé* was a burden, the *Courbache* was a terror to the peasantry of Egypt, a peasantry I may add than which none is more gentle, courteous and good-natured, making their oppression all the more shameful, if also all the more easy. I have to return to Ahmed Mokbel's pamphlet for details of the *Courbache*, which he designates "a vile instrument made of leather of the length of a metre, to which death is a thousand times preferable." He describes the revolting manner in which it was applied to a peasant in pre-British days:

"The fellah was compelled to pay a second time the tax which he had already paid, and if he had nothing wherewith to satisfy the greed of his village tyrant, woe, woe to him! He was hurled brutally to the ground, all the satellites of the despot flung themselves upon him and flogged him with the *Courbache;* and they never left off till the poor wretch, drenched with blood and with his limbs mutilated, had almost ceased to breathe."

This terrible picture shows what an abode of cruelty Egypt was ere administered by Britain.† Yet there are actually some ignorant or designing persons who invite the fellaheen, after passing through all these horrors, to intrust themselves and their families once more to Turkish rule and to demand the evacuation of Egypt by the British. What says Ahmed Mokbel to this? "Illusions! for if ten, a hundred, or even a thousand persons are favorable to the evacuation, six millions are opposed to it." In other words, while a small coterie in Cairo may favor the evacuation, the great mass of the people of Egypt is opposed to it. Now that the native Egyptians are enjoying the light and liberty of British government, they are not such fools as to desire to return to the darkness and slavery of former times.

Mr. Penfield devotes considerable space to showing the error the British administration committed in not making English the official language of Egypt. This seems to me to prove the gentleness and unselfishness of British rule. To please those Egyptians and others who are accustomed to speak French, British officials continue to use it, just as, to please the natives, they

* Lord Cromer's Report, 1897, p. 13.

† That the picture is not overdrawn we may believe when we find M. Malosse saying: "*Le temps est loin où un malheureux Egyptien des provinces, maltraité par son gouverneur qui lui avait enlevé sa femme et qui le faisait assommer à coups de courbache, mourait sous la bastonnade, s'ecriant, 'Il n'y a de justice qu'au tribunal de Dieu!'*" Fortunately justice for the natives of Egypt arrived in 1882.

have never interfered in any way with the Mohammedan religion. One would have imagined that this would make the British popular, but Mr. Penfield strangely argues that "the administrative blunder of the English in not bringing in their language with their intelligent reforms is half responsible for the unpopularity of the occupation, whose benefits would surely be obliterated and forgotten six months after the departure of the last British functionary."

But is it true that the benefits conferred by Britain upon Egypt would be forgotten six months after the last British functionary left; or, as M. Malosse puts it, "after their last soldier departed from Alexandria?" Let us suppose that the Egyptian natives forgot, as, however, they are not likely to do, that it was to Britain they owed the abolition of the *Courbache* and the *Corveé* and the stoppage of the robbery of their water supply. Are there no lasting benefits conferred by Britain, no monuments which will remain for many generations and attest the energy, enterprise and beneficence of the rulers of Egypt from 1882 onward? The ancient Romans left imperishable memorials in the provinces they administered. May the modern Romans, the Britons, not do likewise in Egypt?

A railway is an institution of probably as lasting a character as any. What has the British administration done for the construction of railways in Egypt?

In Dr. Blackie's "*Comprehensive Atlas*," published in 1883, the railway from Cairo up the Nile valley is marked as extending no further than Assiût, so that we may take that town as the terminus of the Nile Railway when the British administration began. What has been done in railroad building since 1882? The railway, which then stopped at Assiût, 247 miles from Cairo, has now been extended past Luxor and Assuan to Shellâl (above the first cataract) 586 miles from Cairo. A military railway 23 miles in length ascends from Wadi Halfa above the second cataract, while another, some 50 miles in length, proceeds from Trinkitat to Tokar on the Red Sea littoral. Still more enterprising, a railway 300 miles in length has been constructed from Wadi Halfa across the desert to Bash Tenal, 73 miles south of Abu Hamed and 60 miles below Berber. Thus, when peace is restored, the traveller, who, before the British took Egypt in hand, could only go by railway from

Cairo to Assiût, will be able, with the exception of the comparatively short stretch from Shellâl to Wadi Halfa, to go by railway the whole way from Cairo to above the Fifth Cataract. The British have carried the railway and all its attendant benefits into the recesses of Nubia, into the heart of the Egyptian Sûdan, and yet we find Mr. Penfield echoing M. Malosse's assertion that they will be forgotten in Egypt when their last battalion departs! Will that magnificent railroad not of itself remain as a monument of British enterprise, resembling some of the works of the ancient Romans which still fill us with wonder and admiration?

Let us turn to another field of British industry. When my countrymen arrived in Egypt they found the Barrage* in ruins and useless. That celebrated work was begun under Mohammed Ali in 1835 and remained in operation till 1867.

It then gave way and the irrigation works dependent on it were rendered ineffectual. The whole cost of the Barrage amounting to £1,800,000, besides the unpaid labor of the peasantry forced to build it, had been wasted. As Sir Alfred Milner remarks, the Barrage "was practically useless till Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff came to Egypt" in 1884. As Director of Public Works, Sir Colin began the repair of the Barrage; he and his Anglo-Indian officials worked at its repair for five years, and after an expenditure of £460,000 completely restored it. Since 1890 it has operated successfully and been of untold value to Egyptian agriculture. Is this not also a monument erected by Britain in Egypt?

But the Barrage is only a small installment of a vast irrigation scheme devised and carried out by the British administration. "The country," says Milner, "was divided into five circles of irrigation—three in the Delta and two in Upper Egypt." As the fertility of Egypt is entirely dependent on irrigation, the masterly manner in which irrigation was extended throughout the land by the British officials is the keynote of Egypt's prosperity to-day. Take one province as an example. The Fayum, in ancient times, was renowned for its fertility. The famous Lake Moeris was there with its pyramid, statues, and labyrinth as seen and described by Herodotus. Lake Moeris has now shrunk to a comparatively small sheet of water known as Lake Qurûn, but the British administration has by a thorough and judicious

* This is a great dam across the Nile some miles below Cairo.

system of irrigation again made the Fayum the garden of Egypt. I quote from the official work of Major Brown, R. E., now Inspector-General of Irrigation for Lower Egypt, entitled "The Fayum and Lake Moeris," published in 1892 with a preface by Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff. The following table shows the great progress made by the Fayum under even three years of British rule, the quantities being in *kantars* (98 lbs.) and the values in Egyptian pounds (20s. 6d., stg.):

	1889.	1890.	1891.	Value 1891.
Cotton	39,433	56,334	86,638	£147,234
Cottonseed	82,010	104,608	185,917	102,254
Cereals	418,935	797,363	1,109,070	776,349
				£1,025,887

The value of cotton, cottonseed and cereals exported from the Fayum in 1891 was at the rate of £4. 6s. 10d. per acre.

When British engineers undertook the irrigation of Egypt, they found that all-important department in a state which Sir Alfred Milner simply describes as "chaos." "Science and morality had alike been wanting" in the construction and working of irrigation in Egypt. While the officials impoverished the country by adopting wrong systems the rich robbed the poor of the water which is the life, the *sine qua non*, of Egyptian agriculture. The British have changed all that. Baedeker, an impartial German authority, declares that "the modern embankments and apparatus for the regulation of the water supply vie in importance with the greatest ancient works of the kind,"* so that my analogy between Romans and Britons is conceded. The poorest peasant is now as sure of his water supply as the richest Pacha. Speaking for the fellaheen, Ahmed Mokbel praises the British for "establishing one balance for all—for the rich proprietor in his golden palace as well as for the poor peasant in his thatched cottage."

One might imagine that, having done so much to increase the fertility of Egypt and the consequent prosperity and happiness of its inhabitants, the British might rest on their laurels. But they are too energetic a race for that.† They have made Lower Egypt a land of plenty; they are going to try and make Upper Egypt a land of plenty, too. They propose to build two

* *Handbook for Egypt*, 4th Ed., 1898.

† "*L'énergie dans les actes et la rapidité dans les décisions sont les deux grands moyens pratiqués par les gouvernants anglais.*"—*Impressions d'Egypte par M. Malosse*, 1896.

colossal new Barrages, one at the First Cataract and one at Assiût. The first will be a great masonry structure a mile and a quarter long, and will hold in reserve for purposes of irrigation some thousand million cubic metres of water. The second will be similar in character, and is intended to raise the level of the Nile during summer, thus increasing the distributing power of the canals in Middle Egypt.*

Cynical French critics are evidently of opinion that the financial exploitation of Egypt and good salaries for British officials are the main, if not only, attractions which Egypt offers to Britain. Even the amiable M. Georges Noblemaire in his *"En Congé"* published at Paris in 1897, has his fling at "that veritable golden egg of British officialdom, the Egyptian Budget." Can these flippant gentlemen imagine no tie binding Britain to Egypt other than that of "filthy lucre?" Are they not aware that all the way up the Nile, ay, as far as Khartum, are the graves of those who gallantly fought and bled and died in Britain's and in Egypt's cause, and will they, Frenchmen and *galants hommes*, deny that these graves form an indissoluble link between Britain and Egypt? Standing on the summit of the Awas-el-Guarâni, the hill of the holy man, near Korosko, I saw beneath me the rude caravan track across the desert leading to Abu Hamed, which General Gordon followed on his last ride to Khartum. On a slope above the Wâdi, which the hero passed, I saw the little graveyard where sleep the British soldiers who fell around Korosko. A voyage up the Nile is not all a pleasure tour to the patriotic Briton, for he is often reminded of those, his countrymen, who laid down their lives in order that he might enjoy this pleasant cruise in safety and that his race might govern the valley of the Nile.

Sentiments like these are not confined to British travellers. In the steamers in which we ascended the Nile to its Second Cataract the company consisted one-third of British tourists, one-third of other Europeans, and one-third of tourists from the United States of America. It was a time of war, when British battalions were hurrying to the front to capture Omdurman, to crush the Dervishes and to avenge Gordon. And I noticed that none cheered the British soldiers more heartily than our kin from across the Atlantic. Observing some American girls waving their

* *Daily News*, Feb. 22, 1898. *Times*, March 22, 1898.

handkerchiefs and cheering as the Cameron Highlanders sailed past us up the Nile, I ventured to ask them what interest they took in these soldiers, seeing that they were British soldiers. "We, too, have British blood!" was the American girls' instant reply and ample justification.

Americans occupy an important position in extending the prosperity and civilization of modern Egypt.

Not only do they form at least one-third of the tourists visiting Egypt, and number some of the leading Egyptologists, but the beneficent effect of their missions and schools is everywhere apparent throughout Egypt. The magnitude of their Christian operations may be gathered from the fact that the Egyptian mission of the American Presbyterians has 100 stations, 20 churches and 97 schools.* Ask a little Egyptian child where it has learnt its English, and it will very probably answer: "At the American mission." The mission doctors, too, are of much service. An English lady might have died on board our mail steamer had a telegram not been sent to an American mission physician who came on board, attended to her, and removed her to the hospital at Assiût. Egypt has and will always have extraordinary attractions for the Anglo-Saxon race, for it is a race conversant with and believing in its Bible, in which Egypt holds so prominent a place. And let me add that, after a visit to Egypt, the ancient Jewish history, with which we have been familiar from childhood, acquires an interest and reality it never previously possessed.

In order to understand that history, however, we must not tarry at Cairo, but voyage up the Nile. It is generally admitted that no Pharaoh, no Khedive, no administration ever did so much for the opening up and the prosperity of Egypt from Cairo to the Second Cataract as the single British firm of Thomas Cook & Son. They are the real modern "lords of the Nile," all the wharves on which belong to them, all the mail steamers on which fly their flag, while almost all the tourist steamers and *Dahabiyehs* bear their name. They have done extraordinary service to the Egyptian native. They have caused a golden shower of prosperity to descend upon his head which he never knew before; they have relieved the dull round of his existence by a ceaseless flow of European travellers; they have

* *Baedeker's Egypt*, 4th Ed., 1893, p. 202.

enabled him to pass up and down his own highway, the Nile, with an ease and celerity he never before imagined. Finally, they have by their splendid flotilla, ever in readiness, put it in the power of the Egyptian administration instantly to send troops to repel invasion and so prevent the barbarous tribes of the Sudan from destroying in their ruthless march the hard won fruits of the natives' industry, besides massacring the natives themselves.

The reorganization of the Egyptian army is the one great success of the British administration admitted by M. Louis Malosse, so I need not dwell much upon it. Suffice it that I record that out of the faint-hearted Egyptians of Tel-el-Kebir, British discipline and example have produced the lions of Toski and Atbara. The permanent headquarters of the Army are at Cairo, with a staff at Dongola, and another at Suakim. The Egyptian cavalry and artillery have likewise their permanent headquarters at Cairo. The Egyptian infantry consists of 18 battalions, whereof six are Sudanese battalions, magnificent coal-black fellows often over six feet in height. These sons of the Sudan, long the terror of the Egyptians of the Delta, have been converted into their best defenders, just as the Scottish Highlanders after the Rebellion of 1745 furnished Britain with some of her finest regiments. There is also a railway battalion, a camel corps, and a medical staff, besides a military school and a telegraph department, thus equipping Egypt with a complete, well-disciplined and reliable army capable of routing the most determined Dervishes.

With regard to many other reforms introduced by the British administration, and as illustrating still further what Britain has done for Egypt, I feel I cannot do better than give the official memorandum, dated Feb. 18, 1898, published under the high authority of Sir Elwin Palmer, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Financial Adviser to the Egyptian Ministry. He says:

"The population of Egypt has increased in fifteen years by 2,920,486, *i. e.*, 43 per cent.

"Notwithstanding the increase of about 13 per cent., *i. e.*, 614,195 feddans, in the cultivated area paying taxes, the land tax is now less by £(E)85,691 than in 1881. The average tax per feddan in 1881 was £(st.) 1. 2s; it is now 18s. 3d. The annual tax on land has, since 1891, been reduced by £(E)507,600, other direct taxes have been reduced by £(E)223,000, and indirect taxes amounting to £(E)186,000 per annum have been abolished. The

tobacco tax having been raised and the smuggling stopped it now produces over a million, whereas in 1881 the revenue derived from tobacco only amounted to £(E)97,168.

"Scarcely any arrears of land tax now exist, whereas in past years the amounts were very large. The expropriations and sales of crops for arrears have been reduced more than 50 per cent, and are now quite insignificant.

"Since 1890 the policy has been to diminish the direct taxes, covering the loss of revenue by an increase in the indirect taxes, and thus causing a more even distribution of taxes and an increase in the number of taxpayers. The only indirect tax, however, that has been raised is the tobacco tax, while others have been reduced or even abolished entirely.

"The taxation per head of population in 1881 was £ (st.) 1. 2s. 2d.; in 1897 it was 17s. 9d., a reduction of 20 per cent.

"Two hundred and twelve miles of new railway have been opened. There has been an enormous development of the railway and telegraph traffic, second-class passengers having increased from 415,000 to 1,153,000, third-class passengers from 3,100,000 to 9,412,000, and merchandise from 1,275,000 to 2,796,000 tons, while the number of telegrams has increased from 688,000 to 2,498,000, half the number being on account of railway service.

"A similar development in the post office has taken place, letters, newspapers, money orders, etc., having very largely increased in number.

"The expenditure on public instruction has been increased by over 37 per cent.; the number of schools has risen from 29 to 51, and the number of pupils from 5,366 to 11,304.

"The increase in the judicial receipts shows that the people have learnt to take advantage of the courts, especially as regards registration of deeds,

"Large sums of money have been expended of late years on irrigation. *i. e.*, on reproductive works. 1,700 kilometers of agricultural roads, 2,512 kilometers of drains, 3,054 kilometers of canals, and 575 kilometers of basin bank have been constructed in the provinces.

"The number of men called out on *corvée* has been reduced from 281,000 to 11,000 men.

"Imports have increased by over £ (E) 2,600,000, while, notwithstanding the enormous fall in the price of cotton and sugar, there has been only a slight falling off in the value of the exports.

"The quantity of salt sold has doubled, while the price has been reduced by close on 40 per cent.

"The tonnage of the Port of Alexandria has increased from 1,250,000 to 2,270,000.

"The amount of bonds outstanding on the market in 1881 was £(st)98,376,660; in 1897 it was £(st.)98,035,780, notwithstanding £(st.)13,219,000 of fresh debt raised to cover extraordinary expenditure, and £(st.)3,400,000 increase of capital due to conversion. The interest charge in 1881 was £(E)4,235,921; in 1897 it was £(E)3,908,684.

"The market price of 5 per cent. Privileged Debt in 1881 was £(st.)96¼; in 1897 the market price of the same debt converted into 3½ per cent. was £(st.)102.

"The 4 per cent. Unified Debt was at £(st.)71⅜ in 1881, and at £(st.)106½ in 1897.

"The amount of debt per head of population was in 1881 £(st.)14. 8s. 9d.; it is to-day £(st.)10.0s. 2d.

I have said nothing as yet of the remarkable man who, since

1887, has held the chief place among the many eminent British officials to whom the present prosperity of Egypt is due. As British Minister-Plenipotentiary and Consul-General, Sir Evelyn Baring, Lord Cromer, has, gifted with what Sir Alfred Milner calls his "most striking feature—a singular combination of strength and forbearance," piloted Egypt with safety and success not merely through the obstacles of Oriental conservatism and sloth, but past all the shoals and quicksands which threaten to engulf any country which every Great Power in Europe seeks to control. "It would be difficult," says Milner, "to overestimate what the work of England in Egypt owes to the sagacity, fortitude, and patience of the British Minister. . . . The contrast between Egypt to-day and Egypt as he found it, the enhanced reputation of England in matters Egyptian, are the measure of the signal services he has rendered alike to his own country and to the country where he has laid the foundations of a lasting fame." This noble tribute was pronounced by one who was long Under Secretary for Finance in Egypt and now is Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa.

Owing to the well-known caution and timidity of capital, a fair test of the prosperity of a country is to mark how its government securities stand on the Stock Exchange. I sometimes think that the critics who deprecate the British administration of Egypt must either not be holders of Egyptian government securities or have sold out too soon, for no sensible investor would deny that that administration had conferred extraordinary benefits on Egypt when he found that his "Egyptian State Domain stock," which in 1878 he bought at 73, was to-day worth 106; his "Egyptian Unified Debt," which is 1881 he bought at 71 3-4, was to-day worth 109; his "Egyptian Government Guaranteed Loan," which in 1885 he bought at 95 1-2, was to-day worth 109; while his "Egyptian Government Preference" and "Daira" stocks, which in 1890 he bought at 91 and 99 1-4, respectively, were to-day worth 105 and 106. Nothing but the steady progress of Egypt under exceptionally able management could have led to such a rise in the value of Egyptian government securities.

While giving in this article due prominence to the administrative and reforming action of Britain in Egypt, I by no means overlook the services of the native and other officials who have so loyally and efficiently supported the British. Yet it is Britain

and British officials who are now responsible for Egypt before the bar of History. From Lord Cromer's luminous Report, dated Jan. 15, 1897, on the "Finances, Administration and Condition of Egypt, and the Progress of Reforms," I gather that while he accepts full responsibility for the safety, progress and well being of Egypt, its financial and general administration are mainly controlled, and its reform has been chiefly effected, by British officials acting with and under his Lordship. He treats of Egypt as a country committed to his care, and under the management of British officials, of whom he is chief. There is no sign and apparently no chance of the country's retrogression under his vigorous control; there is nothing but progress and prosperity to record.

For, if Egypt can boast of a great historic Past, she can also confidently look forward to a great economic Future, provided she secure a wise, honest, and energetic administration. Granted that one condition, and Egypt will eventually become one of the most prosperous countries in the world, her wealth, commerce and industry will increase, and her inhabitants will know happiness which their forefathers often sighed for but never possessed. But the administration must be wise, it must be honest, it must be energetic, it must be popular with the natives themselves. I have endeavored to prove that the present British administration can lay claim to all these attributes, and I have, however imperfectly, ventured to show what Britain has done for Egypt. Mr. Penfield's criticism, as coming from an American, nay, the "late United States Diplomatic Agent in Egypt," was all the more strange, as the American missions and other institutions in Egypt have profited so much by the law and order introduced into Egypt since 1882. I confidently appeal to the many Americans resident or travelling in Egypt, and would ask them whether, considering the peace and security they have enjoyed there since the British administration began, they see (like Mr. Penfield) "scant justification" for Britain's "continuing her sojourn in Egypt?"

RALPH RICHARDSON.

THE REGULARS IN THE CIVIL WAR.

BY RUFUS FAIRCHILD ZOGBAUM.

WHEN the menacing storm clouds of war burst, and "red rebellion," with blazing torch and armed hand, struck at the life of the nation, all throughout the land, east, west and north, from sea coast to prairie, from town and village, from shop and farm, from the schoolhouse itself, wave on wave, like a mighty river, ever "coming, Father Abraham, ten hundred thousand more," the manhood and youth of the country poured forth to its defense. Four long years of war transformed the raw volunteer recruit of '61 into the tried and hardy volunteer veteran of '65, as ore that passes through the ordeal of fire and forge turns to tempered steel, and the American citizen-soldier of that time has few if any peers in the history of the world. But it is not to his disparagement to say that there already stood under the colors a body of experienced and splendidly trained soldiery, who, had their strength been in comparison with their magnificent courage and disciplined devotion to duty, would have spared the nation the sacrifice of thousands of lives and millions of treasure.

Less than fourteen thousand strong, then, as now, inadequate in point of numbers for the duties imposed upon it, the outbreak of hostilities between the States found the regular army scattered in small detachments over a vast territory, the cavalry and infantry almost constantly in conflict with the savage foe of advancing civilization, the artillery covering with a thin and broken line the long extent of sea coast on two oceans. Imbued with an *esprit de corps* born of the wars of three-fourths of a century, bound together by common share in the dangers and vicissitudes of the life they led, the soldiers of the "Old Army" formed a distinct class by themselves, representing, in its composition, traditions and history, the incarnation of the spirit of respect for

law and order that forms the foundation of the republic. Proud and self-reliant, they knew no other life but that which duty called on them to live, and to them the flag they bore was the emblem of the honor of the country, the army and the regiment.

So it was when the grand old Third Infantry, under orders to evacuate Texas, was halted on its march to the coast, and the intimation given to it that it would be well to march around the city of San Antonio for fear of the consequences that might ensue, in the excited state of the community, should the column attempt to pass through the town. All the fiery pride of the gallant "Buff Sticks"* burst into flame at the insult. What! "Sneak around by the by-ways when the main road was open!" Hide the colors in a box, the colors that had followed "Mad Anthony Wayne," that had flaunted defiantly in the faces of Pakenham's veteran red coats at New Orleans! Put away the starred ensign that had flashed triumphant through the smoke of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey, that had crowned the heights of Cerro Gordo, and waved over the assaulting columns at Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, and Mexico! Fall in! To your posts, gentlemen! Full dress shall be the uniform of the day. And with colors floating proudly, band playing, with gold epaulettes and polished brass shoulder scales glistening, and bright bayonets flashing back the sun's rays, the regiment marches straight through the town in the face of the gathering crowds of angry people. So it was when the Second Cavalry—now the Fifth—riding away northward from the Texan frontier, turned back in its march at the call for help of their former friends, now their enemies, but yet their fellow countrymen, to strike and disperse the savage bands swooping down upon the settlements the regiment had shielded for so many years. So it was, too, when many of the enlisted men of detachments, overpowered or basely surrendered during the evacuation, escaped from their captors, and making their way by devious routes, some of them through Mexico, to New York, reported themselves at headquarters there "present and ready for duty." While it is true that many of the commissioned officers, Southern born, taught from infancy to believe that allegiance to the State was paramount to allegiance to the Union, yielding to pressure from families and friends, threw up their commissions and espoused the cause of

* "Buff Sticks" was a nickname given to the regiment in the Mexican War.

the Confederacy, the great mass of their comrades kept faith with the nation, and the enlisted force to a man remained true to the colors it had sworn to defend. So it was, finally, that Sumter's puny garrison, deserted and abandoned to its fate by those in authority, but staunch and undismayed, struck defiantly back at the encircling ring of assailants in defense of the principles of the Constitution and for the honor of the flag and the army.

All the world knows the story of what followed. Throughout the entire South the people rose in arms, and the wave of rebellion was almost lapping the steps of the Capitol. The whole country was ablaze with the fire of patriotism, and the land resounded with the tread of marching thousands hastening to the now "inevitable conflict." Then came First Bull Run, where, interposing its small but invincible front between the fleeing crowd of panic stricken fugitives and the victorious foe, a little band of regulars checked the pursuit, and saved what had been called an army. So from the beginning their "disciplined courage" rose superior to misfortune and danger, and again and again on one bloody field after another they wrested victory from disaster and won honor and glory in the very face of defeat.

Differing only in the locality of the fields of their glory, alike in the record of their heroism, the story of one body of these men is the story of all, and in the history of the war there are no brighter pages than those which tell of the "Regular Brigade" of the Army of the Cumberland and of that "incomparable infantry" of the Second Division, Fifth Corps, Army of the Potomac—"Sykes' Regulars."

On the organization of the Fifth Corps in the spring of 1862, the troops of the regular army composing the first and second brigades of the second division consisted of the Second, Third, Fourth, Sixth and Tenth regiments and one battalion each of the Eleventh, Twelfth, Fourteenth and Seventeenth United States infantry *. The batteries attached to the division were L and M of the Fifth and I of the First regiments of artillery. The third brigade was composed of volunteer troops, the Fifth New York—Duryea's Zouaves, one of the most renowned and distinguished volunteer regiments of the Army of the Potomac—the Tenth New York and the First Connecticut. The latter two regiments

* Subsequently added to by battalions of the 7th and 19th infantry.

were subsequently removed and the One Hundred and Fortieth and One Hundred and Forty-sixth New York attached in their place. Brigadier General George Sykes, U. S. army, commanded the division. Of the "regular" regiments the Second, Third, Fourth, Sixth, Seventh and Tenth were old regiments, the others were battalions of eight companies each of the new regiments authorized in 1861 by the act of Congress increasing the regular establishment. In his history of the Fifth Corps Colonel W. H. Powell says: "Around the standards of the old regiments were clustered all the traditions of the country's wars—a sacred trust they guarded well on every field." They were tried men, these splendid veterans, while in the new regiments most of the men and many of the officers were now to face the "dread ordeal of battle" for the first time. "When one of the newly organized battalions of the Regular Brigade of the Army of the Potomac reported to Colonel Buchanan, he said to its commander: 'Sir, your men look like volunteers!' The reply was: 'That is just what they are.' The veteran martinet rejoined: 'I will make them regulars'—and he did!" So writes Colonel Anderson in his historical sketch of the Fourteenth Infantry. Association with their veteran comrades in arms, precept, example and environment, added to their natural intelligence and aptitude, soon imbued these troops with the discipline and spirit of the older regiments. "They act like mustangs, but they fight like men," was the comment of an old officer watching one of these battalions moving forward to the attack, cheering loudly, under the devastating fire of the enemy.

The glory of the achievements of the regular batteries—field and horse artillery—shines resplendent through the smoke of four years of battle. Distributed through all the armies of the Union the batteries of the regular line were practically independent commands, the regimental formations existing more as a matter of form than as actual organizations. As with the infantry and cavalry, the superior officers of artillery held high commissions in the volunteer forces, and the command of batteries fell to younger officers, by whose names, written in characters of fame in the chronicles of the war, they will be known while the thunder of their guns reverberates down through the past from nearly every field of contest throughout the length and breadth of the land, from the first defiant shot from Sumter to the last

gun aimed at the last army of the Confederacy.* Wherever the fire was hottest the regular batteries were conspicuous, and their splendid drill and organization, "their habitual devotion," inspired the entire Union artillery with a spirit of emulation and confidence worthy of the "full genius of the arm."

In the tragedies of the Seven Days' battles on the Peninsula "Sykes' Regulars" played a leading rôle; their positions on more than one field of that thrilling campaign of victory in defeat were marked in stubborn lines of fire and blood, and Gaines's Mill and Malvern stand at the beginning of their proud record in the Army of the Potomac.

During the initial attack of the Confederates at Gaines's Mill Sykes' division bore the brunt of the fight against overwhelming numbers. "With twenty-six regiments, four battalions and three batteries, General Hill, though his brave men had done all that any soldiers could do, had failed to carry the line that was held by nine regiments (finally increased to eleven), three battalions and two batteries."† Eleven out of the sixteen organizations composing this line consisted of regular troops, and the returns of their losses show how desperate was their resistance to the onslaughts of the gallant enemy. As the fight progressed the entire Fifth Corps became engaged, struggling obstinately against the repeated attacks of the Confederates who hurled forth the masses of their choicest and bravest troops under the command of such leaders as Jackson, Longstreet, D. H. and A. P. Hill and Ewell. That splendid soldier, Fitz-John Porter, stood like a lion at bay, his repeated calls for reinforcements unanswered until late in the afternoon, when Slocum's division arrived on the field too late to retrieve the fortunes of the day. Decimated, worn out by long hours of continuous fighting, the Union line, sturdily resisting, but forced back by preponderance of numbers, gave way under the final attack of the Confederates. "The well disciplined Federals continued in retreat to fight with stubborn resistance," reported General Jackson, so stubbornly and with such a determined and valiant front that the Confederate general, Whiting, was compelled, even in the flush of victory, to call on Longstreet for reinforcements.

* The garrison of Fort Sumter at the time of the bombardment was composed of detachments from the First Artillery. A battery of the same regiment fired the last cannon shot of the war from the Union side.

† Powell's *History of the Fifth Corps.*

It was at this moment that five troops of the Fifth Cavalry, in gallant and unquestioning obedience to orders, swept down upon the advancing hosts of the enemy in a wild and desperate charge, second to none in the annals of warfare.

"The sun had sunk below the horizon, the heavy smoke of battle was hanging thick over the field, and the last attack of the enemy had been made and won. Only the cavalry and a part of the artillery remained on this part of the field. A brigade of Texans, broken by their long advance, under the lead of the hardest fighter in all the Southern armies, came running on with wild yells, and they were a hundred yards from the guns. It was then that the cavalry commander ordered Capt. Charles J. Whiting, with his regiment, to the charge. No one had blundered; it was the supreme moment for cavalry, the opportunity that comes so seldom on the modern field of war, the test of discipline, hardihood and nerve. Right well was the task performed. The 220 troopers of the Fifth Cavalry struck Longstreet's veterans square in the face. Whiting, his horse killed under him, fell stunned at the feet of the Fourth Texas Infantry. Chambliss was torn almost to pieces with six wounds. Sweet was killed. Only one of the other officers was unwounded. Unsupported and almost without officers the troopers were stopped by the woods of the creek bottom, returned, reformed, and were soon after opposed to the enemy in covering the retreat of the Federal Army. Two days later the same troops were engaged at Savage Station. The guns which were in condition to retire were saved. No action was ever more worthy of a poet's genius; no cavalry charge was ever ridden better or against more helpless odds of numbers. In other lands every survivor of Balaclava has been pensioned and decorated; the German nation will always delight over the record of its cavalry at Vionville and Mars-la-Tour, and the great Chancellor was never so proud as when he embraced his sons who rode in the ranks on that day; the memory of the sacrifice of the French cavalry at Sedan is still a balm for many wounds. But while Cardigan, Bredow and Gallifet, each in his own land received every honor, it is strange to relate that Whiting was dismissed for alleged disloyalty a few months after Gaines's Mill, reinstated after the war, and mustered out of service at the consolidation in 1870.*

Proudly defiant, slowly contesting the field of battle foot by foot, more dangerous in defeat than in the full tide of success, and never for a moment losing their cohesion or yielding to coward panic, Sykes' sturdy infantry hung like bulldogs on the flanks of their batteries, and aided in the repulse of repeated and desperate attacks upon them of a brave enemy, flushed with triumph and eager to bear away the guns as trophies of their victory. The famous "Second" retiring, as ordered, in line of battle, colors flying, halted and turned on the enemy, driving him back and saving a disabled battery. The loss of this regiment was one hundred and forty-eight out of an effective force

* Capt. Eben Swift, Fifth Cavalry.

of four hundred and forty-six! As night fell the ceaseless roll of musketry over on Sykes' right told how the Fourth Infantry was covering the retirement of Weed with his guns. The Confederates poured out from the woods on all sides, but the disciplined regulars, seizing and valiantly holding every point of vantage, facing by wings at right angles to their line, and by sheer pluck and endurance hurling back the pursuers on their flanks, kept the hostile battalions at bay until their comrades were well on the way to safety, then slowly fell back in the approaching gloom of night to the banks of the Chickahominy. Like watch-dogs, all night they lay between their comrades and the foe, until at daylight they sullenly and reluctantly crossed the river, destroying the bridge on their way, the last of the Federal forces to pass the Chickahominy.

Gaines's Mill was the first battle for the Twelfth and Fourteenth. In his report of the action the brigade commander, Col. Buchanan, states that: "The two old regiments, the Third and Fourth, maintained their previous reputation, and the new battalions, the Twelfth and Fourteenth, earned one for themselves." Referring to the charge made by the last named, he says that "they advanced in as handsome a line of battle as I ever saw on drill." Their losses were very heavy, the Twelfth losing two hundred and twelve out of a total of four hundred and seventy, the loss of the Fourteenth, by a curious coincidence, being identical with that of the sister regiment.

The limits of this article forbid more than brief mention of the services of the brave men of Sykes' Division in all the desperate fighting on every field from Gaines's Mill to Gettysburg. Malvern, Manassas (Second Bull Run), Sharpsburg, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg all bear witness to the prowess of the regulars, their sacrifices, their discipline and fortitude, their steadiness under conditions of dismay and panic, their enthusiasm and bravery in attack, their stubborn and courageous resistance in retreat. These qualities shone forth conspicuously on the evening of the defeat of Pope's army at Second Bull Run, where once again, as in the battle on the same field the year before, the regulars stood at bay between the advancing hosts of the enemy and the torn and shattered columns of the Federal forces.

As when the tides of the ocean, rolling resistlessly onward in

great grey billows, are dashed back in broken spray and spume as they rush upon a rock-bound coast, so the fierce grey legions of Longstreet and Jackson, those peerless fighters of the Lost Cause, pressed onward in all their strength only to recoil again and again in angry discomfiture from the rock-strong, blue front of Sykes' men. Not until vastly outnumbered, the supply of ammunition nearly exhausted, did the movement of retreat begin, and then only on the receipt of orders to retire. Quietly and without confusion, in lines "as if on parade," closing up as the shot of the enemy tore gaps in their ranks, halting every few yards, facing about and delivering their fire by wings, in echelon of regiments in splendid order they moved gradually to the rear until night put an end to the battle, and the line of the army's retreat over the historical stone bridge had been saved. On the road to Centreville that night was all the dismay and disorder of a defeated army in full retreat. Sutler's wagons, guns, caissons poured in a tumultuous mass along the highway, mingled with them ambulances with their wretched loads of maimed and suffering humanity. Regiments, disorganized and in disarray, filled the fields on all sides, cavalry, infantry, and artillery struggling onward in apparently inextricable confusion, wet and miserable in the now steadily falling rain, while many, utterly exhausted, threw themselves on the sodden ground in hopeless despondency and discouragement. Filing in a compact column on to the Centreville turnpike, a body of troops, infantry and artillery, pushed its way steadily and resistlessly through the throngs of fugitives, halting or advancing as directed, in disciplined and orderly silence, broken only by the commands of the officers and the cadenced tramp of its march. From a group, dimly visible by the roadside through the darkening shadows of night the figure of a mounted officer detached itself, moving slowly out into the road, and an authoritative voice challenged: "What troops are these?" "Sykes' Regulars, sir!" came the prompt answer from the head of the gloom-enveloped column. Up went hand to hat brim as the officer bared his head to the storm in salute to the passing column. "They saved the army," he said; then in a voice hoarse with emotion General McDowell added the fervent words: "God bless the Regulars!"

An interesting illustration of the self-control and training of these men is given by an incident which occurred when McClel-

lan, peremptorily relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, rode through its ranks in his farewell review of the army he had created. Probably no other commander of that splendid force ever possessed the personal love and devotion of the soldiers in the same degree as McClellan, and the enforced leavetaking between himself and his men gave occasion to a scene of ardent enthusiasm bordering on confusion as he rode along the wildly cheering lines of soldiers drawn up in review order until he reached the right of the line of the regular division. Here, with one simultaneous crash of wood and polished steel the long blue line came to the "present," and the battle-torn standards bowed gracefully forward in salute. An eye witness, describing the scene, says: "Who could have believed that these men, with their bronzed visages, their battle-scarred bodies and their proud, soldierly bearing, could weep? Yet some of them did." But their habits of discipline, their military pride and trained stoicism held the same stern sway over them in this moment as at all other times. Not a murmur, not a cheer broke from the serried front. "Silent as the grave" this war-worn soldiery stood motionless in martial salute to their beloved chief passing along their lines for the last time.

With their heroic stand at Manassas the Regulars of the Army of the Potomac reached the pinnacle of their glory. From that time on through the campaigns that followed they bore their full share, becoming so reduced in numbers that the splendid division that had so proudly and gallantly reared its steel fringed front at Gaines's Mill had become but a shadow of its former self at Gettysburg. Already in February, 1863, many of the companies had lost so heavily that their organizations were broken up, and what was left of the men assigned to other companies. Gen. Sykes being placed at the head of the Fifth Corps, the command of the Regular division fell to Gen. Romeyn B. Ayres, and under him proof was given once more of the magnificent morale of the troops on the sanguinary field of Gettysburg. Held in reserve with the rest of the Fifth Corps the two small brigades of now only fifty-seven companies, amounting in the aggregate to less than two thousand men, did not go into action until the disaster to the Third Corps, when their thinned and depleted ranks flung themselves desperately upon the triumphant Confederates, once again interposing themselves between their retreating comrades

of the volunteers and the pursuing enemy. Striking the Confederates in flank Ayres rolled them back upon themselves, and drove them in confusion from his front. But his enemies were too strong for him; outflanking him and gathering in his rear they poured volley after volley into his battalions, mowing the men down like blades of grass before the scythe. And now occurred an exhibition of indomitable pluck and determined and sagacious courage such as only highly trained and disciplined troops could show. Facing about, the little division forced its way slowly back again. The roar of musketry was so incessant that the words of command could scarcely be heard. Men were falling by hundreds, but the veteran lines steadily filled the gaps, answering blow with blow as they pressed on firmly, enveloped in a perfect hell of fire and death. The color staff of the Second is shot in two, the flag falling into the hands of the bearer. In the Seventh every second man is killed or wounded. The Tenth suffers a loss of sixty per cent. of its officers and over fifty-four per cent. of the enlisted men in a few moments. But there was no panic, no confusion, "not a single man left the ranks, and they allowed themselves to be more than decimated without flinching," until the hill was reached again, and they reformed their shattered lines in their old position, leaving behind them, in a long and ghastly trail of dead and wounded, eight hundred and twenty-nine of the nineteen hundred and eighty that had so gallantly advanced to the attack only a short time before. Was there ever a more heroic military sacrifice?

The rest of the story is soon told. Grant took but a few battered battalions with him the following spring, all that were left of "Sykes' Regulars." Too few in numbers now to exercise much influence on the fortunes of the army, they maintained the same undaunted front all through the carnage of that dreadful summer, fighting with the same distinguished valor, true to the proud traditions of their service to the very bitter end. To recruit their diminished ranks was practically impossible. States and counties paid enormous bounties to volunteers, a hundred influences combined to make that service attractive to the great mass of the recruits; and, actually worn out in the conflict, the regiments—some of them so depleted as to aggregate little more than the number allowed for a single company—were withdrawn from the field.

Their deeds emblazoned on the pages of history, sung of in impassioned verse by poets, their battles and victories, their final defeat and death perpetuated with all the genius of the painter's art, there stands in the story of the wars of another land, of another army, the record of a corps of soldiers to this day and for coming generations the pride and glory of their countrymen. Veterans selected for their aptitude for the profession of arms, physically superior, wearing a distinctive uniform and enjoying special privileges, splendidly armed and equipped, these magnificent troops obeyed but the will of one man in blind and disciplined devotion, yielding up their lives in the final hopeless struggle with the cry of "*Vive l'Empereur*" upon their lips. In the story of the fierce and sanguinary contests of the rebellion is told the tale of another corps of soldiers, wearing no distinguishing uniform, enjoying no special privileges, but equalled by few and surpassed by none in the history of wars, and as stood the Imperial Guard to the armies of France, so in blind devotion to duty and in trained and disciplined valor stood the line of the regular army, cavalry, artillery and infantry, to the armies of the Union. But here the comparison ends. Almost lost sight of in the overwhelming masses of the volunteers, neglected by Congress, and by the press, their superior officers absent with volunteer troops, their regiments commanded by captains and lieutenants, they wasted away under the pitiless fire of war and the ungrateful neglect of their countrymen, until little was left to the rank and file of the regular army but the glory of their deeds and the consciousness, in the breasts of the survivors, of duty well and faithfully done.

RUFUS FAIRCHILD ZOGBAUM.

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION: SOME CONSTITUTIONAL COMPARISONS.

BY JOHN W. RUSSELL.

NEVER have the framers of a constitution profited by so rich an experience as have the Australian statesmen who finished their deliberations at Melbourne a few months ago, and submitted the result to the popular vote of the different colonies. The instrument of government fashioned by their skill and patience ought to be free, one would suppose, from the propositions of the doctrinaire as well as the limitations imposed by the exclusive study of one model. Besides the constitution of the mother country, they had before them the record of the practical working of the American, Canadian and Swiss federal systems, as well as that of the German Empire. In solidity and complexity of structure these systems surpassed all previous examples of federal government, and two of them had special claims upon the attention of Australian legislators, who had little reason to go beyond the constitutions of the United States, Canada and the Swiss Republic for the necessary guidance and instruction. These summed up the best that had been thought and done to federalize democracy, and their historic and structural differences allowed a catholic choice of material.

Far more difficult was the task that confronted the statesmen of the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, or that which engaged the energies of the pioneers of Canadian Confederation. In both cases the territorial area and the diversity of interests were greater than had ever been embraced under a federal government, and in both there were disturbing causes severely trying to the resources of the most experienced judgment. In the former case the experiment was made after the emergence of a group of colonies from a prolonged and sanguinary war of insurrection;

in the latter, it was somewhat hastily resorted to as a refuge from dangers which seemed imminent, and under prejudices which biassed political deliberation. But if the United States and Canada came into federal being under stress, the calm of unforced development has been the lot of Australia. Not a battle has been fought, nor a single shot fired, in the course of progress whose results are so remarkable and rich in promise. The unchecked experimentation of the separate colonies, which almost aspired to test the millennial claims of the new theories of social reconstruction, has been largely replaced by the concept of continental unity and the wider outlook which accompanies it.

It has been said that little originality can be claimed for this latest experiment in constitution building, and that both trend and goal had been unmistakably revealed by expediency as well as by shining political examples. It is hardly necessary to discuss the question of comparative originality in the case of a people who inherit a racial instinct for self-government, and who, if latest in the order of time, may claim an original use of the lessons of experience. The eulogies pronounced upon the Constitution of the United States have been largely inspired by its position of initiative, as a federation under new and untried conditions; the strength and size of the structure bespoke the daring wisdom of the architects. They patterned chiefly from British and colonial models, but they ventured much without the sanction of any precedent. In like manner the Canadian framers had new problems to solve, although to a certain extent they copied the Constitution of the United States. They had to devise a federation within that Empire which their American prototypes had cast off; they had a triple set of political powers to consider, while the convention at Philadelphia had only two. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the incomparable vantage ground from which the Australian statesmen could see where and why their federating predecessors had in some respects been mistaken. Careful in their study of the American and Canadian constitutions, intent and plan were compared with result in the history of their practical working, and the necessary imitations, omissions and variations were made in the Australian system.

The Australian people have not been suddenly enthusiastic in support of federation, although in parliamentary circles the idea has long been familiar. Practical progress thus far has de-

pended upon the necessity of communicating to the people the views and beliefs which had almost become axiomatic with some of their ablest leaders. As far back as 1849 a committee of the Imperial Privy Council, acting in conformity with the best Australian opinion, advised the formation of Victoria into a separate colony, and at the same time favored the creation of a general assembly to legislate on intercolonial subjects. There was strong opposition to any imperial enactment embodying these recommendations, but the movement went on in the discussions of deliberative bodies, formal and informal, and its progress was registered in the reports of select committees and royal commissioners. Public men saw the trend of events, and leavened parliamentary discussion with the desirability and high promise of the coming change. Influences from without quickened the movement that was progressing from within, and in 1883 the perception of French and German designs in the Pacific helped to efface the differences which had weakened the feeling for union. The result was the Federal Council Act, providing for a federal legislature of limited powers, and extending only to such colonies as chose to come under its authority. It was strongly opposed by Sir Henry Parkes, who had at first looked favorably upon the project, and it was felt that the measure was only preparatory.

Major-General Edwards' report for 1889, urging the necessity of federation from a military point of view, made salient the features of a situation which called for a remedy. In New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes and his friends took advantage of the report to press the claims of federation, and the political leaders of the other colonies were urged to fall in line with the movement. An intercolonial conference held in Melbourne, in 1890, resulted in the Sydney Convention of 1891, composed of delegates elected by the parliaments of the different colonies, and authorized to frame an adequate scheme for a federal constitution. The Commonwealth Bill was the result; but its reception showed comparative apathy on the part of the colonial electorates. There seemed to be no strong popular impulse in favor of it, except in a few places, and no enthusiasm spread from these. The friends of the bill claimed that the great mass of voters had not been taken into the confidence of the parliamentary leaders, and they forthwith set about to remedy the defect. Federation leagues

and other voluntary, unofficial public bodies met in the different colonies to discuss the situation; and it was agreed that if a new convention, with delegates elected by popular suffrage instead of by the parliaments, were held, and efficient legal machinery provided for the whole constitutional process, from the election of delegates up to the transmission of the completed instrument to the imperial authorities for final enactment into law, there would be neither a lack of popular support nor a long delay in attaining the completed result.

These ideas found a voice at the Corowa Convention of 1893, where Dr. Quick procured the passage of resolutions in favor of a federal enabling act to be passed by the parliaments of the different colonies. New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, and finally Western Australia (though not in favor of delegates elected by the people) passed the act, under whose provisions the final convention has been held. It should be borne in mind that the Commonwealth Bill of 1898 differs somewhat from that drafted by the Sydney Convention of seven years ago, and that the more democratic character of the present measure only reflects the political impulse which determined the popular election of the delegates. Between 1891 and 1897 federation became more truly a popular question, and the different electorates shared, in the revived movement, the initiative which had formerly rested with their leaders in Parliament. Such, in brief outline, is the history of the federation question, and whether the Commonwealth Bill is or is not ratified by the people, it is unlikely that its provisions will be materially changed so long as it is a living issue.*

The new constitution provides for a federation under the British Crown, and composed of the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia. The Federal Legislature consists of the Queen, represented by a Governor-General; a Senate, in which each colony, henceforth to be known as a State, is to be equally represented by members directly elected by popular vote; and a House of Representatives whose members will be in proportion to population. There will be a Federal Supreme Court, whose judges will hold office during good behavior. The principle of the division of

* Since the above was written Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia have voted for federation, thus ensuring the establishment of the new constitution, at least so far as the three colonies that supported it are concerned.

legislative power between the federation and the States is the same as that of the American Republic, the States retaining all powers except such as are expressly given to the federation. The House of Representatives has the power of originating money bills, which the Senate may accept or reject, but may not amend. An important safeguard against deadlock between House and Senate has been made by a clause which provides for simultaneous dissolution to be followed, in the event of continued disagreement, by a joint session of both Houses, when a two-thirds majority shall decide the passing of the bill in dispute. Among the subjects exclusively within the scope of federal legislation are commercial relations with other countries and among the several States, customs and excise, posts and telegraphs, military and naval defence, navigation and shipping, banking and the currency, marriage and divorce. The difficult question of the financial relations of the States was referred to a special committee whose report has been largely incorporated in the constitution, which provides that a uniform customs tariff shall be established for the federation within two years. Trade within the borders of this tariff is to be absolutely free, and the just contribution of each State to the federal revenue is to be determined by careful investigation. Constitutional amendments require a majority of the Senate and House of Representatives, after which they must be submitted to conventions elected by the people of the several States, and approved by a majority of such conventions. The people of the States whose conventions so approve must also be a majority of the people of the Commonwealth. An amendment diminishing the proportionate representation of any State in either House of the Federal Legislature shall not become law without the consent of such State.

It is not easy to say whether the American or the Canadian constitution has been more closely copied. If the former has been the chief model in the formal statement of certain principles recognized as federal, the latter has been imitated in the introduction of cabinet or responsible government, thus establishing the rule of British constitutional usage in the exercise of executive power and the conduct of legislation—a principle of growth whose processes and results are unwritten law. That the new nation is not to be an independent republic, but the Commonwealth of Australia under the British Crown, is

doubtless owing to the peaceful political development which was repugnant, from the standpoint of interest as well as of racial affiliation, to a separation from the mother country. The relation of a dependency which is more nominal than real, and which may look forward to a larger and final federation in an equal union, has not been found incompatible with a national life and dignity.

Some of the constitutional features in which the new federation differs from the American and Canadian are of more than ordinary interest. The scope of federal executive power is substantially the same as in the Dominion of Canada, though time may develop some unexpected divergences. In the Australian system the relation between the federal executive and the Governors of the States will be different from that which obtains in the Dominion. In the latter, the executive heads of the different Provinces are appointed by the Governor-General in Council—that is to say, by the federal prime minister of the day. They may at any time be dismissed from office by the same authority for cause assigned, and provincial legislation is likewise subject to a federal veto. But in Australia each State will appoint its Governor, and State legislation will not be subject to either an imperial or a federal veto.

The powers of the Supreme Court are a close approximation to those of the Supreme Court of Canada. It is, of course, designed to be the guardian of the constitution, whose provisions it will interpret. It will also have jurisdiction in cases arising under federal legislation and in inter-State cases, as well as appeals from State courts. It cannot be strictly called, like the Supreme Court of the United States, a tribunal of final resort, because its powers are subject to alteration by parliament, and the right to appeal from its decisions to the Queen in Council further restricts its jurisdiction. The federal legislature may define or custom may establish classes of cases on which its decision may be considered final, so that it may be difficult to obtain leave to appeal therefrom; but there is the constitutional provision, overriding everything to the contrary, that the Queen in Council may in any case in which the public interests of the Commonwealth, or of any State, or of any other part of the Queen's dominions are concerned, grant leave to appeal from any judgment of the Supreme Court of Australia. The granting of such leave is dis-

cretionary, and judging by Canadian experience it will prove to be without friction. The suggestive fact is that the Australian States, though relatively of greater importance than the Provinces in the Canadian system, have shown no jealousy of any judicial interpretation of their rights. The thread of connection runs from the State courts up to the throne ; contests over questions of greater or less importance may proceed in an ascending series of judicial determinations up to the Privy Council ; and by these provisions, which would seem to break in upon the consistency of separate spheres of federal and State sovereignty, and to go beyond them both, the people of Australia have shown their confidence in the integrity of the bench. Apart from the purely legal view, the result cannot but tighten the political bond with the mother country.

The constitution of the Senate is a departure from the usual form of the upper house in the British and colonial parliaments. Like the Senate of the United States, it stands consistently for the federal principle, and the States are therefore equally represented in it. There is no such marked disparity in their populations as that which allows the votes of Nevada and New York to neutralize each other. For the choice of senators by the State legislatures, as established by the Sydney Convention of 1891, direct popular election has been substituted. It is quite evident that the members of the Melbourne Convention made a careful study of the Canadian, American and Swiss senates with special reference to the inconsistencies and defects of the first two. The influential minority of reformers, who have long been satisfied that United States senators should be elected by popular vote, will regard the Australian experiment with deep satisfaction, nor will they fail to attribute the result partly to their own persistent efforts. Between 1891 and 1897 resolutions in favor of this change, involving an amendment of the Constitution, passed the House of Representatives at Washington and were reported favorably in the Senate. Only a few weeks ago the House passed another similar resolution by a practically unanimous vote of 184 to 11. The arguments in the support of these resolutions are well known by forcible repetition. The corrupt methods by which an undue number of rich men have become senators, the tedious and bitter contests in certain cases, the cynical despotism of the "boss," the gerrymandering of senatorial and represent-

ative districts by State legislatures, the narrowing of political issues by the personal interests of senators seeking election—all these abuses have been set forth not without benefit to those who wished to avert similar evils in Australia. Fearing their probable recurrence in the new federation, its framers have in effect declared that an indirect choice of senators is undemocratic; they have recorded their disbelief in a vicarious exercise of the individual franchise; they did not think that the State legislatures could act with a more trained discretion than the people themselves, or rather they held that the people's instinct for the right men could supply the public service better than could party management in a State legislature of variable complexion.

The Canadian Senate, an imitation of the House of Lords so far as unsuitable conditions would allow, was evidently regarded by the Australian statesmen as something to avoid imitating. It was, of course, looked upon as undemocratic both in principle and practice, and the apportionment of members was deemed a plain violation of the federal principle of equal representation. In the Confederation Act the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were counted as one and given an equal representation with Ontario and Quebec; there was a creation of three equal groups, but no equality in the Provinces themselves, as was shown on the subsequent admission of Manitoba and British Columbia.

The undemocratic character of the chamber may be accounted for to some extent by the strong temper and exciting conditions under which the Canadian framers matured their plans. Their deliberations were made exigent by the Civil War, which to them conveyed a lesson of the danger of State rights. Besides, they remembered the unsatisfactory experience with the elective Legislative Council which existed for some years prior to Confederation. Under the circumstances it is not strange that they were disposed to belittle and distrust an upper house patterned after that of the neighboring republic, and although they saw that a federal constitution was inevitable, they put as much of the British leaven in it as they possibly could. The opening words of the preamble to the British North America Act are: "Whereas the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have expressed their desire to be federally united into one Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with a constitution similar in principle to that of the

United Kingdom." The last clause seems inconsistent, unless very freely interpreted, but if justifiable at all, it is by the provisions relating to the Senate. An irresponsible body, fixed in number and nominated for life by a Governor-General, who is advised by a party leader, is the constitutional anomaly of Canada, and suggests Voltaire's witticism on the Holy Roman Empire. He said it was neither "Holy," nor "Roman," nor "Empire," but not with more truth than any one can say of the Dominion Senate, that it is neither federal, nor representative, nor democratic, although it has many excellent and able men among its members. The hereditary principle is lacking, because the structure of Canadian society put that out of the question; but, on the other hand, it has no fear, like the House of Lords, of a sufficient increase in membership to ensure the passage of a popular measure toward which it may be recalcitrant or reactionary. Only saving common sense and a prudent regard for public opinion can prevent it from the obstruction of public business. By virtue of its constitutional powers it could almost wreck the legislation of a session, if partisanship were strong enough to prompt such a course; but its only Nemesis is a constitutional amendment.

Experience alone will determine whether the Australian upper house will, like that of England and Canada, prove inferior to the lower in the contribution of its members to the interest and dignity of public life. In this respect the Senate of the United States has, in the estimation of some capable critics, of late years descended from its former high estate. The presence of members who have no exceptional ability or real political importance, and the marked deterioration in eloquence and argument as compared with the great days when Webster, Clay and Calhoun made memorable the debate of public questions, have been ascribed, as already intimated, largely to election by the State legislatures, especially in their later phase of control by a rigid party mechanism whose methods, quite removed from the prevision of true statesmanship, are concerned with the art of winning elections and distributing patronage. It is, perhaps, as much owing to this fact as to any other that so many men of character and ability have grown indifferent to the claims of political duty.

To the objection that a Senate directly elected by the people will not be less liable than the House of Representatives to im-

pulsive action, or that it is not likely to have that discernment in legislative revision which is often supposed to distinguish the upper house in bi-cameral parliaments, the Australian statesmen have made answer by providing for the election of one-half of the members every third year. This, according to expert opinion, is calculated to prevent sudden and rash changes, without unduly retarding the passage of any law decisively favored by the people. Two classes of senators, elected at different times, are also less liable to reflect too thoroughly any passing phase of opinion.

The introduction of cabinet or responsible government in the new federation has been made under exceptional conditions. It is the most marked divergence from the system of the United States, and, with some reservations, the most important resemblance to that of the Dominion of Canada. The British House of Commons, in the course of its development as the embodiment of the popular principle, has drawn to itself the practical control of the executive and legislation, and the dependence of the Cabinet upon the majority in the House is the central fact in parliamentary government. But it implies a certain inferiority in the power of the House of Lords, and has been inveterately associated with the non-representative character of the latter. The question arises, how will the Australian cabinet system work when both Houses are directly elected by the people? If even at the present day in Great Britain and Canada responsible government is a principle whose force and direction are not always closely calculable, how much less so may it be when one of its historic elements is changed in this new experiment? Will an Australian ministry rest upon a majority in one House, or in both? The Commonwealth Bill does not specify; it declares in effect that the Governor-General shall be aided and advised by an executive council whose members shall be eligible to seats in either House. The rest is left to unwritten custom.

It seems difficult to reconcile the usual meaning of a "parliamentary session" with the prescribed duration of either House in the new federal legislature. In Great Britain and Canada those words signify the constitutional term of the House of Commons, and the expiry of that term marks the time for dissolution and the possible advent of a new ministry. The Australian House of Representatives is to be elected for three years, and if the custom of the mother country is to govern, popular confidence in the

ministry must be similarly tested by dissolution. The Senate need not be consulted, and either its importance must be lessened thereby or the traditional practice in cabinet government must be greatly modified. It seems improbable that the House of Representatives will consent to share the prerogatives inherited from its great original. It retains the power of the purse by the right to originate money bills, which the Senate cannot amend. The Governor-General can dissolve it; but he has no power to dissolve the Senate, and that is a restriction which is more than likely to have a marked influence in perpetuating cabinet government on customary lines, as it excludes the Senate from that direct appeal to the people which not only arises by effluxion of time, but is contingent on an executive act. It is difficult to see why the resulting verdict should not decide the fate of a ministry, independently of the Senate.

In the case of a party leader of strong personality and tenacious grip on the springs of political power, a few decisive precedents might determine this question. Suppose, for example, that during the opening years of federation there should appear on the scene a statesman equal in capacity to the late Sir John Macdonald, and who should wield in Australian politics a sway as continuous and masterful as that of the late Conservative leader in Dominion affairs. Sir John held the premiership for nineteen years, exclusive of his lease of power before Confederation. His last tenure of office was from 1878 to 1891 without interruption. If the first premier of Australia should be supported by a majority in the House of Representatives for that length of time, an adverse majority in the Senate would have some difficulty in displacing him. He would control legislation in the House during more than four terms, and in default of opposition from the Senate during the first term he could invoke such default in support of the right to hold power so long as he could retain his majority. All the presumptions of cabinet custom would be in his favor; he could dispute the claim of the Senate to a voice in determining the fate of a ministry which owed its existence to the House alone. And he could with consistency allege that the Senate, though elected by the people, did not represent the people as a whole, but only the States, as electoral districts with separate and possibly conflicting interests. If the hereditary principle of the House of Lords, or the nominee power which fills

the Canadian Senate, or the federalism of the Senate of the United States—if each of these is different from the principle which represents the collective will of the whole people expressed at one time, none of them, it might be argued, should be suffered to share that control of the executive which has so long depended upon the popular branch of the legislature.

The question of frequency in changes of the federal ministry is suggested in connection with the unenviable showing in the colonies. New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia had ninety-six different cabinets in forty years. It is inconceivable that efficiency in federal administration could exist with such a kaleidoscopic shuffling as has marred the field of view in provincial politics. But there are reasons why this need not be expected. Political affairs will henceforth demand a broader outlook and compel wider issues. Many of the most contentious subjects of legislation will be left to State control. Ministries will not rise and fall, as they have in the past, on a petty question of accounts or some matter of merely municipal interest. New conditions rule, and it is warrantable to expect a more equable conduct of public administration when the national life shall call for a better trained and more responsible service. When that service is given, it will be moulded by the traditions of British parliamentary government. The "manners, virtue, freedom, power" which have been associated with those traditions in the mother country will not be absent from the political career of her youngest daughter nation.

JOHN W. RUSSELL.

THE RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIES OF SPAIN.

BY EDWARD D. JONES.

THE country with which the United States is at present at war occupies eleven-thirteenths of the largest peninsula of Southern Europe. It has an area a little less than that of France or Germany, and a population about one-half that of France and a third of that of Germany. The relative size of the two combatants is as 1 to 4¼ in population, in area as 1 to 18½.

Though Spain forms a peninsula of Europe it is most effectively separated from the rest of the continent by the Pyrenees; an impassable chain of mountains which for one hundred and eighty miles is not even pierced by a wagon road. It is not without reason, therefore, that the inhabitants betray the characteristics of an insular civilization. It is true that the peninsula formation opens the land to the sea, and gives Spain one mile of shore for every seventy-two square miles of area. It is also true that the sea has been called "the road to freedom" and the "highway of commerce." But to develop commerce a coast-line is not sufficient. There must be a productive interior region and its highways must lead naturally outward and down to the sea. The interior of Spain is an elevated plateau, walled in by rugged mountains in such a manner that communication between the inland plains and the harbors on the coast is difficult to maintain.

Toward the west the Pyrenees are continued under the name of the Cantabrian Mountains and end in a rugged coast that reminds one of Brittany and western Ireland. From the eastern end of this range a succession of rugged highlands extends across Spain toward the southeast, coming in sight of the Mediterranean coast and running parallel with it from Valencia to Murcia. To the east of these mountains are the narrow tropical coast slopes of Valencia and Catalonia, and the river valley of

the Ebro. To the west the main portion of Spain is cut into troughs by mountains which bear away in continuous chains toward Portugal. The Guadarrama, the principal of these rocky ridges, cuts Spain into two sections through the middle, separating the wheat-growing plains of Old Castile and Leon from the barren highlands of New Castile and the pastures of Estremadura. The southern border of the central plateau is marked by the Sierra Morena, while along the coast the Sierra Nevada runs in parallel course. The two latter mountain ranges inclose far-famed Andalusia, the valley of the Guadalquivir.

The impression which one obtains from a view of the outlines of Spain is that of massiveness. As has often been said by geographers, the country seems to repeat, in miniature, the interior highlands and compact outlines of the continent of Africa. It is a common saying in France that Africa begins with the Pyrenees. There is a lack of that delicate articulation of parts which is shown by Greece, and of the slender and symmetrical structure found in Italy.

As Irving years ago said, "Many are apt to picture Spain in their imaginations as a soft southern region decked out with all the luxuriant charms of voluptuous Italy. On the contrary, though there are exceptions in some of the maritime provinces, yet, for the greater part, it is a stern, melancholy country, with rugged mountains and long, naked, sweeping plains, destitute of trees, and invariably silent and lonesome, partaking of the savage and solitary character of Africa."

The general slope of the country is toward the southwest. The main rivers rise in the east and flow in long courses toward the west. Spain turns her back upon Europe and the Mediterranean, and looks toward Africa, whence came her first permanent civilization, and toward the countries west of the Atlantic, where she has dreamed her dream of empire.

Let us review the characteristics of the chief industrial districts of Spain, beginning with the northwest. The Cantabrian Mountains cut off the inland plains of northern Spain from abundant rainfall, and receive it for themselves and the short, steep valleys of their coast declivities. The abundant moisture produces the emerald meadows of Galicia and the Asturias, which are as famous in Spain as are those of Ireland, and of Cheshire in England. These regions support a butter and cheese industry.

All root crops do well, and some beet sugar is here manufactured. Orchards are everywhere, and although the climate is too moist for the production of good wine, the cider is famous. Forests and rich pastures clothe the sides of the mountains and afford an export of timber and wool. In Asturias the mountains contain considerable supplies of iron ore, which are shipped out of the country, mainly in the ore, from Bilbao. This source of supply was, down to 1888, the only great rival of the Lake Superior region. Since that year the Spanish product has fallen off rapidly in amount and has deteriorated in quality. The west coast of Galicia contains the best harbors of Spain. The people are trained to seamanship by prosperous fisheries of tunny, sardines and oysters.

In the northeastern part of Spain, directly south of the Pyrenees, lies the valley of the Ebro River. In its upper course this river gathers its waters in a region of mountain forests and pastures. In its middle course there is a region deserted because of its lack of water. The devastation of forests and the lack of irrigation works account for large tracts of country that have become barren and bereft of population. On the coast of the Mediterranean, in Catalonia, is to be found the most enterprising of the peoples of Spain. Here are centered the textile industries, cotton being manufactured in the north, silk in the south. One-fifth of the wine product of Spain comes from the region around Tarragona.

Along the Mediterranean shore Spain presents a narrow ribbon of fertile, delightful country. The region is often called "The Garden of Spain," and its inhabitants are active and industrious. In the province of Valencia, from the city of the same name, to Alicante, garden follows close upon garden. Here are grown wheat, wine, raisins, oranges, dates and olives. In these regions irrigation is successfully practised. The greater part of the water of the short coast streams is thus employed. Little rain falls, and what does come is dreaded because of the violence of the storms and the damage done by floods to the irrigation reservoirs.

It is a great contrast to pass from these tropical shores to the wind-swept plains of interior Spain. The level country, inclosed by the Guadarrama and the Cantabrian Mountains, forms in the west an extensive wheat-growing region. Toward the east, as

the rainfall decreases, pasturage encroaches upon arable culture. In New Castile, on the south of the Guadarrama and in about the center of Spain, the political capital has been placed. The level country in which it has been dropped, as if by accident, is for the most part a waterless plain, swept in winter by the piercing winds from the naked mountains of the north, sweltering in summer under the effect of the sun's rays on bare rock and soil. The climate of Madrid has been tersely described by its inhabitants as "three months of winter and nine of hell."

The southwestern portion of the Spanish plateau comprising Estremadura is a broken mountainous country. Originally the land was protected by oak and chestnut forests in such a way as to make agriculture possible, while droves of pigs were fed upon mast. Shepherds found it necessary to bring their flocks into this region to avoid the rigorous winters of the interior highlands. The result has shown the inveterate hatred of the shepherd for the forest. Little by little this natural covering has been stripped away, the climate has been altered and the interests of other classes have been sacrificed to those of the sheep owners. Estremadura is now considered the most backward part of Spain. In the first place, the titled owners of the herds of sheep early secured special privileges, through the laws of the Maesta, much to the disadvantage of agriculture. The border warfare long carried on between Christian and Moor across this region seems to have fixed forever a sense of hopelessness and insecurity to brood over the thoughts of the people. Finally, Estremadura, lying, as it does, near to the western coast, has been again and again drained of its best blood and brains to equip expeditions for conquest in the Western world. Cortez, who came from this region, has been the local hero. Adventure thus became the tamest thing which could command the respect of ambitious youths. The peaceful arts, which would have created gardens and orchards, and the homely honest methods of gaining success which would have enriched the towns, have been neglected.

The descent from these regions to the valley of the Guadalquivir is marked by the Sierra Morena. They are a loosely jointed chain of mountains abounding in convenient passes for commerce. They are celebrated for their remarkably rich and varied supplies of mineral deposits. Lead and silver are found at Linares. The greatest deposit of quicksilver in the world is at

Almaden. An equally distinguished copper region is that of Rio Tinto. Coal also has been mined at Velmez and Espiel.

South of these mining centers is the fertile vale of Andalusia. It is a country of unexcelled climate, shielded by its mountain boundaries from excessive heat or cold. It possesses great possibilities as an agricultural and fruit growing region, but as yet it must be described as undeveloped. A chief check to its agriculture lies in the fact that the soil is in the possession of a few landlords who do not possess the skill of encouraging improvements. A semi-tropical flora exists throughout the valley below Cordova. At Seville much tobacco is grown and manufactured. As this country is fitted by its climate to compete with Cuba in the production of sugar and tobacco for the Spanish market, it has experienced great prosperity since the war with Cuba has eliminated a rival, and the war with the United States has cut off imports of American tobacco. In the lower river valley on the white chalk soils of the Jerez hills, near Cadiz, is the home of sherry, the "sack" of English convivial literature.

As can readily be seen, Spain is a country sharply divided into geographical and industrial regions of diverse character. Her whole industrial life is in so backward a condition that no great localization of industry has yet taken place.

The agriculture of Spain is throughout characterized by crude and expensive methods of operation. It is only of recent years that machinery has been imported in quantities. The government has established a number of model farms, but it is said that these have had little influence upon prevailing customs. Only a little over one-half of Spanish territory is classed as productive. This includes 26.5 per cent. of the total area of the country devoted to grain and vegetables, 13 per cent. to pastures, 8.7 per cent. standing in forests and underbrush, 2.5 per cent. in vineyards, 1.7 in olive orchards, besides 2.5 per cent. under irrigation. Wheat and barley are the chief grain crops in the plateau region, while in the higher mountains oats and rye are grown. A little buckwheat is produced in the mountains at the head of the Bay of Biscay, to provide a dish of local fame; some rice is grown on the coast plains of Valencia.

The agriculturist of Spain has not properly prized the two heritages which his environment indicates to have been the most valuable of his original possessions. He has wasted the forests, and

he has neglected to properly preserve and employ the supplies of water at his hand. Agriculturally, Spain was probably in better condition when the Moors possessed it than it is now. Wherever irrigation has been tried it has produced remarkable results. It has been estimated that 4,440 square miles are irrigated. In Murcia the population was not long since calculated at 101 per square mile, while in the irrigated districts of that province it was 1,681. The reverse to this picture is found in the *despopulados* or deserts that disgrace Spain. One of these lies southeast of Valladolid ; another stretches along the Mediterranean from Almeria to Alicante ; a third is northeast of Granada, while the largest, the Aragon desert, crosses the Ebro valley at about the middle. Stunted shrubs and esparto grass are the products of these areas. When some years ago a commercial use was found for esparto grass it proved a boon to many Spanish communities, especially in Murcia, and provided a new and paying occupation.

It need not be said that Spain is a country of rough roads. There is, therefore, a large demand for pack animals. The chief centers for the rearing of horses mules, and asses are Badajoz, Cadiz, Toledo, Teruel, and Valencia. These are all mountainous regions, and, in addition to their production of pack animals, are centers for sheep raising. A country with its crops thinly spread and difficult of access must be a pastoral country, and must employ sheep and goats as reapers and mowers. So a wasteful and ignorant agriculture can employ the pig as a savings bank. The animal husbandry of Spain indicates these conditions. Little attention is paid to breeding. The animals look like those ridden by Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, while the merino is neglected in the land of its origin.

In the extent of its mineral resources Spain ranks as the first country of Europe. It possesses more gypsum than all the rest of the continent. Almaden produces quicksilver, while near it are soda and fine sand. Thus nature has done her share in providing the foundation for a glass and mirror industry, but it has not yet risen to any prominence. There are needed skilled labor, a good home market, and cheap fuel. Spain is rich in iron, copper, lead, zinc, antimony and silver, yet she exports all except the last two in the form of ore, to be smelted and manufactured elsewhere. In true coal Spain is not well supplied, but she has an abundance of peat and lignite, and means have now been dis-

covered of producing excellent charcoal from these substances. Until within recent years mining was discouraged by taxes which were designed to promote the exploitation of colonial mines, from the product of which the Crown was able to claim a liberal share. At present the mining industry is abundantly fostered and protected by law, but it is chiefly carried on by French and English capital. Mineral waters of every sort abound in Spain. The baths were noted in Roman and Moorish days, but even the chief of these have failed to bid vigorously for foreign patronage, and they present evidences of neglect. The foreigner is everywhere an object of childish suspicion, and facilities have not been provided for his entertainment. All this is in marked contrast to the spirit which prevails in Austria and Bohemia. In those countries resources in the way of baths and mineral waters, which might be called scant in comparison with those of Spain, have been industriously utilized. The chief centers of the iron and steel trade are along the Bay of Biscay and in Galicia. The state cannon factory is at Trubia, near Oviedo. The ancient city of Toledo was once famous for the art and industry of the Moors in the manufacture of sword blades. The cutlery trade has since been carried to Albacete, in the mountains of North Murcia, where it is fortified by the large local demand for the daggers and long knives carried by the inhabitants to adjust their social difficulties.

Apart from the industrial region of which Barcelona is the trade capital, and the centers which have been mentioned, there may be found here and there the survivals of ancient industries kept alive by local skill or ancient reputation. Thus Seville manufactures some porcelain and Cordova a little leather. In the southern part of the central plateau the little town of Almagro continues a lace industry, founded generations ago, while Reyna, to the west of Toledo, manufactures silk.

In its commercial life Spain is not highly developed. The coast has a light trade with foreign countries, but the center of the peninsula is, industrially, an indigestible core. A glance at a Spanish railroad map shows that a chief care of the state has been to strengthen the power of the capital by making it a railroad center. The streams of commerce do not correspond with the river systems, and the latter could not be used for communication, if they did. From the map one would judge Spain to be

well provided with rivers. As a matter of fact, the total length of all navigable rivers and canals is 430 miles. The meaning of this may be seen by contrasting it with France, which has 7,700 miles of inland navigable waters. Whether it is because of the absence of a competitive means of transportation or not, railroad rates are exorbitantly high. The wheat and cattle of the north must penetrate a wall of mountains to reach the port of Santander. The mules, wool, and cork of Estremadura are gathered at Badajoz. Esparto grass is shipped from Cartagena. The chief imports of Spain are cotton, drugs, coal, wood, machines and wagons. The leading exports are wine, iron ore, animal products, lead, fruit, copper and esparto grass. The countries with which Spain does the most of her business are England, France, United States, Germany and Portugal. From Spain the United States has received almonds, cork, iron ore, licorice, mineral waters, skins, tartar, and sherry, besides the fresh and preserved fruits which are fast being driven off our markets by the products of Florida and California. To Spain our chief exports have been cotton, petroleum, tobacco, machinery, and staves used for wine casks.

A map of the density of population in Spain shows that the regions of greatest density are along the coast. The peninsula shows a fringe of fertile and prosperous country. The nation camps upon its borders, and presents to the outside world hardly more than a shell, having its political head and directing center suspended within it in a capital which is nowhere in close connection with the living tissue of the race and nation. Of the rule of the central region Mr. Webster has said: "It is one of the misfortunes of Spain that from the advantage of their elevated, central physical position, the Castilians, as warriors and statesmen, at all times among the least civilized of her peoples, have been able to rule and control the more civilized and more advanced communities of the seaboard. It is a want of discernment of this fact which makes so many of the picturesque histories of Spain utterly fail in explaining the origin and the progressive causes of her present condition." The maritime populations were held together to expel the Moors. But when not under intense pressure, they have easily perceived that their interests differ widely from those of the central region. Thus the rule of Castile has been looked upon in many districts as foreign

and hostile. The political history has been marked by civil dissensions. Barcelona has been federalistic and revolutionary, and has played the same *rôle* that Marseilles has taken in France. The Atlantic coast has been Girondist, as in France, while the center has been the stronghold of conservatism and royalism. This lukewarm patriotism, springing from a lack of proper economic and social bonds to knit the nation into a whole, explains the political corruption that has long been rife and the hesitancy and inefficiency of the central government. The political life of Madrid is, in a way, analogous to its economic life. The city is in a region that can do little towards its support. It stands on sandy hills in the midst of a treeless, infertile plain. Vegetables and fruits for the population must be brought from distant Valencia. Wheat comes from across the Guadarrama mountains, while manufactured goods are brought from Catalonia or are imported from abroad. The local industries are chiefly for the purpose of providing articles of luxury demanded by the royal household and a large official and military class. The economic life of the city is artificial; it is not rooted into the soil on which it stands.

Spain needs schools and progressive agricultural and commercial newspapers. She needs to look at home to the condition of her fields and roads and canals, rather than to waste herself in foreign dominion. She needs to learn that a new order of knighthood has arisen depending upon industry and honesty, and that this has supplanted the stilted parade of ancient lineages and the touchy pomposity of petty office.

EDWARD D. JONES.

THE UNITED STATES SENATE: ITS ORIGIN, PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATION.

BY THE HON. W. A. PEFFER, LATE U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS.

BEING Englishmen, the founders of the colonies from which grew the United States knew little of any form of government other than that of Great Britain, so their descendants, when they came to form a government of their own and to organize its powers, were naturally inclined to adopt the English system in so far at least as it would not interfere with the free exercise of popular rights; accordingly, the builders of the Constitution, when they had agreed that the legislative department of the proposed government should consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, and when their discussions turned upon the materials of which the Senate should be composed, frequently alluded to the House of Lords and the character and qualifications of its members as models fit to be studied.

Mr. Dickinson, of Delaware, said he "wished that the Senate might consist of the most distinguished characters—distinguished for their rank in life and their weight of property."

Colonel Mason, of Virginia, favored a property qualification for members of the upper house, and a "long tenure of office."

Much time was spent in the convention considering the best methods to secure a high order of men for Senators. Mr. Hamilton, of New York, thought that they ought to be chosen by electors selected by the people in election districts. Mr. Randolph said the lower house was the proper body to select the membership of the upper house.

While there was diversity of opinion among the delegates concerning the number of Senators, the manner of choosing them, their duties, etc., there was a general agreement that it would be well to provide for one legislative body whose members would probably be selected with more care than would likely be exercised

by the people at large in popular elections, and who, therefore, would presumably be less susceptible to influences of sudden movements among the voters. Mr. Madison said: "The use of the Senate is to consist in its proceeding with more coolness, with more system and with more wisdom than the popular branch."

Three of the four drafts of a constitution submitted to the convention provided for a lower and an upper house of the national legislature.

The then existing government of the United States was administered by the Continental Congress, a body composed of able, patriotic, brave men, but they had not authority to levy taxes or collect revenues or coin money. They were not empowered to regulate commerce, either domestic or foreign. In the Articles of Confederation each State retained its "sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right," which was not by the Confederation "expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." It was conceded on all hands that a stronger government was necessary for the safety of the Republic—a government with full powers for national purposes, having original and exclusive jurisdiction over all matters appertaining to the people of the United States as a nation, and the convention called for May 14, 1787, at Philadelphia, was held for the purpose of preparing a form for such a government. The defects of the existing arrangement were set out in the objects sought to be accomplished by the Constitution as they are expressed in the preamble: "To form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

The first section of the first article of the Constitution provides that "all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

In enumerating the powers deemed necessary for the successful operation of the new government machinery, the several States were required to surrender some important prerogatives of sovereignty, and in order to make sure that they would not be overreached by the Federal power and that the small States would not be crowded to the wall by the larger ones, it was provided that not only should there be two Houses of Congress, but that

"no State without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." And to make it reasonably certain that every State would always be represented in the Senate, it was further provided that each State should have two Senators, one in each of two of the three classes into which the Senate was to be divided, and that each Senator should have one vote.

The Senators first chosen answered well to the ideals outlined by delegates in the convention which created the office of Senator. One-half of them had been members of the convention that framed the Constitution, and seventeen of the twenty-two had taken part in the work of the Continental Congress. Eleven of them were lawyers, and among the other half the record shows one merchant, one man of business, one physician and one farmer.

It is provided in the Constitution that the Senators, "immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of their first election, shall be divided as equally as may be in three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year." In pursuance of this provision the members of the Senate, at its first session, divided themselves by lot into three classes, according to the following order:

"Ordered, That the Secretary put into the ballot box three papers of equal size, one of which shall be numbered 1, one of which shall be numbered 2, and one of which shall be numbered 3. The Senator from each of said States whose name comes first in alphabetical order shall thereupon, in the presence of the Senate; draw one of said papers from the box in behalf of his State. The Senators from the States drawing the paper numbered 1 shall thereupon first be assigned to their respective classes. The Senators from the States drawing paper number 2 shall next be assigned to their respective classes. The Senators from the States drawing paper number 3 shall next be assigned to their respective classes."

That classification has been strictly followed from that time to the present. Every Senator chosen since from any of the States then and there represented has gone into the class of his first predecessor in line, and when a new State has been admitted its first Senators were assigned to their classes by lot, just as was done in the first instance, and their successors have followed in the same classes. This classification of its members makes the Senate a permanent and continuing body. Two-thirds of its members

are always in office. There is never less than a quorum of its members ready for duty. The House of Representatives is chosen anew every two years. No member of that body ever holds over. When the House adjourns *sine die* at 12 M., March 4, of the odd numbered years, the term of that House is ended and until the new Congress meets there is no House of Representatives. When the members chosen at the last election meet in special or regular session, they must organize by choosing a speaker, clerk and sergeant-at-arms before they can do any business, even to the extent of receiving a message from the President. It must adopt new rules or re-adopt old ones. In law and in fact it is wholly a new body fresh from the people, though some of its members may have been there before.

Not so with the Senate. Its officers hold continuously until they are relieved by the choice of others. The Senate is always organized. The rules of the body never change or they go out of force only in accord with methods provided in the rules themselves. On the incoming of a new administration, March 4, at 12 o'clock M., the Senate is then regularly in session, for that is the closing hour of a term of Congress—two years. The new Vice-President appears at the side of his retiring predecessor and receives the oath of office from him. This done, the old Vice-President formally declares the Senate adjourned *sine die* and hands the gavel over to his successor, who says, "The Senate will be in order," and at once proceeds to business, without the least confusion or interruption. He enters immediately upon the discharge of his duties. The officers of the Senate are present in their places, the reporters at their tables, the sergeant-at-arms and his corps of assistants—all on duty, and the standing and select committees of the body are ready to receive and consider any matter that may be referred to them. The Senate is already organized. In law and in fact it is now the same body that counted its first quorum on the 6th of April, 1789.

The effect of this continuity of the Senate has been to give character and weight to its proceedings, to inspire confidence at home and insure respect abroad. Such a body, clothed as this is with the power of ratifying treaties, renders complications with foreign governments less probable and our obligations more likely to be observed.

One-third the Senators being chosen every second year, they

are inducted into office at the first session of the Senate after their election, but that in no way affects the organization or the business of the body. The Senate could proceed without them.

The installation of the new Senators is a very simple proceeding. As their names are called in alphabetical order by the Secretary of the Senate they go forward to the Vice-President's desk, escorted usually by their State colleagues, and they take the oath of office in the following form :

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same ; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God."

This form of oath was prescribed by statute July 11, 1868. The old form provided June 1, 1789, was short :

"I, A. B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States."

If, for any reason, the Vice-President-elect should not appear at the beginning of the session, the duties of his office are performed by the President *pro tempore;* and in case of the latter's absence another Senator previously agreed upon would take the oath and discharge the duties of the chair until the Vice-President appear or the Senate determine otherwise.

If a vacancy happen in a Senator's term by death, resignation or otherwise, during a recess of the legislature of his State, the Executive thereof may make a temporary appointment to hold until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancy. The person so appointed or elected does not hold beyond the end of that senatorial term. In case the legislature fail to choose a Senator at the proper time the Governor is not authorized to appoint. The vacancy continues until the next meeting of the legislature. The word " meeting " in this case is construed to include the whole session.

"No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen." No Senator shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the United States which shall have been created, or of which the emoluments shall have been increased, during such term. No person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of the Senate during his continuance in such office. No person shall be a Senator who having as a Federal or State officer, taken an oath

to support the Constitution, afterwards engaged in rebellion against the United States, unless Congress remove such disability.

Usually men beyond middle age are selected for Senators. In 1893 the average age in the Senate was 58 years. The oldest member was 83, the youngest 39. The oldest member of the body at any time is now (May, 1898) in office—Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, who was born April 14, 1810, and is therefore in his eighty-ninth year. He has been longer in the Senate, too, than any other man, having entered on the fourth day of March, 1867, and he has been returned regularly ever since. His present term expires March 4, 1903. Henry Clay entered the Senate at an earlier age than any other. He was appointed November 19, 1806, to fill a vacancy. Mr. Clay was born April 12, 1777.

Nine hundred and seven different men have been members of the Senate. Among the curious facts connected with the personal history of some of them may be mentioned these : General James Shields represented three different States in the Senate, Illinois from March 4, 1849, till March 3, 1855 ; Minnesota from May 12, 1858, till March 3, 1859 ; Missouri from January 24, 1879, till March 3, 1879. Three men of the same family—James A. Bayard, his son of the same name, and his grandson, Thomas F. Bayard, represented Delaware—the first from January, 1805, till March, 1813 ; the second from April, 1867, till March, 1869, and the third from March, 1869, till March, 1885. Three other men of the same family name also represented Delaware in the Senate—Joshua Clayton from January 19, 1798, till his death the following July ; Thomas Clayton from January 8, 1824, till March 3, 1827, and again from January 9, 1837, till March 3, 1847; John M. Clayton from March 4, 1845, till February 23, 1849, and again from March 4, 1853, till his death, November 9, 1856. Three men named Bell—two of them brothers, the third a son of one of them, represented New Hampshire in the Senate—Samuel Bell from March 4, 1823, till March 4, 1835, his son, James Bell, from July 30, 1855, till May 26, 1859, and Charles Henry Bell from March 13, 1879 till June 17, 1879. Nineteen of the Senators' names begin with "Mc," twelve of them were named Smith, and Johnsons and Browns were represented by eight each. At one time during the Cleveland administration both of the Senators from each of three different States resided in the same city, and three Senators occupying adjoining seats and represent-

ing two States, were born in adjoining counties in one State. In 1892 two Senators, representing one State, had been private soldiers in one and the same volunteer regiment of the Union Army.

Of the 907 Senators, seventeen afterward became Presidents of the United States—Monroe, Adams (J. Q.), Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison (Wm. H.), Tyler, Pierce, Buchanan, Johnson, Garfield and Harrison (Benjamin).

Two hundred and twenty-eight of them resigned and one hundred and ten died while in office.

The first Senator that died during his term was Wm. Grayson, of Virginia, whose death occurred March 1, 1790. The custom of taking public and official action on the decease of a Senator and of incurring expense on account thereof, was of slow growth. During the first thirty-seven years of the Senate's history twenty-two of its members died and no expense was incurred by Congress in that behalf. The first record of the Senate's official action of any character in such cases appears in the *Journal* of January 24, 1799, as follows: "Resolved, That a committee be appointed to take order for superintending the funeral of the said Henry Tazewell, Esq., and that the Senate will attend the same, and that notice of the event be given to the House of Representatives, and that this committee consist of Messrs. Mason, Brown and Marshall."

The first time any part of a deceased Senator's funeral expenses was paid out of public funds was on the occasion of the death of John Gaillard, of South Carolina, who died February 26, 1826. Two other Senators died that year—Nicholas Van Dyke, of Delaware, May 19, and Joseph McIlvaine, of New Jersey, August 19. The average public expense incurred on account of these three deaths was $292.47. Within the next twenty-two years—from 1826 to 1847 inclusive, twenty-seven Senators died, and the remains of eleven of them were interred at the government's expense. The average expenditure in those cases was $618.80. From 1848 to 1867, inclusive, twenty-eight Senators died, and eighteen of them were buried by the Senate at an average expenditure of $1,365.13. The record from 1869 to 1894* shows thirty deaths in the Senate, and all but five of

* There have been three deaths in the Senate since 1894, but this writer has not inquired about the details of their obsequies. Presumably the precedents were followed in each case.

these were the occasion of more or less outlay of public money, the aggregate amounting to $68,849.96, an average of $2,754. In all, up to 1894, there were fifty-four interments from and by the Senate, and the last thirteen cost more, by $4,139.82, than all of the other forty-one. The total amount of public moneys expended on account of Senatorial funerals, up to 1894, is $100,-234.18, ranging from $4.50 in one case to $21,322.55 in another. The average is $1,856.37.

These funeral occasions are now accompanied by a great deal of ceremonial display. The casket is placed in the open space in front of the reporters' tables, and the services are attended by the President and Cabinet, the House of Representatives, the Justices of the Supreme Court in their black robes, and, in full court dress, the resident ambassadors and ministers of foreign countries. Each of these bodies, as they approach the outer door of the chamber, is announced by the doorkeeper, and the Senators rise to receive them. When the services are concluded a committee previously appointed, usually consisting of five Senators and an equal number of members of the House, accompany the remains of the deceased to his home and witness the interment there.

At first it was only in cases of death at the Capitol during a session of Congress that the Senate felt called upon to make a national matter of the funeral and draw on the contingent fund to defray the expenses. Latterly a custom has grown to send a committee to attend the ceremonies of interment when a Senator dies at home while Congress is in session. The last instance of this proceeding occurred in 1894, at a cost to the government of $1,171.92.

In connection with the decease of Senators a memorial service is held in the Senate chamber a month or so after the time of the death, when addresses are delivered in memory of the dead Senator. These addresses are usually very carefully prepared. They are printed in the Congressional Record, the same as remarks submitted in the same place on other subjects, and they are also printed in book form, eight thousand copies in each case (under existing law), two thousand for the use of the Senate, four thousand for the use of the House of Representatives, one thousand nine hundred and fifty for the use of Senators and Congressmen from the State of the deceased and fifty copies in extra binding for the use

of his family. The printing and binding of these memorial addresses cost about $3,000. The exact figures as given in the report of the public printer for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896, are $9,195.88 for the materials and work done in printing and binding eight thousand copies of the memorial addresses in each case of the deaths of three Senators. The average is $3,065.29.

A similar custom prevails in the House of Representatives. The expense for printing and binding memorial addresses in memory of fifty-four deceased Senators and Congressmen from 1885 to 1895, both inclusive, was $233,520.44.

A bill was introduced in the Senate December 3, 1895, "to provide for proper disposition of the remains of deceased members of the Senate and House of Representatives who die at the Capitol during sessions of Congress." After discussion it was referred to the Committee on Rules with instructions to report a rule on the subject matter of the bill. No report was made.

As to compensation of Senators and Representatives, it is to be "ascertained by law." That is the language of the Constitution, and it means that Congress shall fix its own compensation.

No distinction has ever been made between members of the two Houses in respect to the amount of their pay. Their compensation has always been equal. By the act of September 22, 1789, it was fixed at six dollars for every day's attendance, and an equal sum for every twenty miles' travel going to and returning from the "seat of Congress." This rule was to remain in force until March 4, 1795, when it was to be changed to seven dollars per day and mileage to correspond. March 10, 1796, the law of 1789 was re-enacted and it remained in force until the act of March 19, 1816, increased the pay to $1,500 a year, subject to deduction for absence not occasioned by sickness or other unavoidable reason.

This act was repealed the 6th day of the following February (1817), and on January 22, 1818, the compensation of each Senator and Representative was fixed at eight dollars for every day's attendance and eight dollars "for every twenty miles of estimated distance, by the most usual road from his place of residence to the seat of Congress, at the commencement and end of every such session and meeting." This act was to cover the time from March 3, 1817, and it remained in force until August

16, 1856, when the rate of compensation was changed from eight dollars a day to $6,000 for each Congress (two years), mileage remaining the same as before, for but only one session each year.

By act of July 28, 1866, a yearly salary of $5,000 was allowed with mileage at the rate of twenty cents per mile to and from each regular session, "estimated by the nearest route usually travelled."

The act of March 3, 1873, fixed the salary at $7,500 a year and actual individual travelling expenses to and from each session "by the most direct route of usual travel." This act applied to the Congress that passed it, covering two years, and from that fact became known as the "salary grab" law. It was repealed at the next session, January 20, 1874, in so far as it applied to members of the Senate and House of Representatives, and their compensation was put at $5,000 a year with mileage at the rate of twenty cents per mile to and from each regular session.

Most of these acts were retro-active in their operation, that of September 22, 1789, covering the time from the beginning of that Congress. The act of March 10, 1796, extended back six days. The act of March 19, 1816, covered the time from March 4, 1815. The act of January 2, 1818, applied to fifty-three days of past time. The act of August 16, 1856, applied to all the time from March 4, 1855. The act of July 28, 1866, reached back to March 4, 1865. The act of March 3, 1873, covered the whole term of that Congress, beginning March 4, 1871—two years.

There has not been any general law allowing mileage for attendance upon special or extraordinary sessions. Where it has been authorized it was by special act applicable to the particular session.

There have been two rules regulating the compensation of Senators and Representatives, one before the war of the Rebellion, the other since. The earlier acts were all drawn on lines of actual service—so much a day for each day of attendance upon the sessions, excepting days of sickness or unavoidable absence. The act of 1856, in section four, provided:

"That in the event of the death of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate prior to the commencement of the first session of the Congress, he shall be entitled neither to mileage nor compensation; and in the event of death after the commencement of any session his representatives shall be

entitled to receive so much of his compensation, computed at the rate of three thousand dollars per annum, as he may not have received, and any mileage that may have actually accrued and be due and unpaid."

Section six of the same act provided:

"That it shall be the duty of the sergeant-at-arms of the House and secretary of the Senate, respectively, to deduct from the monthly payments to members, as herein provided for, the amount of his compensation for each day that such member shall be absent from the House or Senate respectively, unless such Representative, Senator or Delegate shall assign as the reason for such absence the sickness of himself or some member of his family."

The Vice-President, being in doubt when the compensation of Senators that had been chosen since the session commenced should begin, submitted the question to the Senate and it was referred to the Judiciary Committee, who, through Mr. Toombs, March 2, 1857, submitted a report, from which the following extracts are taken:

"Though the mode of payment is by annual salary, the consideration therefor, in the contemplation of the act (of 1856) was performance of the duties of a member of Congress when in actual session, and the times of payment seem to have been fixed during or at the end of each session, with special reference to securing this consideration. . . . Testing the cases submitted to us by those principles, we find the rule of compensation in all cases of election after the first day of the first regular session to be that the compensation does not commence until after election, and from thence to the end of the term, at the rate of $3,000 per annum."

Minnesota was admitted as a State May 11, 1858, and her Senators, who had been elected December 19, 1857, appeared and took their seats May 12, 1858. The question when their compensation should commence arose, and the Judiciary Committee reported that they should be paid from the date of the State's admission.

They were paid from the beginning of the session at which the State was admitted. But the question was not settled. Oregon was admitted February 14, 1859, Kansas, January 29, 1861, West Virginia, December 31, 1862, Nevada, October 31, 1864. During all this time the act of 1856 was in force. Then came the act of July 11, 1866, and Nebraska was admitted March 1, 1867. The reorganization of the reconstructed States and the admission of their Senators, kept the matter alive until the new northwestern States came in. The Senators from Tennessee were seated July 27, 1866, and paid from March 4, 1865, the beginning of the Congress then in being (the thirty-fifth). A Senator from Maryland was elected for the term beginning March 4, 1867, but

he was not admitted and received no compensation. March 7, 1868, another person was elected to fill the vacancy and his salary was paid to him from March 4, 1867, the beginning of the term. Senators from Alabama, Arkansas, South Carolina and other Southern States, claimed and finally secured payment of salaries from the beginning of the terms for which they were elected without reference to the time of their election.

By a proviso in the legislative appropriation bill of July 31, 1894, it was enacted that in cases of the election or appointment of Senators after the beginning of a term, their compensation should begin the day of their election or appointment. The legislatures of Montana and Wyoming failed to choose Senators at their sessions in 1893 for the terms beginning March 4 of that year, but did elect Senators for that term at their sessions in January, 1895. The credentials of these Senators were filed in the Senate—one of them January 29, 1895, the other February 2d following. They appeared and took the oath of office, one on the second of February, the other on the sixth of the same month. By a resolution of the Senate April 24, 1896, the Secretary of the Senate was directed to pay them from March 4, 1893, the beginning of the term, until July 31, 1894, the date of the proviso in the appropriation bill above mentioned, which had taken effect nearly six months before the Senators were elected.

Section six of the act of August 16, 1856, requiring deductions of pay for absence of Senators and Representatives is preserved in the Revised Statutes, Section forty, and is now the law.

Joint Resolution No. 68, approved July, 1862, provides :

"When any member or delegate withdraws from his seat and does not return before the adjournment of Congress he shall, in addition to the sum deducted for each day, forfeit a sum equal to the amount which would have been allowed by law for his travelling expenses in returning home; and such sum shall be deducted from his compensation, unless the withdrawal is with the leave of the Senate or House of Representatives respectively."

This provision, also, is preserved in the Revised Statutes as Section forty-one.

A statement of the amount of money deducted from the wages of Senators in pursuance of the provisions of these two sections of the law would add greatly to the interest and value of this paper, but the writer has not been able to find accounts of that character in any of the late reports of the disbursing officer of the Senate.

The Constitution provides that:

"The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided. The Senate shall choose their other officers and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States."

The first duty of the Senate, on its organization, April 6, 1789, was the choosing of a President *pro tempore* for the sole purpose of opening and counting the (electoral) votes for President of the United States.*

John Langdon of New Hampshire, was chosen by ballot. After the votes had been counted and the members of the House of Representatives had retired, the Senate proceeded by ballot to the choice of President *pro tempore* and John Langdon was duly elected. He held his office only until the Vice-President appeared. In the beginning and until recently a President *pro tempore* was chosen every time the Vice-President was absent. It is now the rule that the office is held at the pleasure of the Senate; until the Vice-President resumes the chair or his term as a Senator expires, the President *pro tempore* continues in office unless the Senate otherwise determine.

During a vacancy in the office of Vice-President, and while the Vice-President exercises the office of President of the United States,† the President *pro tempore* of the Senate receives the salary of a Vice-President, but he has no vote other than that of a Senator.

Of the twenty-four Vice-Presidents, one (Calhoun) resigned; four (Gerry, King, Wilson and Hendricks) died in office; and four (Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson and Arthur) exercised the office of President of the United States during vacancies in that office occasioned by death.

All of the twenty-three Vice-Presidents preceding the present incumbent, except two (Morton and Stevenson), are dead. Their average age was seventy years.

Sixty-three Senators have served as Presidents *pro tempore*,

*Until the provisions for selecting a Vice-President were changed in 1804, that officer was not voted for at all by the Presidential Electors. They voted for "two persons" only, and when the votes were counted the person having received the highest number, if that was a majority of the whole number of electors, was declared to be President; and the person receiving the next highest number of votes was declared to be Vice-President.

† Whether a vacancy in the office of Vice-President is occasioned by that officer's exercising the office of President of the United States has not been determined.

and all but five of them, excluding the Senator (Frye) now holding that office, are dead. They belonged to twenty-two different States, Virginia leading with six; Connecticut, Georgia, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee and Vermont each had three; Alabama, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts and Rhode Island each had two; Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey and New York each had one. The present incumbent (Mr. Frye) is from Maine.

The other important officers of the Senate are the Secretary and Sergeant-at-arms. The Secretary, in addition to his responsibility for the official conduct of a large number of clerks, readers, reporters, copyists, and other subordinates about his office, has charge of everything connected with the records, journals, reports, bills and other documents, papers and proceedings of the Senate, legislative and executive. The Secretary is also a disbursing officer and gives bond for a proper discharge of his duties as such. He receives and pays out more than a million dollars annually. This includes salaries and mileage of Senators, of officers, clerks, and other employees about the Senate. Here are the items summarized in that officer's report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896.

Amounts expended:

Salaries and mileage (of Senators)	$467,175.22
Salary of Vice-President	6,000.00
Salaries of officers, clerks, etc	422,852.42
One month's extra pay to officers and employees	40,035.61
Salaries Capitol Police	19,392.53
Contingent expenses	165,920.55
Total	$1,121,376.33

The Sergeant-at-Arms, with his corps of assistants, has charge of the Senate wing of the Capitol building. He takes care of the Senate chamber and all the property in it, and of the various rooms, halls and other apartments and annexes. He purchases all their furniture and other equipments. He attends to all the details of great occasions in and about the hall of the Senate—inaugurations and the like, and he or one of his assistants accompanies every Senate committee that travels by order of the Senate. He arranges for their transportation and entertainment, and pays all the bills. He executes all orders of the Senate relating to any matter of an executive character. He is

to the Senate what a marshal or a sheriff is to a court. He is the Senate's executive officer.

The principal offices of the Senate are honorable as well as responsible. They require a high order of talent combined with good executive ability. Two members of the Senate each afterwards became its Secretary. In several instances men who had been members of the House of Representatives have been elected to offices in the Senate.

The number of persons employed in one capacity or another in and about the Senate is over three hundred. An investigation recently discovered 353, among whom were 121 clerks, 57 messengers, 52 skilled laborers, 23 pages and 18 folders.

Salaries of Senate officers and employees range as follows: Laborers and pages, $720 to $1,000 a year; messengers and clerks to Senators, $1,440; clerks to committees, $1,800 to $3,000; Secretary's chief clerk and the financial clerk, each $3,000; Secretary of the Senate, $5,000; Sergeant-at-Arms, $4,500. The official reporting of the proceedings and debates is done by contract at $25,000 a year.

At the beginning committees of the Senate were appointed only for special duties—as to wait upon the President, to prepare a rule for a particular proceeding, to consider a certain matter and report a bill, etc. The committee first appointed by the Senate consisted of five members to confer with a like committee on the part of the House of Representatives and report rules to govern in cases of conference between the two houses. They were also to "take under consideration the manner of electing chaplains." There was some feeling on the chaplaincy question, but the choice of men of different religious denominations—one for the House, the other for the Senate—disposed of the matter satisfactorily.

Gradually, as the lines of legislative procedure became marked, and as the business of Congress grew in magnitude and variety, it was found necessary as well as convenient to appoint standing committees to hold during the pleasure of the Senate for the consideration of classified subjects. There are now forty-nine standing committees of the Senate, of which one has fifteen members; six consist of thirteen members each; twelve have each eleven members; eleven have nine members; four have seven; four have five; and five have three. The others have even num-

bers and are subject to changes. There are also ten select committees.

The largest committees are those on Appropriations, Commerce, Judiciary, Pensions, Claims, Coast Defenses, District of Columbia, Finance, Foreign Relations, Immigration, Indian Affairs, Inter-state Commerce, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Post Offices and Post Roads, Public Buildings and Grounds, Public Lands, Railroads and Territories.*

W. A. PEFFER.

*NOTE.—In another and concluding article the privileges, powers and functions of the Senate, and its rules and methods of transacting business will be presented.

THE ENGLISH PRISON SYSTEM.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTOR OF PRISONS.

"To give a dog a bad name and hang him," is the short shrift which some critics and malcontents would apply to the English prison system. Fault-finding has gone great lengths; the language used has not been quite parliamentary. Our prisons have been called "living hells," our system the "most brutal in Europe." Such exaggerated invective confutes itself, and carries no weight with educated and impartial public opinion. Much of it proceeds from sources that may be fairly stigmatized as tainted; a few, no doubt, speaking out of their own experience, are honest enough; but their sense of proportion must have been distorted, their temper soured, their judgment deranged by a detention in durance vile which they believed to be unjustifiable. One of the fiercest complainants has been a notorious felon whose very name is unsavory and unmentionable, but who has repaid extreme consideration by libelling the treatment that gave him a new lease of life and strength. Of course, the well-meaning philanthropist and humanitarian who has raised his protests with no uncertain sound is not to be classed with these; even if he has proceeded on imperfect information, his motives are generally excellent and he is entitled to every respect. He is entitled, too, to an answer to some rebutting statements, to a candid exposure of facts as they appear to the other side, supported by such evidence as is forthcoming. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse;* yet silence might be interpreted as assent, and when no appearance is put in, judgment might go by default.

It may be premised that the system now in force is no new thing; it is no recent invention, but the growth of years, of generations, the outcome of slow, cautious experiment. One of

the features now most strenuously denounced, separate confinement, is older than the century. John Howard found cellular accommodation in the *Maison de Force* of Ghent in 1775, and he hailed it with enthusiasm as an ideal prison. In 1786 the Quakers of Pennsylvania had established the same system in the Walnut Street Prison in Philadelphia. It was copied at Sing Sing when old Elam Lynds made his prisoners build their own lodgings, cell by cell. It was the main idea of the Great Millbank Penitentiary constructed on the banks of the Thames in 1816, at the cost of half a million sterling, to carry out the views of John Howard and Jeremy Bentham, and in which "separation," "solitude," were carried to their furthest limits. The Eastern Penitentiary of Philadelphia pursued the same course to receive the same strictures, for the excessive application of the system found many opponents. Yet the Millbank Committee, when compelled in 1840 to relax it in the face of distressing consequences, did so reluctantly, believing that "no scheme of discipline in which intercourse between prisoners, however modified, is permitted, is likely to be made instrumental either in the prevention of crime or to the personal reformation of convicts, to the same degree as a system of separation." They could not decide whether such a system could be made "compatible with the maintenance of mental sanity," and they advocated its trial under proper safeguards in some model prison. This was the origin of Pentonville, truly the "model," for it has been accepted as the true type and imitated all the world over. Here the experiment is not deemed satisfactory, and the period of separation was successively reduced, from two years to eighteen months, then to twelve months, and finally to nine months, the present maximum for penal servitude, although in ordinary imprisonment it may be imposed for two years.

The plan of separation thus limited has been in force with us for upward of fifty years. It has not perhaps effected what was hoped from it, but certainly it has not produced the mischievous results now laid at its door. As regards mental deterioration, the figures are convincing and will be given later in connection with insanity in the whole of the prisons. Separation may not have acted as a powerful deterrent, yet experience shows that it is most obnoxious to the habitual criminal, while the neophytes and first offenders distinctly prefer it to association with others.

That reformation is much aided by this period of penitential isolation may be doubted; it is an artificial state of existence, and the good intentions it may develop may not be very deep and abiding, but it has the prescription of long usage and, till lately, was very generally approved by public opinion. The trend of public sentiment is of late against it. The Home Secretary has now consented to reduce the nine months to six, and it may yet be surrendered altogether, except at night and during idle hours. To give up separation at such times would be retrograde and disastrous. It is hardly necessary to point out that the free intercourse of persons would promptly produce fatal results, mutual contamination and the rapid propagation of vice and crime. It is fitting to add here that other civilized nations adopt solitary confinement in its strictest sense and for very long terms. In Belgium separation, absolute and complete, is enforced for five, seven, and even ten years. France, although still wanting a sufficient number of cells, is prepared to do the same; so is Holland.

The guiding principle of all penal treatment was well defined by the Millbank Committee as quoted above. It was reiterated and amplified later by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn. He said:

"The purposes of punishment are twofold. The first is that of delivering others from crime; the second, the reformation of the criminal himself. The first is the primary and more important object; for, though society has, of course, a strong interest in the reformation of the criminal and his consequent indisposition to crime, yet the result is here confined to the individual offender, while the effect of punishment as deterring from crime extends not only to the party suffering the punishment, but to all who may be in the habit of committing crime or who may be tempted to fall into it; moreover, the reformation of the offender is in the highest degree speculative and uncertain, and its permanency, in the face of renewed temptation, exceedingly precarious. On the other hand, the impression produced by suffering inflicted as the punishment of crime, and the fear of its repetition, are far more likely to be lasting and much more likely to counteract the tendency to the renewal of criminal habits. It is on the assumption that punishment will have the effect of deterring from crime that its infliction can alone be justified; its proper and legitimate purposes being not to avenge crime, but to prevent it."

Lord Cockburn wrote thus in 1863, soon after the terrible outbreak of garrote robberies in London, which were largely attributed to the weakening of the reins of penal discipline, and the premature release of many criminals on too easily earned tickets of leave. General alarm prevailed; life and property were more seriously threatened than at any previous period, and Lord Cockburn fully indorsed the general opinion as to the causes that pro-

duced this effect. "It may well be doubted," he goes on to say, "whether in recent times the humane and praiseworthy desire to restore and reform the fallen criminal may not have produced too great a tendency to forget that the protection of society should be the first consideration of the law-giver." We may see clearly enough that now the swing of the pendulum is once again towards sacrificing the interest of society to a misplaced tenderness for those who offend against its laws. How far are we nowadays disposed to observe the axiom enunciated by Lord Cockburn; to keep the subsidiary purpose of penal discipline—reformation—in due subordination to its primary and principal aim—deterrence? The burthen of the present cry for prison reform is that the existing system neglects the one and carries the other too far. To arrive at a just conclusion let us examine the processes in force, their sufficiency or otherwise to compass the desired end in their relative proportion.

Let us take the principal point first, that of deterrence. It has been urged of late that the punishment inflicted is excessive, unequal in its incidence, careless, neglectful; productive, indeed, of much human suffering; that withal there is no real deterrence, for crime flourishes, and the only tangible effect of imprisonment is the manufacture of habitual criminals. This last assertion may be flatly contradicted at once. It is altogether disproved by the facts. The Committee presided over by Mr. Herbert Gladstone in 1894 presented some remarkable figures on this point. They reported that, with certain reserves due to the difficulty of detecting all first offenders, seventy per cent. of those committed to prison for the first time never return again; forty-eight per cent of the remainder are cured after a second imprisonment; or eighty-five per cent., in all, are deterred from crime after a first and second experience of gaol treatment. It is the small residue, no more than fifteen per cent., which constitute the class of recidivists, and among them, no doubt, reconvictions are terribly numerous. Of those three times convicted only thirty-six per cent. are cured, of those four times twenty-nine per cent., of those five times twenty-one per cent., and the descending scale of recovery shows how ingrained the habit of crime becomes with repetition. It is surely obvious that this irreconcilable residuum practically resists all treatment; their cases are chronic; radical cure is out of the question. We are thus brought logically to the conclusion

that where all medicines fail one course alone remains, that of indefinite detention. This is, in plain English, the "indeterminate sentence" already tried elsewhere, but which still finds little favor in this country. It is said that, even if the law permitted, judges would refuse to pass indeterminate sentences and the public would never tolerate them. Such arguments are unanswerable, excepting by actual experiment, and for that we are evidently unprepared. There are other than sentimental difficulties, no doubt; and chief among them would be that of deciding exactly when the habitual offender had worked out his redemption; to whom and how should he give reasonable assurance of his recovery from the bias to crime? This again could be settled only by practical test. But it is idle to discuss an idea that is resisted almost *ab initio* in spite of the many advantages claimed for it. The police, for instance, declare that if the obstinately determined habitual criminal, proved to be such, after, say, four or five convictions, were shut up *sine die*, there would be an end of serious crime. They say with reason that it is useless to catch criminals time after time, if they are to be let out to prey again upon the public after a more or less brief experience of penal restraint.

Another set of figures are at hand bearing upon this question of deterrence. The positive effect of prison treatment which may be fairly inferred from what has been said above, is corroborated by the steady diminution in the numbers who come under it. England alone among the nations can point to prisons half empty or recently closed. Some critics would discount this by contending that the marked decrease in the length of sentences has naturally resulted in a decrease of prison population. No one can deny this. But it does not explain how the daily average of convict inmates has fallen from 20,361 in 1876-7, to 14,966 in 1886-7, and to 13,987 in 1896-7, the last year for which we have figures. It must be borne in mind, moreover, that in the twenty years between 1876 and 1896 the general population has increased from twenty-four to thirty millions, which if crime had corresponded would have raised the total to 25,000. A still more marked diminution appears in the daily average of convicts in custody, which in 1896-7 was no more than 3,089, whereas in 1892-3 it was 3,832; and, tracing back these figures further, we see how extraordinarily great the decrease has been in modern times. In 1880 the daily average was as high as 10,299, and although the

tendency was steadily downward it was still 9,247 in 1885, 6,680 in 1888, and in 1890, 5,359. It would be wrong to credit this satisfactory result entirely to deterrence, for many other causes have acted appreciably in affecting crime in this country. Prevention is far better understood than in times past, and it works effectively in child rescue, and cutting off the stream at its source. These agencies, with the general movement towards the infliction of lighter sentences, have also greatly helped to empty prisons. But there has, nevertheless, been a remarkable decrease in crime.

With all due allowance for the contributory causes last mentioned, a large balance must remain in favor of the deterrent effect of prison treatment in reducing crime. This we should bear in mind when reviewing penal processes. An impression prevails in some quarters that they are too severe ; that they are not ineffective we have just seen. Surely this must be justified before milder methods are adopted with results that may be foreseen ? Wherein does our present system err ? The old idea of punishment was "hard fare, hard work, hard bed." Does it go beyond that ? If it amounts to that, is it too much ? Let us take each item in turn.

Our prison dietaries have been much criticised of late, much blamed, indeed. In English prisons the scale of food is proportioned to the length of sentences ; for short terms it is intentionally meagre, but there is a progressive increase the longer the individual depends on it. It is now urged that, while the fullest rations are not satisfying, the lowest are absolutely insufficient. Number One diet, as it is styled officially, means no more than bread, eight ounces, for breakfast and supper; for dinner a pint and a half of "stir-about," a porridge or pudding made of mixed oatmeal and Indian meal (maize) ; the drink, cold water. This is undoubtedly short commons, especially for men who work, and work the men must, or break the rules. To many it may appear starvation, and the Home Secretary, in deference to protests, has consented to consider the question of increase. It is defended, however, by those who devised it, and they were medical experts. They say it is sufficient, if only barely sufficient, to keep soul and body together for the few days it is imposed, seven days at the outside ; that it compares favorably with the diets allotted to able bodied paupers and casuals in workhouses, who are also required to work, at breaking stones. The last is not an argument, per-

haps ; for we cannot defend the starving of prisoners by saying that paupers are also starved. Undoubtedly men lose weight on it, on an average about two or three pounds ; but many come into prison bloated with drink, and their later lighter condition may be the healthier, while it is always within the powers of the prison doctor to issue extra food. As we pass on from Number One to Number Two, that given after the first week in the case of all terms up to a month, there is an improvement ; hot gruel for breakfast and supper, half a pint of thick, strong soup for dinner, thrice weekly, suet pudding half a pound, twice, with two banyan days of bread and potatoes. Between one month and four months prisoners begin on this Number Two, and after a month of it pass to Number Three, a fuller diet very much the same as Number Two, but in larger rations ; potatoes every day and three ounces of cooked beef (generally Australian or tinned) twice weekly. This Number Three is the first dietary for all sentenced to more than four months, with Number Four after the first month, a still more liberal allowance of the same constituents, and this lasts for the remainder of the term. At the risk of being tedious it may be added that the same scales, but in lesser quantities, are accorded to men without hard labor, women and lads under sixteen. Unconvicted persons and debtors, where neither support themselves, are placed on a dietary akin to Number Three, but with tea morning and evening; and convicts who are never sentenced to less than three years come at once upon Number Four. When they are drafted to the public-works prisons, such as Dartmoor, Borstal and Portland, their rations are considerably increased. The penal servitude convicts receive in the week 168 ounces of bread; the daily dinner consists of a pint of shin-of-beef soup and a pound of potatoes, or five ounces of cooked meat, or suet pudding, twelve ounces, and on Sunday salt pork and pease pudding. Cocoa and porridge replace gruel, while in the convict prisons, as in the local, medical officers are empowered to issue extra food to all who seem to need it.

Much exception has been taken to those dietaries of late, mainly on account of their alleged insufficiency. I have said that the very lowest is open to this charge, although not lower than that of other guests in public establishments which are the refuge of the unfortunate who have yet committed no breach of the law. The rest are defensible on the grounds that a spare dietary has

always been considered part and parcel of a penal system. Only in America, I think, under most of the State laws may prisoners eat *ad libitum,* but in continental Europe, where weights and scales are not always scrupulously used, there is an institution, the canteen, at which prisoners may purchase extra and perhaps more attractive food with a portion of their prison earnings. This is no doubt a safety valve, as well as a direct incentive to sustained industry. If the plan were adopted in England no one but the incurably idle need ever be hungry. This would also dispose of the objections raised against the hard and fast mechanical apportionment of rations, giving precisely the same quantities to one and all without considering that some constitutions require more food; that some are satisfied with less. Such differences, no doubt, exist and are met in part by the plenary powers of the medical officer, who can according to his judgment increase the allowance of all who seem to need it.

I cannot admit that there is any starvation in gaols. It would be readily apparent in low physique, in a hollow-eyed, generally enfeebled and emaciated aspect, and I can honestly affirm that I have found nothing of the kind among the thousands and thousands of prison inmates whom it has been my business to see year in and year out these last twenty odd years, excepting sometimes with the very "short timers." Prisoners improve owing to their detention; the bulk of them go out stronger, better, heavier than when they came in. This is the more pronounced the longer the sentences. Convicts in penal servitude, those especially who labor constantly in the open air, are robust, muscular and generally in first-rate condition.

It may, however, be conceded that there are points in which this prison dietary might be improved. It is, perhaps, too monotonous. Although the formula provides substitutes, they may not go far enough and, in the absence of the canteen system, the prisoner has no chance of remedying this defect for himself. Again, although as regards nutritive value the diet answers strict test, although it contains a sufficiency of the nitrogeneous, health-sustaining elements, it may fall short in bulk, in filling, satisfying quantity and may leave a sense of emptiness after every meal. We have here no doubt an explanation of the complaint which has been heard that convicts have been hungry for ten and fifteen years. This is now being met by an increase in the daily

ration of bread. But no substantial fault can be found with the preparation of meals. The cooking is as a rule good, cleanly and careful, the articles of food are of sound, wholesome quality, the bread—a staple part of the rations—is of "whole meal," the variety most popular with Sir Henry Thompson and other dietetic authorities, and the charges levelled against it, as producing chronic diarrhœa, are best met by the formal and explicit denial that there is any such complaint epidemic in prisons.

People must lie on their beds as they make them, and the prison plank-bed is a case in point. It is an element in the scheme of deterrence and has long been placed among the paraphernalia that exist to make the prison an unpleasant resting place. The deprivation of a mattress is only temporary, and there is a fair supply of other bedding. Whether it contributes much to the general result may be doubted, but before condemning it as a "harsh, cruel contrivance with no other object than to promote suffering," it may be remembered that every British soldier sleeps on a plank bed every night he is on guard, and this with his clothes and accoutrements on and without blanket or rug.

The judicious employment of those whose labor is forfeited to the state has always been an intricate problem in prison administration. It bristles with difficulties not realized by the ordinary observer. But it is well known in the United States that private traders resent state competition with prison made goods, and thus greatly curtail prison industries. The same protests have much checked useful employments in English prisons, and had not the administration found an outlet in producing goods for other public departments prison labor would have been limited indeed. The manufacture of various articles, mail bags and so forth for the post office, of coal sacks, kit bags, and hammocks for the Royal Navy, blankets and bedding for the army, is now very generally adopted and with excellent results. This is a better outlet than such poor primitive work as oakum picking or the soulless, unproductive labor of "grinding air" with treadmill or crank. The first is only practiced *faute de mieux;* the latter is being gradually abolished. In no case now does the tread wheel accomplish nothing; it would probably be altogether abandoned but for the necessity of finding some other severe physical labor for the short-time prisoners. The penalty to labor, and labor hard, is a statutory obligation on almost all committed to

durance, and the prison authority must impose what work it can. Where the detention is long enough to allow of any trade instruction, prisoners are preferably employed in handicrafts, although no high standard of skill can well be gained within prison walls. The proper use of all tools needs a long apprenticeship at an age when fingers are supple and brains adaptive; yet the prison-taught shoemaker, tailor, smith, stone dresser or bricklayer often turns out respectable work, and where great numbers are congregated, prison labor has given substantial proof of its value. It has enriched the nation with many fine public works, dock yards, breakwaters, fortifications and acres of land redeemed from mere bog and sterile waste. Without laying undue stress upon this, the utilitarian view, practical people must concede some credit to a system which has achieved such notable results.

Having thus set forth the principal penal processes employed, let us consider next their effect upon those subjected to them. Many hard things have been said of the system in force. We have heard that all prisoners are ground down and constantly oppressed, bound by many vexatious rules that create prison offences and multiply harsh prison punishments; that no one raises a finger in their defence, that all classes of prison officials from the highest to the lowest are in league to impose a senseless and unnecessarily severe and ruthless discipline. It has been asserted that the inevitable consequence is a dumb despair that seldom finds voice, but which the earnest inquirer will see written in appalling characters upon the prison statistics in the plain evidence of broken health, a large mortality and innumerable mental failures. Can such things be? Is it the fact that human beings, albeit criminal offenders, are thus shamefully misused, that their daily treatment outrages common justice, that their constant surroundings tend to chronic disease, to insanity and death? The indictment is tremendously strong? What is the defence?

The well meaning champions of the distressed prisoner, pleading in a cause that does them infinite credit, may yet be accused of over-charging, over-coloring their case. The discipline that is enforced in English gaols and convict prisons is, and necessarily must be, strict, but it is not, I think, unduly harsh. With the stamp of people incarcerated, stringent rules are indispensable to preserve order. It is only thus that the few can control the many. Concession too often means weakness, or is so interpreted

by the many desperate characters who crowd a gaol. Nothing is more deeply imprinted in prison history than the need for a firm hand. When the reins are slackened, the team has invariably turned restive and the weakening of authority has ever been attended by far worse evils—aggravated, persistent insubordination, dangerous unrest, outbreaks, overt resistance—than any at which the tender-hearted now rebel. The argument gains in force where numbers are associated together with the increased strength that such numbers give, as in the convict "public works" prisons, Borstal, Dartmoor and Portland. Here a mass of criminality, made up largely of heinous and habitual offenders, are held seemingly by a thread; an armed warder to five and twenty or thirty convicts in the open, beyond bolts and bars, with weapons—tools, pick and shovel and crowbar—in their hands. The real force is impalpable, out of sight, but it is there; it is the unyielding demand for absolute submissiveness, for the surrender of independent volition, the subjection of many wills to one, with the watchful, lynx-eyed, unremitting supervision that secures these objects, backed up by the strong arm to enforce them. It is this discipline—discipline salutary and indispensable, as most officials think—that kindly folks condemn and would relax, having, as I believe, hardly appreciated the reasons for it. The only alternative to it would be to abolish the public works prisons and revert to separation and the solitary cell, which is still more repugnant to the prison reformer.

The discipline has been called "iron-bound" and inordinately severe, but this is surely an exaggeration. It is not borne out by the statistics of offences and punishments. According to the latest figures, 1896-7 (but year after year the totals scarcely vary), there were some 30,000 prison offences committed among a little over 200,000 persons. Of these 30,000, 1,000 were "violence" and assaults made on officers, nearly 9,000 were idleness, 19,000 were other breaches of regulation, such as thefts of food, persistent talking, quarreling, and so forth. There were only fifteen attempts at escape, five in convict and ten in local prisons. For these offences about 15,000 prisoners were punished; and it must be explained that the number of offences and persons punished can never agree, for one and the same individual will commit several offences, and similarly receive several kinds of punishment, for diet deprivations, losses of privilege and cells may be awarded

at one and the same time. The punishments again speak for themselves. The bulk are dietary, reduction in the amount or scale of food, the loss of privilege, of special work, of mattress, of marks earned toward remission of sentence. Corporal punishment was inflicted 131 times, 19 in convict prisons, 112 in local; and in the latter corporal punishment means more frequently the use of the school boy's "birch" than the "cat." Punishment cells were ordered 293 times, twice only in convict prisons, while handcuffs, not as a "punishment" but as a "restraint" to prevent self-inflicted injuries, were employed on 54 occasions. The sum total is scarcely horrifying with a daily average of 17,000 prison population furnished by the coming and going of 200,000 in the year.

Satisfactory facts and figures may also be adduced in regard to the health—bodily and mental both—during and after confinement. It might be supposed from the painful pictures drawn that sanitary conditions and precautions were utterly neglected in gaol. As to this, the best answer is the entire absence of zymotic disease in English prisons. There has not been a single case of enteric fever known for the last dozen years. Drainage and common necessaries are seen to carefully, and if a certain rough and ready system exists in some respects which cannot be discussed, it is no worse than obtains in barracks and warships and wherever people are massed together. As to the care of the sick, prison hospitals keep pace with modern ideas; they defy criticism in respect to food, bedding, medicines and clinical treatment. Prison doctors are for the most part well chosen, capable medical men. Where local practitioners are employed, partly or temporarily, they are persons in good practice, much esteemed in the neighborhood. It must not be forgotten that while the really sick receive every attention, many sham invalids are always bidding for the ease and comparative comfort of the prison hospital, for lighter work and extra diet. No pains are spared to detect disease on admission or to ascertain the fitness of prisoners for labor. Errors in this respect are rare, while those who require medical treatment are never long overlooked. The readiness to admit to hospitals is shown by the number of cases treated during the year—6,548 in local, and 1,865 in convict prisons. The general healthiness of prisons may also be inferred from the low annual death-rate, which in local gaols was 7.4 per 1,000,

and in convict prisons 9.7. Except in a very small proportion, these deaths occurred so soon after admission that it is pretty certain the fatal disease originated before they entered prison. It has been advanced against all this that the death rate is kept down by the anticipatory release on medical grounds of all affected with incurable complaints. As a matter of fact, 74 persons were so released in 1896-7 from local prisons, but 44 were women advanced in pregnancy, and the proportion of the balance was no more than 2.2 per 1,000. In the convict prisons there were only 16 released, or 1.4 per 1,000.

By far the gravest charge remains, that of the alleged insanity produced by imprisonment. It has been strongly urged that more or less marked mental degeneracy is the inevitable sequel, particularly in long sentences, although the blame is cast widespread on all terms and all forms of penal treatment. Very elaborate figures have been prepared on this head by Dr. Smalley, H. M. Medical Inspector of Prisons, which, although of extreme importance, would take up too much space if inserted here. Briefly stated, there were, in 1896-7, 164 cases of insanity in local prisons, but of those 121 were insane on arrival. Of the remaining 43, 19 showed symptoms within the first month, and their insanity could scarcely be due to the gaol. The other 24 were made up of 13 who became insane after three months, six within six months, and five after six months, and although with them the gaol might have been the cause, there is no positive evidence to that effect. In the convict prisons the number removed to lunatic asylums was 15—9 males and 6 females. Three males were of doubtful mental condition when first received, another was almost an idiot who had long wandered as a tramp or from workhouse to workhouse, and who became rapidly imbecile; cerebral disease, probably of syphilitic origin, brought on insanity in another; while in the two others evil habits might with reason account for mental failure.

I quoted at the outset Lord Cockburn's dictum that reformation occupies really the second place in any good penal system. His argument is as forcible as ever; nevertheless, as a fact, the endeavor is constantly and earnestly made to improve the offender while expiating his offence, to lead him from evil to good, to persuade him that honesty is the best policy. It is attempted by religious and moral teaching, by technical instruction where it

is possible, by charitable assistance and a helping hand on discharge. Many estimable people hold that more might be done in the direction first named; that by "individualizing" prisoners, taking each case singly and working strenuously it might be possible to "get hold of a man" and convert him from the error of his ways. All honor must be paid to such theories, but in practice they necessarily fail, if for no other reason than that the period is generally too short during which these high influences can be brought to bear. The large proportion of committals to English prisons is for the very briefest space of time. Seventy-five per cent. of the whole number of prisoners received during the year are for terms under fourteen days, and more than half of these are for less than seven days. Take off the days of reception and discharge, which under our English system do not count, and a maximum of three, four, or five days makes up the entire period spent in gaol by thousands. What can precept or ghostly counsel accomplish in that time? The same fatal obstacle interposes against "moralization by labor." It has been thought that if detention were more largely utilized in the teaching of trades and handicrafts, the ex-prisoner might be helped to earn an honest living for himself when at large. What amount of skill can be acquired in a week or a fortnight, nay, in six months, or even in a year? Is the taxpayer, who has already suffered from criminal depredations, to be further mulcted in the heavy charges for waste of materials and injury to tools entailed in the apprenticeship? Yet the effort is even now made to the utmost extent possible. All prisoners with long terms are employed in useful and remunerative labor, and many do gain a certain industrial knowledge. The scope is somewhat limited; prisoners may learn shoemaking, tailoring, the trade of the tinsmith, rough carpentering, to bind books, ply the needle, lay bricks; but few, if any, gain high proficiency, and such half skilled workmen in these days of keen competition do not easily find employment when free, while the trades unions look more and more askance at the state-bred artisan.

Such facts as these are discouraging and should warn the most sanguine against expecting too much from such processes. But it is right that the great work of reformation should still be attempted by all possible means. Good would probably follow some relaxation of discipline where terms are prolonged, in the

direction of relieving convict life of some of its darkest and grimmest features. It has been strongly urged of late that the gray, colorless monotony of existence year after year, always in durance, with freedom a long way off, perpetual toil, all in gruesome surroundings, tend to degradation and despair. Man is beyond question a highly adaptive creature. After a certain time he will grow accustomed to most things, even to the semi-monasticism of convict life, with all its self-effacement and irksome penalties. Yet, to let in a little brightness, to permit more frequent communication with friends by letter and visit, to raise the curtain that so hopelessly screens off the outer world, would react favorably upon the felon, humanizing him, softening him, helping him to change his nature instead of stiffening it into continued hostility to the law that has got him in its grip. The primary importance of deterrence has been fully set forth in these remarks, but the times are changing, and even prison administrators may also come to change their views. We may see great concessions made to all kinds of prisoners in the years to come. Provided the change is introduced gradually and cautiously, the experiment of enlarging privileges, of allowing lectures, newspapers, a few creature comforts—even tobacco—may yet be tried, and with results that may be beneficial.

ARTHUR GRIFFITHS.

SEWARD'S IDEAS OF TERRITORIAL EXPANSION.

BY FREDERIC BANCROFT.

It is a common illusion that history never repeats itself. To most persons the large events of each week seem like a revelation, the wranglings and twistings of politics are unprecedented, the blaze and passion of war are as thoroughly novel as the discovery of a new application of electricity. At a matter of fact, repetition is the rule rather than the exception. Similar conditions recur in every decade or generation, and almost the same results are produced in each instance. He knows little about our civil war who has not been interested by phases of that struggle which have recurred in recent experience, and yet it would be difficult to imagine two wars less alike superficially. Several of the old heroes have reappeared with new names and in strange surroundings. The McClellans and the Fremonts are on the way. Grant and Sheridan and Sherman may not be needed, but the days of furious criticism of the President's *post-bellum* policy, whatever it may be, are sure to come.

Likewise men talk of territorial expansion as if it were a new problem. It is new only in some phases; in others it is older than the century. If dreamers and bigots could be disregarded, it would not be difficult for the liberal-minded people to argue and to come to an agreement upon a policy that would be both safe and progressive. The question is not whether we are to expand—for that is a matter of course, if we govern ourselves wisely for half a century longer; but it is: When, how and where can we extend our boundaries advantageously to our national welfare? What we need now is information and rational speculation as to ways and means in relation to actual and prospective conditions.

Seward was by far the best type of those who favored expansion in the last generation. He was a man of facts as well as of imagina-

tion. The late Charles A. Dana once remarked in giving me some recollections of the great Secretary of State: "Seward's imagination was a trait that has rarely been noticed. It led him to the theoretical conclusion that the future capital of North America would be in the City of Mexico. I think that the purchase of Alaska was his greatest work in diplomacy; that was a practical expression of his imagination." Some of Seward's opinions about future territorial acquisitions were due to party consideration, but others were so prophetic as to be almost startling; and nearly all his thoughts on the subject have a peculiar interest to us now. Forty-six years ago he said in the Senate in discussing the commerce of the Pacific:

"Even the discovery of this continent and its islands, and the organization of society and government upon them, grand and important as these events have been, were but conditional, preliminary, and ancillary to the more sublime result, now in the act of consummation—the reunion of the two civilizations, which, having parted on the plains of Asia four thousand years ago, and having travelled ever afterward in opposite directions around the world, now meet again on the coasts and islands of the Pacific Ocean. Certainly, no mere human event of equal dignity and importance has ever occurred upon the earth. It will be followed by the equalization of the condition of society and the restoration of the unity of the human family. We see plainly enough why this event could not have come before, and why it has come now. A certain amount of human freedom, a certain amount of human intelligence, a certain extent of human control over the physical obstacles to such a reunion, was necessary. All the conditions have happened and occurred. Liberty has developed under improved forms of government, and science has subjected Nature in Western Europe and in America. Navigation, improved by steam, enables men to outstrip the winds, and intelligence conveyed by electricity excels in velocity the light. With these favoring circumstances there has come also a sudden abundance of gold, that largely relieves labor from its long subjection to realized capital. Sir, this movement is no delusion."

In 1850 he spoke of "the strifes yet to come over ice-bound regions beyond the St. Lawrence and sunburnt plains beneath the tropics."

From the time when the colonies began their movement for independence there has been an almost constant tendency toward expansion. The century and a quarter has been divided into three periods of about equal length. The considerations urged in the different periods have had hardly any relation to one another. At first the questions were, how to establish independence through united action, and then how to give the new nation a chance to develop its resources. During about forty years prior to the civil war the interests of slavery influenced nearly every thought of

expansion and almost every problem in foreign relations. Since that war many have maintained that coaling stations and fortified harbors in different parts of the world are absolutely necessary to the proper maintenance and effectiveness of a navy.

In the earliest period it was confidently expected that all the British Colonies on the continent would unite in the struggle for independence. Franklin's plan of 1775 contemplated that Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, East and West Florida, and the Bermuda Islands could be enlisted in the cause. Persistent efforts were made to induce Canada to act with the American colonies. Adams, Franklin and others believed that without a union of all the colonies from the Gulf of Mexico northward, there could be no lasting peace. As late as 1785 John Adams wrote: "Canada and Nova Scotia must soon be ours; there must be a war for it; they know how it will end, but the sooner the better; this done we shall be forever at peace; till then, never." But the real difficulties appeared in the opposite direction.

All our rivers flowing into the Gulf passed through foreign territory. Spain then owned Florida and Louisiana. In 1800 Louisiana was ceded back to France. The interests of the settlers in the Ohio valley forbade that a European government should long command the natural entrance to this region. Most of the surviving leaders of the Revolution favored the acquisition of Louisiana territory or admitted that it was almost necessary. In order to control the mouth of the Mississippi we purchased in 1803, not merely what we needed, but a vast tract that was not much prized at the time. There was a dispute as to whether what was known as West Florida, and held by Spain, had been re-ceded to France in 1800 and was therefore included in our purchase. The United States maintained the affirmative and made their claim good by taking possession in 1810. Meantime a strong sentiment had developed in the South favorable to the acquisition of East Florida by whatever means might be necessary. Realizing from repeated invasions from the United States that East Florida could not be protected, Spain sold it in 1819.

There had also been a dispute about the boundary between Texas and Louisiana. Texas was vast, rich, and especially attractive to Southerners. At first the idea of getting more territory for slavery was little thought of. Henry Clay and Van Buren, as Secretaries of State to John Quincy Adams and Jackson respect-

ively, endeavored to purchase it of Mexico. Adams, who had approved Clay's offer in 1827, introduced a resolution into the House of Representatives, in 1838, declaring that any attempt to annex Texas "by act of Congress or by treaty would be a usurpation of power, unlawful, and void, and which it would be the right and the duty of the free people of the Union to resist and annul." By the time of the Presidential campaign of 1844 nearly every one in the South was bent on adding Texas to our domain, while all the anti-slavery and most of the Whig sentiment of the North was opposed to it. The Democrats won, and annexation was said to have been ordered by the people. As it was doubtful whether two-thirds of the Senate would vote for a treaty to carry out the so-called order, Congress proceeded by joint resolution; the President acted promptly, and the United States troops were soon ready to protect Texas. Then they moved forward to disputed territory and precipitated a war with Mexico. Our army of invasion was so overpowering that in 1848 Mexico was glad to sell California and New Mexico for $15,000,000, rather than risk losing this sum, and still more territory. Robert J. Walker, who was Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, stated in writing several years later, that the reason a larger portion of Mexico was not taken was because it was feared that to acquire more might prevent making slave States of even California and New Mexico. A dispute about the southern boundary of New Mexico was settled by the payment of $10,000,000 for a strip of about 45,000 square miles of Mexican territory.

Seward had made a close study of the political forces and the tendencies of civilization on this continent, and his judgments were generally accurate. In 1853 he said:

"This century has thus far exhibited two political processes, continually going on upon this continent. The first, that of general decolonization; and the second, that of a decay of Spanish-American power, and the aggrandizement of the United States of America. Spain ceded Louisiana to France in 1800, and in 1803 France conveyed it to the United States. Apprehensions were felt at that early day in New Spain (Mexico) that the United States might advance so as to encroach upon that territory; and these apprehensions were fearfully confirmed when the United States, having first taken possession of portions of the provinces of Florida, obtained in 1819, a relinquishment of them by Spain. Texas was for a time uninhabited, and seemed to promise that it would remain a barrier for New Spain or Mexico, against the United States. Becoming rapidly peopled, nevertheless, Texas asserted its independence; and then the hopes of Mexico, for its own security and safety, rested upon the chance that

Texas might remain an independent power, or put itself under the sovereignty of some European State, which would prevent its annexation to the United States. But these expectations signally failed; and, in 1845, Texas came into the United States, with possessions then understood by most of us to reach only to the river Nueces. The war with Mexico, which grew chiefly out of that annexation, and out of the attending border question, resulted, as we all know, in the direct dismemberment of Mexico, and the annexation to the United States of what remained to Mexico of the State of Texas, together with the States of New Mexico and Upper California, by which the United States advanced to the bank of the Rio Grande, and across the continent to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

. . . The United States, from the first, or from an early day, determined that there should be no European colonial power remaining on this continent which they could prevent or remove, and therefore they fostered a spirit of revolt in Mexico; and when Mexico, in her revolution or after her revolution of 1821, arrived at the point where she must definitely choose her form of government the United States recommeded to her, with success, the principles of Federal republicanism, which were adopted."

Assuming that all the States of Mexico might be soon annexed to the United States, he put these very pointed questions to those who recklessly insisted that what was likely to come some time might well come at once:

"Those states cannot govern themselves now; can they govern themselves better after they are annexed to the United States? No. Will you govern them? Pray, tell me how. By admitting them as equals, or by proconsular power? If the one, you must have an army perpetually there to suppress insurrection. If the other, still you must have a standing army in the provinces, ultimately to come back and open the same disastrous drama of anarchy, civil war, desolation, and ruin at home, which the armies of Mexico have enacted there. If you bring them in as States, have you settled the question whether you are to govern them, or whether they are to exercise self-government, and so govern you? . . .

"These are no idle questions. They are coming upon us, and they will be here when Mexico, exhausted by internal factions, and by resistance to your own suggestions, shall implore you to give her rest, and peace, and safety, by admitting her to your confederacy, as before long, in any event, she surely must and will do. That time is coming soon enough without hastening it. Why hasten it? You answer that you want a passage across the continent by way of Tehuantepec. Have you not more passages already across your own domain to open than you can open in twenty-five years? Have you not more land already than you can people in fifty years? Have you not more gold and silver than you can dig in a hundred years? These dangers are real, but only real if precipitated. Time will speedily fill the regions which you already possess with a homogeneous population and homogeneous States; yet even long before that event, so soon to arrive, shall have come, this nation will have acquired such magnitude, such consistency, such strength, such unity, such empire, that Mexico, with her one million of whites, her two millions of mixed races, and her five millions of Aztecs and other aborigines, can be received and absorbed without disturbing the national harmony, impairing the national vigor, or even checking, for a day, the national progress."

That is, he favored expansion, but expansion merely in proportion to our capacity for absorption.

Purely sectional or political interests were in control when the acquisition of Cuba and of Canada was discussed at different times during the fifteen years prior to the civil war. It was mainly a struggle for the balance of power in the United States Senate. Some of the wisest public men since the early part of this century had believed that Cuba should be annexed at the first opportunity. Jefferson thought it desirable because it could be defended without a navy. In 1823 John Quincy Adams, as Secretary of State, declared that Porto Rico and Cuba were natural appendages to this continent, and that Cuba had become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. He believed that it would naturally gravitate to the United States when released from Spain. Polk endeavored in vain to purchase it. After the election of Pierce the Democrats made its acquisition one of their chief aims. They tried negotiation, but when that gave no promise of success, they threatened and argued themselves into believing that we had a right to seize the island if Spain would not sell it. In 1853 Senator Hale, of New Hampshire, called for extension northward, for a change, and moved to substitute the word "Canada" in place of "Cuba" in a resolution expressing sentiments favorable to our getting possession of that island.

Seward and many other anti-slavery men would not have opposed annexations on the South if they had not felt bound to do all they could to prevent an increase in the number of slave States. The New York Senator's most skilful tactics were barely sufficient to stem the tide on one or two occasions. Argument was avoided and ridicule and delays were introduced wherever possible. In 1859 the rivalry was between getting a vote on a homestead bill and a bill to buy Cuba. Seward made a telling epigram by saying that the question was one about lands for the landless freemen of the United States, as against one about slaves for the slaveholders of the United States. Wade called forth loud applause by condensing the idea into the inquiry, "Shall we give niggers to the niggerless or lands to the landless?" Shrewd Republican leadership and the growing excitement over domestic politics, especially in relation to affairs in Kansas and the John Brown raid upon Harper's Ferry, prevented the Democrats from

finding a way for the United States to secure the coveted island. At different times Seward showed that he expected this whole continent ultimately to become the possession of the United States. He was so confident of it that he did not wish it to be brought about hastily or by war. In 1846 he wrote to a political convention:

"I want no war. I want no enlargement of territory, sooner than it would come if we were contented with 'a masterly inactivity.' I abhor war, as I detest slavery. I would not give one human life for all the continent that remains to be *annexed*. But I cannot exclude the conviction, that the popular passion for territorial aggrandizement is irresistible. Prudence, justice, cowardice, may check it for a season, but it will gain strength by its subjugation. An American navy is hovering over Vera Cruz. An American army is at the heart of what was once Mexico. . . . Our population is destined to roll its resistless waves to the icy barriers of the north, and to encounter oriental civilization on the shores of the Pacific. The monarchs of Europe are to have no rest while they have a colony remaining on this continent. France has already sold out. Spain has sold out. We shall see how long before England inclines to follow their example. It behooves us then, to qualify orselves for our mission. We must dare our destiny."

Speaking at St. Paul in the campaign of 1860, he said:

"Standing here and looking far off into the northwest, I see the Russian as he busily occupies himself in establishing seaports, and towns, and fortifications, on the verge of this continent, as the outposts of St. Petersburg, and I can say, 'Go on and build up your outposts all along the coast, up even to the Arctic Ocean—they will yet become the outposts of my own country—monuments of the civilization of the United States in the northwest.' So I look off on Prince Rupert's Land and Canada, and see there an ingenious, enterprising and ambitious people, occupied with bridging rivers and constructing canals, railroads and telegraphs, to organize and preserve great British provinces north of the great lakes, the St. Lawrence, and around the shores of Hudson Bay, and I am able to say, 'It is very well, you are building excellent states to be hereafter admitted into the American Union.' I can look southwest and see amid all the convulsions that are breaking the Spanish-American republics and in their rapid decay and dissolution, the preparatory stage for their reorganization in free, equal and self-governing members of the United States of America."

After the Republican victory of 1860 there was no longer any possibility of acquiring territory in the interests of slavery. Seward became Secretary of State, and was therefore in a position to express with more effect his ideas of territorial expansion.

Everybody knows in a general way the numerous difficulties that confronted Lincoln's administration in March, 1861, and how procrastination and indecision were forced upon it. The radical Republicans wanted to reenforce Fort Sumter and elsewhere assert the national authority with vigor. Seward pleaded

for delay, believing that the Confederacy would soon collapse if dealt with peacefully and patiently. But the influence of the coercionists grew stronger, and by the end of March he saw that there was no longer any chance for his original policy. Just at that time it was learned that Spain had taken advantage of a revolutionary movement in the Republic of Santo Domingo and had raised her flag. It was also known that Great Britain, France and Spain were contemplating intervention in Mexico for the purpose of obtaining indemnities for past losses and perhaps to overthrow the republican government and to establish a monarchy under European protection. There was a strong suspicion that Russia was very friendly toward the Confederacy. Seward thought he saw an opportunity to escape a civil war by getting up a foreign one, between the Governments of Central and North America on one side and one or more European powers on the other. So, on April 1, he gave Lincoln a written outline of a policy for both foreign and domestic affairs. As to the former he said:

"I would demand explanations from Spain and France categorically, at once. I would seek explanation from Great Britain and Russia, and send agents into Canada, Mexico, and Central America to raise a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention, and if satisfactory explanations are not received from Spain and France, [I] would convene Congress and declare war against them."

It is relevant here to assume the possibility of the consummation of this plan, and to imagine the result. If the Confederacy had forgotten its purposes and joined the continental movement, then there would have been a war in which the United States would have led the different peoples from the Isthmus to Hudson's Bay against two or more European nations. If the forces of the Western Hemisphere had won, the United States would probably have become the head of a vast confederation. Every one can speculate for himself as to what a grand, prosperous and stable government this mammoth confederation would, or would not, have been. Lincoln seems to have had a very decided prejudice in favor of keeping his eyes on domestic dangers, of executing the laws and of looking after the property of the United States. So he politely rejected Seward's suggestions *in toto*, and ordered the preparation of expeditions for the relief of Forts Sumter and Pickens.

Excepting an offer, shortly after this time, to buy Lower California of Mexico, Seward had no time or opportunity to think of

expansion until near the end of the civil war. In searching for blockade-runners and pursuing Confederate commerce-destroyers our naval officers had almost constantly lamented the lack of a harbor in the West Indies, where supplies could be kept, prizes taken and repairs made. Such a harbor would have been a great saving of time and money, and it would have been in no danger of seizure by the Confederates. So Seward looked about for an acquisition.

Denmark had been especially friendly to the United States since the war began. She owned three small islands near the eastern end of the West Indies—St. Thomas, St. John and Santa Cruz. St. Thomas was a central point for a very large portion of the commerce between North and South America, and between Europe and the ports of the Caribbean Sea. High naval authority then and since that time have pronounced it to be one of the best keys to the West Indies, and to command all of them. Admiral Porter called it "a small Gibraltar of itself," and said that there would be no possibility of landing troops there, for the island was surrounded by reefs and breakers, and every point near which a vessel or a boat could approach was a natural fortification that could be defended with guns and a little labor. The harbor is one of the best in the West Indies. In January, 1866, Seward made a careful inspection of St. Thomas and several other islands. The question was merely one of naval expediency, so far as Denmark's possessions were concerned. St. Thomas's area was only twenty-three square miles and its population was about fourteen thousand, and St. John's size was but two square miles less and its population numbered not quite one thousand. Santa Cruz had a population of eighteen thousand and an area of seventy-four square miles.

The negotiations had begun early in 1865. After some long delays the sum of $7,500,000 was agreed upon as the price for St. Thomas and St. John. The inhabitants of St. Thomas voted almost unanimously for annexation. Denmark completed her part of the understanding, but before this had occurred the angry strife between Johnson and Congress had broken out, and Seward had become very unpopular on account of his support of the President. Moreover, an earthquake and a hurricane spread desolation over the island, just at the most unfavorable time. The project was easily ridiculed. The Senate did not even take a vote

on ratifying the treaty. Johnson's administration expired and Grant's was unwilling to adopt Seward's work.

Meantime the Secretary of State had endeavored to purchase of Santo Domingo the peninsula and Gulf of Samana for naval purposes. Later on Santo Domingo asked to be annexed to the United States. Seward endeavored to develop sentiment in favor of this. He also wished to bring Hawaii into the Union. But public attention was so much engrossed in domestic questions, and Congress was so ill-disposed toward the administration, that none of these aims could be realized.

In one case, however, by tact and expedition, Seward was able to overcome all obstacles. In the Kansas-Nebraska debate early in 1854 he had asked: "What territories, even if we are able to buy or conquer them from Great Britain or Russia, will the slave-holding States suffer, much less aid, us to annex, to restore the equilibrium?" The idea of annexing Alaska was not original with him; both Polk and Buchanan had taken some steps in that direction, but neither was very eager. After the end of the war, when Seward was thinking of national expansion, he naturally turned to Russia, who had been our most valuable friend when there was danger of a war with France and Great Britain. There was no special theory as to any necessity of obtaining possession of Alaska. Its area was about nine-tenths that of the whole United States in 1783. Its nearest point was four hundred miles, and its most remote one about five times that far, from the United States.

To acquire so remote a territory was a startling change from previous practices in adding to our domain. Although it was not generally supposed that Alaska would ever be very valuable except on account of its fisheries and fur-bearing animals, it was recognized that $7,200,000 was not a large sum to pay, even if we obtained, as Seward's detractors said, merely a land of polar bears and eternal winters. The Secretary himself was fully conscious of Alaska's great resources. Everyone saw that there was no political risk involved. The population was sparse, and outside of a few settlements of thrifty Russians, it was entirely Indian. It was a foregone conclusion that if it increased, it would become thoroughly American; and if it remained as it was, or decreased, it could cause no serious difficulty. All are now agreed as to the wisdom of the purchase of Alaska.

Of all the truly great and patriotic statesmen of our history, Seward is among the last to be taken as an infallible guide. He had a great passion to be brilliant, original and dashing; ordinary ideas had no charm for him. Some of his expressions in relation to expansion, if understood otherwise than as political philosophizing about a distant future, may be tinder in a time like the present. Other ideas of his are sober and may be very useful when we have to consider some new factors in the old question of national expansion.

FREDERIC BANCROFT.

GREATER NEW YORK'S WATER SUPPLY.

BY F. B. THURBER.

WHEN the New Croton Aqueduct was completed a few years ago, it was generally understood that an ample water supply, for many years, had been secured for New York; although it was known that Brooklyn was approaching the danger limit, and that with her rapidly increasing population, an additional water supply would soon be absolutely necessary. In his inaugural message, Mayor Van Wyck said:

"A most serious public necessity is presented by the problem in the solution of which the city is to be accommodated with a sufficient water supply. Especially in the Borough of Brooklyn is the adequacy of the quantity of water, available through present facilities, a matter of grave complaint.

"Early in December last, in a communication addressed to the Mayor of Brooklyn, the then Commissioner of City Works thus described the situation:

"'The careful investigations prosecuted under my predecessor, and actively continued during my administration, show, and it is a matter of public record, that the available supply from the present watershed, even if developed to its utmost estimated capacity, would not be sufficient to carry us beyond the end of the present century, and that an additional water supply from new sources should be procured and be ready for use at the beginning of 1900. It has also been reported by this Department, and is a matter of public record, that the intervening time was scarcely sufficient to construct the work necessary to procure such additional supply. Lastly, it has also been repeatedly stated and published that the limit of the present supply would be shortened in proportion to the delay in carrying out the works planned for the development of the watershed or curtailment of the same, so that the city might find itself without an adequate supply long before the end of the present century. Owing to the absolute failure to provide means for the execution of the works referred to, the limit of the present supply has now been reached, and we are depending mainly on favorable weather conditions to carry us through, and are compelled to resort to risky and destructive expedients to bridge over a most critical situation.'

"Not only in the Borough of Brooklyn is the water supply a question of great anxiety, but even in the Borough of Manhattan the situation, if not

alarming, is certainly deserving of most serious consideration. The all-important interests of health and safety involved require that the sufficiency both of the watershed and the facilities for distribution should be placed beyond all dispute."

The importance not only of an increased supply of water, but also of a dual supply, so that if one is disabled the other can temporarily supply pressing wants, has long been recognized. At the instance of prominent merchants the Legislature authorized the commissioners of the Sinking Fund to contract for such a supply.* Various petitions have been submitted to the commissioners of the Sinking Fund to this end, and hearings have been had. Specimens of the petitions are as follows:

"We, the undersigned merchants and citizens doing business in the City of New York, respectfully call your attention to the alarming insufficiency of the present supply of water, and the great danger of destructive conflagrations in the business portion of the city. Each fire that occurs demonstrates the necessity of an independent supply, under sufficient pressure, to meet the requirements of the Fire Department in extinguishing fires in high buildings. In view of these facts we respectfully petition your Honorable Board to take such action as may be necessary to ascertain if an adequate supply from some new and independent source can be obtained that will be delivered to this city in the necessary quantity, and under sufficient pressure, available at all times for the protection of our property; and if such supply is obtainable, that you take the necessary steps as early as possible to secure the same, and thus further the well-being, safety and prosperity of the city."

This was signed by H. B. Claflin & Co., Dunham, Buckley & Co., J. W. Goddard & Sons, Sweetser, Pembrook & Co., Tefft, Weller & Co., Faulkner & Co., Lesher, Whitman & Co., Morrison, Herriman & Co., John F. Plummer & Co., Bliss, Fabyan & Co., Russell & Erwin Mfg. Co., Peck, Stowe & Wilcox Co., Thurber, Whyland & Co., Sargent & Co., Acker, Merrall & Condit, Huntington, Hopkins & Co., Garner & Co., Harper & Brothers, Hoyt Brothers, and The American News Company.

The following is an extract from still another petition to the Sinking Fund Commissioners by the Committee on Water Supply of the New York Board of Fire Underwriters:

"It is hardly necessary for us to remind you, gentlemen, of the urgent and pressing need of an immediate addition to the present supply of water in this city, and of the danger to which property is exposed in consequence of the limited quantity of water and inadequate pressure which the Croton aqueduct affords; these are matters familiar to you all, and have been sufficiently urged before you by merchants and underwriters."

* Chap. 512, Laws o 1883, and Chap. 292, Laws of 1884.

The desirability of a special fire service was, at the time of the agitation in 1886 and 1887, carefully considered and advocated by B. S. Church, Chief Engineer of the Aqueduct Commission, G. W. Birdsall, Chief Engineer of the Croton Aqueduct, and Julius W. Adams, Consulting Engineer of the Department of Public Works; also by A. Fteley, Engineer of the Aqueduct Board, Clemence Herschell, Civil Engineer, and F. W. Simons, Engineer of the U. S. Army, who made a statement September 15, 1887, including the following:

"The lack of pressure in the pipes in a larger part of the city is a matter distinct from that of the available amount of water on hand, and is no less to be considered, and calls for the promptest relief. At its best the extreme available pressure from the Croton Water Works is not very great (119 feet above tide at the Central Park reservoir), and it is insufficient to give a very good fire protection, and to supply several high service districts within the city limits which are supplied by pumping stations. To do away with these pumping stations, and instead to supply all the high service districts from one central source, of a proper and sufficient elevation, would result in a notable economy to the city. . . .

"Besides the value of such an additional supply for fire protection and for economical ends, there is still another point of view. . . . This point of view is the great necessity and desirability of supplying a dual system to a city of the size of New York. There can be no doubt that the danger of a water famine, with its attendant horrors and losses, would be very materially lessened if New York had two independent sources of supply, separated beyond the city limits by the Hudson River. Whether the injury to one system of water supply be due to natural causes, to military occupation or to mob rule, it is but an elementary principle of business to provide duplicate means for the avoidance of disaster."

At one of the hearings Mr. John H. Washburn, President of the New York Board of Underwriters, submitted an exhaustive statement, eloquent in facts, among which was a table showing the daily consumption *per capita* in thirty of the principal cities of the United States, ranging from 252 gallons down to 95 gallons, *that of New York being the lowest of all.*

Nothing came from these representations; the public seemed to think that the new aqueduct would furnish a sufficient water supply and a waiting policy was adopted. Meantime, the problem in Brooklyn had been steadily growing. In December, 1896, a petition of the commercial and manufacturing interests of that city was presented to the Mayor and Board of Aldermen, urging the necessity of an additional water supply. A series of public hearings were given, at which much interesting matter was developed. At one of these Mr. George A. Stanton, representing

important insurance interests, made a statement, of which the following is a part:

"I have taken the trouble, as I have been interested in these questions, to consult an eminent hydraulic engineer. Let us talk this matter over fairly. We have continuously discussed this question of Brooklyn's water supply for years past as if Brooklyn was an immense village, instead of a city of 1,200,000 inhabitants. I have heard it stated by members of the Manufacturers' Association that in ten years, instead of needing 100,000,000 gallons of water we shall want 150,000,000 gallons *per diem.*

"This hydraulic engineer has made several estimates for me, based upon the condition that 100 pounds pressure shall be produced on the water mains of Brooklyn by the new supply. The figures are not only interesting, but very instructive at this time.

"Much has been said about Lake George as a possible source. Lake George has an elevation above tide-level of 343 feet. A tunnel from Lake George to Sandy Hill, 60,000 feet in length, would be required to go under the dividing ridge between the Lake George watershed and the valley of the Hudson River. After the water was delivered into the Hudson Valley it would flow by gravity to tide-level at New York, but would then have to be pumped again to an elevation of 300 feet. The cost of such water works, including pumping machinery, capitalized at four per cent., would be $74,250,000, or equivalent to a net cost of $110 per 1,000,000 gallons of water supplied daily.

"Lake Champlain has been mentioned. The elevation of Lake Champlain is 100 feet above tide-level. It would require (without pumping until tide-level was reached) a tunnel 300,000 feet in length between the lake and Troy, where all the water would have to be pumped 250 feet high in order to have it reach tide-level at New York by gravity. Then it would have to be pumped again 300 feet high. The cost of this plant, including the pumping machinery, capitalized at four per cent., would be $105,325,000, or equivalent to $145 per 1,000,000 gallons.

"Lake Ontario has also been brought into this question. The elevation of Lake Ontario above tide-water is 247 feet. A conduit from this lake to Albany, without pumping, would require a tunnel 930,000 feet long; and from such a conduit the water could be delivered 20 feet above tide-level at Albany. There it would have to be pumped 230 feet high in order to flow by gravity to tide-level at New York, where it would again be pumped 300 feet high. The cost of such a plant, including pumping machinery, capitalized at four per cent., would be $132,135,000, equivalent to $190 per 1,000,000 gallons.

"Now, the question has been brought up in the Legislature, as to another source of water supply—*viz.*, the Adirondacks. Another engineer has made calculations, independent entirely of those made by the gentleman to whom I have referred, and whose figures I have quoted. If I were to mention his name in this room to-day, you would recognize it as one of national reputation. In a conversation with him by a friend of mine, this engineer stated, within the past ten days, that, in his opinion, to build the retaining reservoirs at the altitude necessary to give the pressure at the city line in New York or Brooklyn, and to build the conduits necessary to furnish the supply from the Adirondacks, the cost would be somewhere between $200,000,000 and $250,000,000. As to time, three years, at least, would be required to

secure the necessary legislation and to make preliminary surveys, before putting a spade into the ground. The matter would have to be submitted to popular vote in addition to the authorization of the Legislature, which authorization would require an additional year. To build the conduits and reservoirs would require at least five years, and it would then be accomplished only by letting out the work in contracts of twenty-five miles each, so that construction on ten or more contracts could proceed simultaneously.

"Now, it strikes me that if we are going to discuss this matter intelligently, we must look at the question as to where Brooklyn stands to-day as to its resources, before being a party to such a great work as this. Has Brooklyn the means to do this or not? Has any provision been made so that the city of Brooklyn can participate in so large an expenditure of money for a water supply? As I understand it, Brooklyn is within $500,000 of its debt limit, and, therefore, it cannot be supposed that Brooklyn will undertake this. Do you, gentlemen, suppose for one moment that the people in the western section of this State are going to see a State debt incurred for the benefit of the cities of New York and Brooklyn of $200,000,000 or $250,000,000? I think not. The debt of the State of New York to-day is not over $7,000,000 or $8,000,000.

"What, then, is the city of Brooklyn to do? It has got to do one of two things: Either it has got to rely upon itself and see itself go down, or else it must seek outside for some method or plan so that it can purchase its water. There is no other way out of the difficulty. I have studied this matter for months. I believe in municipal ownership if we can get it; but I cannot see for myself where there is any loophole out of this question but to get our water from somebody else."

The discussion continued in the press, and the Committee on Water and Drainage of the Board of Aldermen of Brooklyn was instructed to take testimony on the subject; and on December 30, 1897, made a report, of which the following are salient points:

"The importance of the subject of greatly and permanently increased water supply, and the general interest which it appears to have excited, are indicated by a few sentences of the petition of the merchants, and the letter from the Real Estate Exchange above referred to. We quote:

"'We, the undersigned merchants, manufacturers, owners of property, and rent payers, desire respectfully to call your attention to the subject of Brooklyn's water supply and the falling pressure from the water pipes, and to urge upon you the great necessity for some speedy action which shall place the first and proper interest for the comfort, safety, and health of this great city beyond the dangers that have almost annually threatened us from water shortage.

"'There is abundant official recognition of insufficient water supply and anxiety for the immediate future.

"'There is no further supply available on Long Island.

"'Chapter 942, of the Laws of 1896, provides that the Board of Supervisors of Suffolk County may "decide that certain streams and ponds within such county are necessary for the supply of pure and wholesome water to

the people residing in such county," and may "direct a certificate to that effect to be duly signed and acknowledged by the Chairman and Clerk of said Board, and cause the same to be recorded in the office of the Clerk of said County."

"'The law also provides that after the recording of such certificate no person, corporation or municipality can lawfully take water from the ponds and streams mentioned therein for the purpose of supplying it to any city outside the county. The Board of Supervisors of that county have so decided and fully availed themselves of the benefits of the statutes and excluded Brooklyn from the use of waters from their territory.'

"At the second hearing Chief Engineer Milne made statements regarding the condition which, as he understood it, then confronted the City Works Department in this matter:

"'Question: Is Suffolk County excluded from your rights by law?

"'Mr. Milne: I am so informed; by legislative enactment.

"'Question: I so understand it, that the city is not permitted to enter Suffolk County for the purpose of obtaining water. Well, have all known means of reaching the greatest supply that can be obtained from Queens County been adopted and put into execution?

"'Mr. Milne: I believe they have.'

"No relief can be obtained from New York or the Greater New York.

"The possibility of securing any temporary assistance by the loan of water from the Croton supply appears to have been settled by the following official statements as to the present and prospective restrictions which are experienced by New York, contained in a letter written by Mr. Alphonse Fteley, Chief Engineer of the Aqueduct Commission of New York City, in reply to questions in writing by Chief Engineer Milne:

"'When the new Croton dam, Cornell's, is built, thereby completing the storage system of the Croton River watershed, it is estimated that the capacity of the works will average 280,000,000 gallons per day in a dry year. The new Croton dam will require five years for its completion. In the meantime we have hardly storage enough to meet the present consumption, which at the present time is 225,000,000 gallons per day from the Croton watershed. It is expected that the opening of the new mains now being laid from the Central Park reservoir through the lower part of the city will cause a daily increase of 25,000,000 gallons.

"'At the rate that the consumption has been increased since the opening of the new aqueduct in 1890, when the consumption was 115,000,000 gallons daily, New York will require all the water that the construction of the new Croton dam will procure at the time of its completion. New sources of supply will consequently be needed in the near future, and investigations should now be begun in that direction.

"'For the reasons above given, it is clear that New York could not supply Brooklyn with any amount of water in five years from now.'

"Engineer of Water Supply de Varona stated in his report to this Committee a similar result from his own inquiries, as follows:

"'I am led from the data in my possession, and from my correspondence with the Chief Engineer of the Croton Aqueduct, to infer that the city of New York cannot spare for our use any portion of their supply from their present sources.'

"A supply from new sources, to be delivered in 1900, and sufficient for a term of years thereafter, is now imperatively demanded.

"In his annual message to the Common Council, submitted January 4, 1897, Mayor Wurster said:

"'I am heartily in favor of action being taken looking toward a lasting supply.'

"A requisite supply is available on the mainland.

"The testimony given at our hearings, and the official reports of the City Works Department during the term of Commissioner White, indicate that a sufficient supply can be secured on the mainland, either from the Housatonic River (Ten Mile Creek), the Ramapo River, the Catskill Mountains, Lake George, the Adirondacks, or the Great Lakes. The first two of the possible sources were reported upon by Commissioner White. Each of the others is said to afford ample quantity. Hence it seems to become a question of securing water from some one of them by contracting with private corporations or individuals.

"Regarding such an effort toward obtaining a supply, but without reference to the city's financial condition, his Honor, Mayor Wurster, is reported to have spoken as follows in an interview published on February 27, 1896:

"The Mayor was then asked if he believed it would be more advisable to buy the water supply for the city outright than to secure it by leasing of water privileges. In reply, he said:

"'It is purely a matter of business. If it can be shown that the city can buy water cheaper than the cost of pumping it, then it would be profitable to buy it, for under such an agreement the seller would have to deliver the water to the city. It is a purely business matter, the same as if a man in one line of business required certain material in conducting that business. If he could buy it from a man who has the plant for manufacturing it, at a less cost than it would be for him to manufacture it himself, he would not be much of a business man if he did not avail himself of the opportunity to buy the material.'

"The conclusion is, therefore, plain that the minimum yield of our watershed will be absorbed in less than three years and the maximum yield will be practically mortgaged in less time than was originally contemplated.

"Three plans for additional water supply were submitted to the Hon. A. T. White, late Commissioner of City Works, each based upon the idea of furnishing one hundred millions of gallons of water in twenty-four hours. The first comprises a watershed on Long Island east of the present shed. The second referred to the Ramapo watershed, located on the west side of the Hudson River in the State of New York; and the third to the Ten Mile River watershed, a branch of the Housatonic, in the State of New York.

"As to the first plan: The scheme of it involves the extension of the present system to the east on the same general basis of scope and design. The cost of construction, however, is estimated to be more than either of the others. Such cost is inevitably due to the necessity of pumping, to the sums to be paid for land damages and for the extinction of existing water rights. To this must be added the great expense of the maintenance of the costly pumping systems necessitated. Quite forty per cent. of the total yield estimated would have to be obtained by driven wells. Such wells have been found to be somewhat precarious or unreliable as well as expensive undertakings. There may be no need to dwell on this feature.

"Water can be furnished to the city by gravity. It can be secured from ample storage grounds. These can be found remote from the polluting

influences inseparable from thickly populated localities, but the city would be relieved from the necessity of creating and maintaining an expensive system of pumping and carriage, and an intercepting sewerage plan of incalculable cost to protect what supply might be obtained.

"Your committee have experienced great difficulty in getting prompt and accurate information for the completion of this report, and now recognize the fact that Brooklyn must depend on Greater New York for a future water supply from other sources than Long Island."

An interview with the Chief Engineer of the New York Aqueduct Commission, Mr. Alphonse Fteley, January 3, 1898, is very significant. Space will only permit the following brief extracts:

"I regret that the bill offered in the last Legislature to empower the Aqueduct Commission to make surveys for an increased water supply for New York City did not pass, because the Croton watershed limit is nearly reached in the water consumption of New York, which now approximates 230,000,000 gallons daily or more. Moreover, an additional consumption estimated at 25,000,000 gallons daily is expected from the opening of the new 48-inch pipes in Fifth Avenue. Something should consequently be done to investigate new sources of supply.

"There has been a good deal said concerning the Adirondacks, the Great Lakes, and Lake Champlain. The watershed of Lake Champlain is small, and as to taking water from the Adirondack region, it would be a project which would consume a number of years, and the expense would be enormous.

"It is my opinion that an additional source of water supply must be procured, but others should be found which would be sufficient for a long time to come.

"Concerning the plan to utilize salt water for Fire Department purposes, I think the plan is a good one, merely upon the ground that it would furnish a duplicate system for fire purposes.

"It is true that in 1888 I made a joint report in favor of the plan proposed for delivering to New York from New Jersey an independent supply of 50,000,000 gallons per day. I did so for the reason that I am a believer in the principle of having a dual system in view of possible contingencies which, in a city placed like New York, might result in very grave danger. I consider it in the light of an insurance matter.

"If 50,000,000 gallons a day could be delivered into the Croton Aqueduct from the Fort Montgomery water shed, as you say, it would be an excellent thing to rely upon. I do not think, however, that this could be done in two years.

"I have not made a special study of the Esopus water shed, but I understand in a general way that its available watershed is large, and that it could be connected with other drainage areas.

"Brooklyn is even more pressed for water than we are and I am told that something must be done there at once.

"It is a very serious condition of things, and it should have been taken in hand several years ago. I recommended to the Aqueduct Commissioners in 1893 the importance of making surveys for additional watershed. Last

year the bill asking for authority to survey for additional water supply was introduced, but nothing was done."

The importance of a sufficient gravity pressure cannot be better expressed than by the following statement by Mr. Francis C. Moore, President of the Continental Insurance Co., in a pamphlet entitled "Water Works and Pipe Distribution."

"The best system of water-works for fire extinguishing purposes is a gravity system, with the reservoir at a sufficient elevation to ensure, with full draught, an effective head or pressure *at the hydrants* of eighty pounds to the square inch or not less than forty pounds to the square inch at the base of the nozzle with 250 feet of hose.

"The force of gravity acting with an ample reservoir differs from pump pressure for forcing water through pipes, in the important respect that it is always ready for instant use without notification by means of electric wires, telephones, etc., and it is not liable to break down or get out of order like pumps or other direct pressure appliances. It, moreover, exerts, at all times, a steady pressure on the pipe system, reducing the liability of breakage to a minimum. A gravity system has a decided advantage over a direct pressure pumping system in that (if pipes are of proper sizes) the full volume of flow is instantly available without waiting to fire up extra steam boilers."

In the same paper Mr. Moore illustrates how the water front supply of water may be utilized for fire purposes by fire boats pumping through a proper network of pipe lines within certain areas. While the quantity of water used for fire purposes is small compared with that needed for potable and manufacturing purposes, it is none the less important that all methods to meet the wants of all localities in the municipality should be availed of. An adequate supply of water for all purposes is a prime requisite, and that the first city of the United States in population, commerce and manufactures should be the lowest of thirty of the principal cities in an adequate water supply, as shown by Mr. John H. Washburn, is an anomaly.

To sum up, there are certain main points which are apparent:

1. The need for an additional water supply is pressing in the Borough of Brooklyn, and soon will be in the Borough of Manhattan.

2. The supply should have ample watershed, free from pollution, and be supplied by gravity, with sufficient head to supply our highest buildings. As expressed by a prominent merchant: "We now have a three-story supply for a ten-story town."

3. It should be within the State of New York, and duplicate existing sources, so that if one source fails, it would be supplemented by the other.

4. In view of the constitutional limit of taxation, if private capital will furnish an adequate supply at no higher rate than the cost under municipal ownership, it should be taken advantage of.

5. In the Catskill Mountains and their southern foothills, we have a clear, cold, trout-stream supply, from a sparsely settled hardwood forest district, known to every fisherman, with ample volume and an elevation to afford an adequate head to reach our highest buildings, at a distance and at a cost much less than those of the Adirondacks or the Great Lakes, or any other available watershed.

F. B. THURBER.

INTERNATIONAL PIRACY IN TIME OF WAR.

BY W. L. PENFIELD.

I.

In upholding war as legitimate, it has been said that there is not a war which has not contributed to the progress of civilization, with a few exceptions which are cited in proof of the historic rule. The wars of Alexander the Great are instanced in illustration of the rule. But the beneficial effects of such wars are accomplished in modern times by the printing press, steam and electricity; and war can no longer be simply defended as an agent of civilization.

War is not a remedy. It is an evil, of which the remedy is peace. It may remove old political abuses; or it may give rise to new ones, as its object, or incident, or both. Socially, it is not a purifier, but a demoralizer. It is always attended by a train of corrupt and corrupting influences. It leaves its lengthening trail on a generation. It propagates and multiplies social evils; it poisons and saps the springs of national life and power. It is not the school of the heroic virtues. Their nursery is the home, not the camp or the battle-field, which is only a scene of their display; but not more truly so than the Hay-market square, or the seat behind the throttle-valve, or the station at the brake.

The War for the Union was the most necessary of all wars. It was both a war of defence and a war of emancipation. Its end was at once the preservation of our free institutions and the abolition of a vast and spreading social evil.

If all men were reasonable and just, war would be unnecessary. It finds its only justification in their imperfection, in their unreason and injustice—in the necessity of the defence or the emancipation of a people. Yet it is in its essence the attack of the right hand upon the left. The supreme remedy is arbitra-

tion. As a remedy it is applicable in all cases but a few. But it can never become the sole final resort, until the Millennium comes, when all men will listen to reason and justice; when arbitration will be needless. The war between Spain and the United States is a demonstration of this. It is a people's war—a war between a people on the one hand, maddened by centuries of heaped-up wrongs, cruelties and oppressions; and a people, on the other hand, rushing to the defence of its sovereignty. In the conscience of the one, it is a war of emancipation, in the conscience of the other, it is a war of defence. The conflict was inevitable. The destruction of the "Maine" was only the lighted match to the tinder.

Victor Hugo thought only one more war was necessary—the war of emancipation. America furnishes the sublime spectacle of a war undertaken with the unmixed motive of the emancipation of an alien people; and the war begun for the emancipation of Cuba seems destined to end with the redemption of the Philippines.

II.

War has but one immediate object—to crush the adversary, to render his further resistance impossible; and to compel him to make a just peace.

Some publicists maintain that, in a state of war, all the subjects of each belligerent are enemies of all those of the other. Others, less authoritative, perhaps, but more advanced, because more humane, maintain that it is a duel between nations — between states as such, and not between individuals. But all agree that no state has the right to deprive of life the unarmed subjects of the enemy, unless they make resistance or take part individually in the conflict.

The employment of force is sanctioned and limited by necessity; and only so much stress may be put upon an enemy as may be necessary to overcome his armed resistance. Civilized states do not use the torch except in case of necessity. They do not wantonly destroy life or property. They do not inflict unnecessary suffering or injury of any kind. They do not murder or starve prisoners of war, or non-combatants.

III.

In the present state of international law, including therein

the principles of the Declaration of Paris, the conduct of war on the seas is governed by the same general rules as are observed in war on land, except as regards the inviolability of private property. In war on land, booty has become unlawful, and respect for the rights of private property is departed from only in extraordinary and exceptional cases. But in war on the high seas, booty, under the name of prize, is a lawful object; and all private ships and cargoes belonging to the subjects of the enemy are liable to capture and confiscation by the adversary. The war is not waged alone against the armed forces of the enemy, but against all his inoffensive commerce in all the sea-borne ships of his subjects, in non-neutral waters.

The Declaration of Paris abolished one form of piracy by privateering; it abolished another of its forms by protecting all goods, whether enemy or neutral (except contraband of war), from capture on the high seas under the neutral flag. But one necessary step remains to be taken—in the adoption of the principle of the inviolability on the high seas of all private property, except contraband of war, whether found in neutral or enemy bottoms. Its adoption has found an obstacle in the frequent association of two phrases — "free ships, free goods" and "enemy ships, enemy goods." The one has been treated as the corollary of the other; and although the latter has so far given way that neutral goods in enemy ships are free, it remains as an imaginary maxim to sanction the spoliation of private enemy property. The association of the phrases has done mischief enough. They should give way to the broader maxim that on the high seas all private property, excepting contraband of war, is free. The persistent, conjoined use of the phrases is a curious illustration of the pernicious effects of legal maxims, after they have become wholly or partially obsolete under changed conditions. But they have a certain charm. They are alliterative; they are epigrammatic; they stick in the memory. But there is no legal or logical relation between them. The first phrase is a maxim which consecrates a principle. The second is not a maxim because it violates an immutable principle—"Thou shalt not steal," from friend or enemy — a rule without exception. It is the law of peace; it is the law of war on land, with no exceptions other than those of necessity. And the capture of enemy private property in time of war, on the high seas, has never been at-

tempted to be justified on the ground that it is larceny or piracy — the true nature of the act; but on the ground of the supposed necessities of warfare of maritime powers; especially of Great Britain, as being its chief, effective means of warfare. And the regular men-of-war, as well as the volunteer navy, may exercise the right of capture of enemy private merchandise and ships, whether contraband of war or not. In maritime warfare this gives advantage to those nations who maintain powerful navies, which grow apace with the expansion and for the protection of their growing commerce.

IV.

But there is a growing tendency to limit all warfare, on sea as on land, to its true objective — the persons of the armed combatants and the property of the state which strengthens the hand of the enemy.

On May 30, 1792, the French Legislative Assembly unanimously declared in favor of prohibiting the capture of private, unarmed enemy ships, and negotiated with foreign states to that end.

In its war with Spain in 1823, France directed its navy to capture only vessels of war and ships violating an effective blockade.

At the end of the war between Austria, France and Sardinia, by the Treaty of Zurich, in 1859, all Austrian merchantmen, captured and not condemned, were restored.

In March, 1865, the French government decreed the restitution of captured Mexican merchantmen.

In the war of 1866, Austria prohibited the capture of enemy ships and cargoes, on condition that the enemy power should observe strict reciprocity. Germany and Italy adopted the same rule. The King of Prussia ordered that enemy merchant ships should not be subject to capture, on condition of reciprocity, except under the same circumstances as would warrant the seizure of neutral ships. Italy adopted the same rule of freedom, with the exception of ships laden with contraband of war or which should attempt to violate a blockade.

In April, 1868, the North German Diet voted a law authorizing the Federal Government to negotiate an international convention for the adoption of the principle of the inviolability of private property on the high seas.

In July, 1870, the French Legislative Assembly voted urgency

for the consideration of the proposition that private property, during war and peace, upon land and sea, ought to be respected by states as by individuals. In that year the King of Prussia announced that French merchantmen should be free from capture, on condition of reciprocity; but the French government failed to adopt the rule and the Prussian proposal was withdrawn.

Italy has by law, prohibited the capture of merchant ships of an enemy state, which accords the same treatment to the Italian merchant marine.

The attitude of this government from its foundation, down to the outbreak of the present war, has been consistent in its advocacy of the exemption of private property, except contraband of war, from capture at sea. It adopted the principle in the Treaty of 1785, negotiated by Franklin, with Frederick the Great. In 1823, it proposed its adoption by the governments of England, France and Russia. In 1856, it refused to accede to the Declaration of Paris in favor of the abolition of privateering unless the principle was adopted, which failed owing to the opposition of Great Britain. In 1861, Mr. Seward favored its acceptance; and in 1870, Mr. Fish expressed to the Prussian government the hope that "the Government of the United States may soon be gratified by seeing it universally recognized, as another restraining and harmonizing influence imposed by modern civilization upon the art of war." In 1871, it was adopted in our Treaty with Italy, stipulating that in case of war between them, "the private property of their respective citizens and subjects, with the exception of contraband of war, shall be exempt from capture or seizure, on the high seas or elsewhere, by the armed vessels or by the military forces of either party," except in the attempt to enter a blockaded port.

The attitude of this government in this respect is fixed; and whatever might be said for or against the adoption of the principle in the present war with Spain, and as to whether Spain would have probably granted or refused reciprocal treatment, in view of the reservation made by it in regard to privateering (in its acceptance of the principles of the Declaration of Paris), all the arguments which led to the early and consistent advocacy of the principle by this government still obtain.

According to Professor Lawrence, a preponderance of European opinion favors its adoption; and "among jurists a vast

preponderance of authority is in favor of the proposed change." The Institute of International Law has thrice declared in its favor — in its sessions at The Hague. in 1875, at Zurich. in 1877, at Turin. in 1882. "But Great Britain herself has been the chief obstacle to the adoption of it by international agreement."

In the war of 1870, Bismarck remonstrated with the French government against the treatment of the crews of merchantmen as prisoners of war; and while the French government disregarded the protest, it admitted that the principle would be more in harmony with the present state of civilization. In the opinion of Professor Lawrence, the existing rule "tends to foster the idea that war may be waged by honorable men for their own private advantage;" and "it also carries with it the retention as prisoners of war of the crews of the captured ships, though they are as truly non-combatants as the artisans and miners of an occupied province, whom no one dreams of reducing to captivity."

Of all the great commercial nations, Great Britain alone stands fast by the rule of spoliation; and if its attitude in that respect seems to be sustained by that of the United States during the present war, it is not because this government has changed its principles or reversed its policy, but rather from the belief that under all the circumstances, and in view of the gingerly attitude of Spain in regard to privateering, reciprocal treatment would not have been accorded.

In its essence the confiscation of private property on the high seas is piracy, not less than privateering; for it also appeals to private greed and rapacity. And the eventual acceptance of the new principle seems to be assured; it is growing in constant favor, for it is "written in the conscience of humanity." Its advent was heralded by the Declaration of Paris; the march of events is electrical; the spirit of commerce, swiftly growing and extending its civilizing influence, sways the world; and in conflict with it no law of peace or of war can permanently survive, except so far as essentially necessary to the exigencies of warfare.

W. L. PENFIELD.

PRINCE VON BISMARCK.

BY EMILIO CASTELAR.

I.

BISMARCK is a colossal figure in modern history. He is the incarnation of German unity. All the greater praise to him for his fidelity to that one idea, because it was only in his later years that it had its birth in his mind, there being every evidence that from his infancy to his maturer years no such conception had ever taken possession of him. We democrats, on the contrary, had unanimously contended for it, in season and out of season, uniting all our forces to propagate it from the time of its germination.

I myself was an enthusiastic champion of German, just as I was of Italian, unity. In 1856, when none supposed that the latter was at hand, I, in speeches which have never been forgotten in Italy, announced its approach and its speedy triumph. Again, in 1861, when none believed that German unity was on the eve of accomplishment, I foretold it, and in newspaper articles which are unknown in Germany, I heralded its advent. I was at that time editor of the *Discusión* of Madrid; and, in commenting, in the course of my duties, upon the results bound to follow from the death of Frederick William IV., a sovereign who was at one and the same time romantic and reactionary, I made certain predictions which have been since fulfilled in the course of events. These predictions are to be found in the above mentioned periodical under date of February 25th and March 10th, 1861. I wrote as follows:

"When the cannon of revolutionary France rolled recently across the summit of the Alps, ready to shatter to pieces the treaty of 1815, the statesman who was the incarnation of that treaty lay dying; he who was the soul of universal reaction (I mean Metternich) was passing away in the smoke of combat. While Italy, happy and free, was forging the crown of her bril-

liant unity, the representative of Italian servitude, Ferdinand of Naples, likewise lay dying, and this very day, which sees the German confederation in upheaval and commotion and when the idea of German unity is more than ever a living issue—while Prussia is compelled in fulfillment of her providential mission to follow the example set her by Piedmont—this very day sees Frederick William IV., the great reactionary—Julian the Apostate of German philosophy and German liberty—after a long and cruel malady, lying stretched on the bed of death."

Inasmuch as a German doctor (Dr. Hossasus) while passing through Seville, saw fit to question my assertions, I answered him in the following language:

"Prussia represents in the world freedom of thought and at the same time she represents in Germany the new political idea. If she does not represent this in philosophy and in history then she represents nothing. In the middle ages, Prussia was simply a wretched vassal of the Teutonic Order, and she was compelled by usage and by law to submit her conscience to the Pope and her will to the Emperor. However, all the great movements of modern thought have resulted finally to the advantage of Prussia. By the Reformation, which preached freedom of thought, she passed from the condition of a vassal to monarchy; by the Peace of Westphalia, which proclaimed freedom of conscience as an international right, she emerged from insignificance to the dignity of a powerful state; and by the force and virtue of that encyclopedic philosophy, whose spirit shared the throne with Frederick the Second, she passed from the condition of a mere German monarchy to the rank of a great European power. Under the influence of the French Revolution, which overthrew the ancient Holy Roman Empire of Austria, Prussia proceeded to aspire to the supreme representation of the Germanic world, and by virtue of a similar revolution in 1848 she was almost on the eve of assuming the crown of the German Empire. Subsequently, by the force and progress of ideas which urge all of us onward, she found herself compelled, willingly or unwillingly, as in the case of Piedmont, to become the sword of liberty and of German unity, as a barrier in the path of Napoleonic ambition; while at the same time she sought to divert Russian aims toward Asia and to suppress in Germany the Austrian Empire, that Nebuchadnezzar of absolutism, as potent as a god and as shapeless as a monster."

While we democrats were giving voice to sentiments like these, Bismarck was proclaiming ideas totally opposed to them. A German burgrave, a landed aristocrat rooted to the soil like the very plants, a feudal seignior to the core, he opposed German unity with all his might whether preached by Frankfort democrats or Erfurt courtiers; and he betrayed the same opposition to it in his fight against that intense republican, Arnold Ruge, as in his contests with that faithful royalist, General Rodowitz. But what more than all else aroused his indignation were the taunting declarations of the democrats that Prussia and her dynasty could never play in Germany the part that the

House of Savoy had played in Italy; that is, throw Austria out of the Confederation as the former had thrown her out of Lombardy. As bearing upon this, it is only necessary to cite Bismarck's own speeches, which are very instructive and to me peculiarly attractive. "I shall ever oppose," said this great man in the Prussian Diet in March, 1848, "the projects of those radicals who would assign to the monarch and to the government of Prussia the rôle imposed upon Charles Albert in Italy, thus offering us the sinister alternative of conquering the throne or of being defeated and having to accept a shameful peace." And in August, 1849, he further said in the Prussian Parliament: "The army feels no enthusiasm for the German tri-color; our people do not wish to smother the monarchy in the license common to the people of the South." In December of 1850, we find him saying: "I have no desire to see Prussia requiring and seeking in Germany such a ministry as Turin has to select in Italy; and since the Liberals are so anxious to have us provoke a war with Austria, I would advise ministers on the contrary to embark in a war for principles—not with Austria, but rather with the parliamentary majority, for it is always easier to mobilize a parliament than an army."

Who at that time could have foreseen that it was part of the designs of Providence that this self-same man was destined, ere long, to represent on behalf of Prussia the part played by Sardinia in Italy, and that those Prussian princes and their armies, so suspicious and distrustful of the tricolor, would soon be seen bearing that flag aloft throughout the whole of Central Europe, driving Austria out of Germany, suppressing the temporal power of the Pope, and crushing the Napoleonic dynasty; and all this in alliance with the hitherto despised House of Savoy?

The modern world has been saved by four great apostacies—Peel was an apostate from the protectionist idea, Gladstone was an apostate from Conservative tenets, Thiers was an apostate from the monarchy, and Bismarck in his turn became an apostate from feudalism. What happy results have followed! There has been established a progressive Europe, a Europe vastly different from that of our infancy and our youth.

But Bismarck has made three capital mistakes. To maintain the progress accomplished, he has had recourse to reaction-

ary measures. He has defaced his work by his cynical and insolent annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. And, finally, he has condemned Europe to an armed peace, a state of affairs which, if not speedily terminated by gradual disarmament, will bring universal ruin to our continent.

II.

The contradictions between Bismarck's ideal and the processes employed by him to realize it, give the key to his moral character, as also to the new phase which in his time European politics has assumed. On the psychical side, Bismarck offered great resistance to the admission of new ideas; but, once they were admitted, he displayed indomitable resolution in carrying them out and an equal tenacity in maintaining them. Physiologically, he dominated his nerves as a thinker and as a statesman, calling to his aid his muscles and sinews of steel. He resembled Gladstone, from whom he was so different in other respects, in his habit of showing by contrast a life devoted to rural quietude and at the same time exposed to the nervous strain of the profound thinker and of the gladiator in the arena of daily politics. His patience in the preparation and combination of vast plans can only be compared with the impatience with which he threw them aside when once he had them fairly started on their way. This is a distinguishing and apparently contradictory feature in Bismarck's nature, and it is characteristic of his whole being.

Men's characters are greatly modified by circumstances and by the positions they occupy; for just as habits acquired change the character, so the external impulses of a great event are frequently sufficient to change the whole current of life. Bismarck, even in the midst of the court, always remained the country gentleman, and he continued to be authoritative and commanding in the very center of democracy. He never ceased to guide and control the machine which he was driving toward the new horizons of contemporaneous politics and modern thought; horizons vastly superior to those to which he had been born and to which he was accustomed. But it was certainly not from choice that he found himself the partner of innovators and revolutions. If, therefore, one half of his life should appear to be at such variance with the other half, we must not conclude that he is

incoherent, just as we cannot call him reflective without bearing in mind his vivacity, nor vivacious without bearing in mind his reflectiveness. Although his faculties in their number and proportion preserve a steady equilibrium in their relation to each other, this equilibrium would seem at times to have been disturbed by his fantasies, but he invariably brings a fund of calculation to restore the balance. A great calculator he certainly is, and yet he foresees but little; an old Christian in his faith, he showed himself almost a young positivist in his rule and government of men; and as he made no account of the mystery of political science, so likewise he attached little importance to the affections of the heart.

His has been a double life; he has had a double set of thoughts, a double history, and the one has been constantly at war with the other. How has he preserved the great authority of office, the almost total dominion over sentiment? How has he maintained the iron will and followed the Cæsarian method, swiftly converting words into deeds? At first sight, he presents himself as obedient to a single vocation, and as serving but one cause; that is, he is the personification of Reason in Statecraft. The current of his life, like that of the rivers Rhone and Guadiana, has been at times subterranean, hiding itself deep down—as at Olmutz, for instance, where he posed as the friend of Austria—as though it had disappeared forever; and, running along silently in its course, it suddenly comes into view at Sadowa, where he appeared in his true light as Austria's enemy and conqueror.

How he has lorded it over peoples and kings! But he has found it easier to master others than to master himself; for at times his passions and at times his dogmatic temperament, with a conviction that he was infallible and all powerful, combined to bring upon him innumerable disasters, resulting finally in his humiliation and retirement.

Bismarck lacks the breadth and richness of idea and the variety of emotion which are displayed by poets like Goethe, Lamartine and Byron; but, on the other hand, he is, like them, jealous and captious, and an almost effeminate susceptibility not dominated by his masterful force is but poorly compensated for by a creative and fervid imagination. But, as regards his personal and domestic life, one cannot but be struck with Bismarck's

well balanced temperament and his finely poised will, giving him such pure habits and such regularity in the care and management of his affairs, that one recognizes at a glance the exemplary husband and father, and the incomparable administrator of his own estates. None could accuse him of lacking in force of will, a charge which Schopenhauer brings against the German race. As passion was never kindled into fire by its own inner light, as little in Bismarck's case were dreams ever admitted into his plans. There was never anything of the inspired or of the seer or of the poet; no thought of yielding to the force of institutions or presentiments; nothing but a clear intellect, cold reason, mathematical calculation and an imperious will. These took him by the hand and led him to concrete and constant action.

At the same time, here we find an individual who, notwithstanding his pure habits, despises remorselessly and ignores without shame or scruple all political morality, neither believing in its efficacy nor caring for its purity. But none can fail to see that it was precisely to this moral weakness that the great mistakes of his life are due. The physical forces of the state enabled him to overcome an almost invincible material resistance as represented by the armies of Austria and France. He discovered, however, that such forces were powerless to combat the moral resistance of the papacy, and he found himself compelled to go to Canossa.

Again, he hated profoundly and loved but little. He held Moltke, his collaborator, in high esteem, but he never formed for the silent engineer a cordial and effusive friendship. For the old Emperor William, he felt what one might almost term affection, but he treated him at all times with the respect due from a minister to a great monarch. However, notwithstanding this respect (and in virtue of his own mental superiority as compared with the capacity of his master) he always considered William somewhat in the same light as a capable tutor would his docile pupil.

To know how Bismarck could hate, it is sufficient to cite two of his well-known antipathies—the Empress and Count von Arnim. He displayed no shadow of flexibility in the art of conciliation and compromise for the sake of political expediency. On the contrary, he preserved an invincible haughtiness, which

incurred for him the undying resentment of the venerable spouse of Emperor William and the fierce enmity of certain parliamentary groups whose implacability might have been promptly charmed away by a slight exhibition of amiability. Yet he found no difficulty in dissembling, and laying aside his arrogance, when it suited his convenience. He certainly contrived to keep it in check during his dealings with Alexander II. of Russia, when he wished to make use of the Czar, as likewise in his transactions with Napoleon III., whom he deceived like a Chinese. His very rudeness, however, is regarded as a virtue by those who look upon native goodness in those who are highly placed as a confession of weakness; for there are those who consider bad temper more powerful than amiability, just as there are governments who esteem a reign of terror more effective than the law in promoting obedience. Strange, that a man of such force of character as Bismarck should permit himself to be carried away by anger; that one who ordinarily displayed such cynical indifference, should frequently appear so perturbed by the attacks of a hostile press, and that he should never know how to shield himself from such attacks by treating them with a wise contempt! Strange, that one who was so cold-blooded and so sure of his position should lose his equanimity the moment he was subjected to criticism in Parliament; and, above all, that, blinded by fury, he should commit the folly of defying a learned antagonist and challenging him to mortal combat!

Bismarck loved himself with a passionate affection, and it must be confessed that he had many reasons for so doing; but it was with a love which came perilously near being egotism. However, this very egotism, while much to be deprecated in the case of ordinary mortals, becomes almost a virtue in the great, who are bound to preserve themselves not only for their own sake but for the sake of others. After himself, Bismarck's ruling passion was his official status, for he well knew that in the world office bears the same relation to the man as do the oyster beds in the sea to the oyster whom they nourish. He, in fact, made office his religion; and such a surfeit has he had of office, that in the fullness of time one would think he must have not merely satisfied but gorged himself to suffocation. This terrible apoplexy of glory engenders an abnormal love of solitude; for it is there alone that the glorified, not satisfied with the glorifiers, finds

himself in the company which he considers the best and the loftiest which this earth offers. Unfortunately, this desire for power which takes possession of some men, generally outlives the opportunities for its gratification, and they seldom become resigned to their loss, thus proving that it requires greater talent to know how to support misfortune than to enjoy prosperity.

In his youth Bismarck loved feudalism, but when he arrived at the height of his fame he believed in no party, considering that he himself was stronger and better than all parties put together.

Thus having attained the summit of his greatness, he paces the island of his power like that shipwrecked mariner who paces the desert rock seeking in vain for company and friendship. Like Napoleon in Saint Helena setting himself down to write history, he, in the quietude of his country house, becomes a press writer, taking a sterile revenge on the authors of his misfortunes, and satisfied if his editorial diatribes, in the shape of theatrical and artificial thunderbolts, should at times resemble those genuine and terrible engines of power which he once directed so well. In these press contests, the very reptiles he once warmed to life in his bosom have turned round to sting him, being urged on by hands which feed them with gold and neither asking nor caring whether those hands be clean or foul. In such militant campaigns, Bismarck has selected, not the principles most in consonance with his traditions, but those most fatal to his adversaries. How else are we to account for his maledictions of that liberty which was the inevitable fruit of the imperial rescripts bearing upon the natural rights of the socialists? How else account for the fact that, while the regionalists were so active and the King of Wirtemberg showed himself recalcitrant to participation in the military manoeuvres of 1893 under pretext of the drought—when the Bavarian deputies loudly complained of the Central budget, and even Baden, ever faithful Baden itself, opposed even to the verge of rebellion the tax on wines—in face of all this, how otherwise account for Bismarck's complaint that there is so little real federalism in the country, a federalism which he, himself, had done his utmost to minimize in favor of unity and centralization? Nothing else would seem to explain his defence of protection when Caprivi, his successor, favored free trade; for, if on the

other hand, Caprivi had pronounced for protection, Bismarck would have been the loudest in his cry for free trade. No other reason can be found for his calling Caprivi "Russian," when the latter showed coldness to Austria, and at another time accusing him of imprudence and temerity in making an enemy of Russia if perchance he insisted upon what Bismarck, himself, had initiated as the true German policy—a lasting alliance with Austria.

We cannot but recognize that the deepest, most intense and most absorbing passion of Bismarck's life has been his love for the soil, a love partaking somewhat of the tribal or patriarchal character, but still a comprehensible, not to say a sacred, love. He loves his residence, his castle; then his landmarks, then his territory, next his region, and, finally, Prussia. Germany he desires to elevate to the very foremost rank in Europe, going even so far in his patriotic delirium as to seek to emulate England herself as a colonizing power, and to convert into a first class maritime nation a country which is not yet quite certain of its standing as a continental empire. In this he has experienced the disillusion which I predicted for him at the time he attempted to seize the Carolines; for the empire has not realized its dreams of greatness in Asia, and it exchanged its most valuable possession in Africa for a few poor, steep rocks in the German Ocean.

All this shows clearly how little there is of the Latin in Bismarck, and, notwithstanding the traits of Slavonic origin, how thoroughly German he is in his lack of logic! Just as Frederick the Great, filled with humanitarian dreams and enthusiastic in his adhesion to modern philosophy, allied himself with the despots who conspired to partition Poland, so Bismarck, after having restored to Hungary her national government, after having crowned Italian unity, after having lent his aid to the new born nations on the banks of the lower Danube, after having laid the foundations and cemented the edifice of German nationality —after having done all this, Bismarck completes his work by tearing from France Metz and Strasburg in order to flatter the military party and humor imperial pride. Never in the ages to come will history and humanity pardon him for this, for he has thereby prolonged the age of the conquerors, and submitted us to the rule of war and revenge.

III.

The antinomies in Bismarck's intelligence and the contradictions in his character spring from heredity, and are doubtless atavic. To his father, an agrarian aristocrat of ancient birth, he owes the feudal trait so prominent in his charcacter, and to his mother, daughter of a family of courtiers composed of philosophers and writers, he is indebted for all that is idealistic in his temperament. He was guided from the very outset by reasons of state, and not recognizing in these any conscience or sentiment, it is superfluous to expect to discover in him any degree of faith or phantasy. Faithful to his education, he ignored from the very outset of his career, in his capacity of rudimentary statesman, the new revolutionary idea forced onward in the midst of its material disasters toward a change of methods but not to a change of principles, let alone of object. Such an upheaval from bottom to top as that seen in 1848 had to be repeated in 1851, but the process was reversed, and the commotion then was from top to bottom, and this change of method converted Bismarck into one of the first of revolutionists—not that it instilled into him any love of progressive ideals, but solely from love of Prussia and her history. When he became at Olmutz, in obedience to the superstitions insuperable from his domestic education, a blind accomplice of the enemies and humiliators of his country, he was cited by the King, Frederick William IV., to appear before the Diet of Frankfort, that body which was charged with the duty of restoring the old Germanic confederation and of profiting by the lessons of the last Prussian defeat. It took but two minutes for Paul, the Jew, to become converted and to announce himself as henceforth the apostle of Christ, but it took Bismarck two months to become the champion of German revolution. He had no desire for the radical unity outlined at Frankfort, or for the conservative unity of Erfurt. But, as a consequence of the former, he found himself applauded for his feudal exaltation, notwithstanding the shameful agreement of Olmutz by which Austria sought to dissolve the Zollverein—that customs union in which Prussia dominated, thanks to her economic hegemony. Not succeeding in her design, Austria next tried to thrust herself abruptly into the Zollverein and by so doing put an end to Prussian supremacy. From that moment Bismarck's patriotism revealed to him that

which his intelligence had failed to make clear, and he forthwith abjured what heretofore he had sworn by.

In May, 1851, he arrived at Frankfort, and in June, when the Austrian representative, Count Thun, advised him to renounce the traditions of Frederick the Great, he replied that he could not with facility throw Prussia and reforms overboard. As the Count continued to insist that the Hapsburgs of Austria were called upon to exercise a natural preponderance in Germany, even over the heads of the Brandenburgs of Prussia, Bismarck did not scruple to make a muttered threat of the war destined to break out fifteen years later on. By so doing he joined the ranks of the prophets, and, breathing the spirit of the times, he sounded the death knell of petrified feudalism. With a clear vision he perceived how, as a result of the thirty years' war in the seventeenth century, Austria had been enabled to place herself at the head of Germany, and he forthwith decided that her supremacy had to be overthrown. Notwithstanding this, the King of Prussia sent Bismarck as Ambassador to Vienna, whence the audacious envoy returned shortly afterward bringing with him an increased hatred toward Austria.

The style of his letters written at that time was of the most inflammatory character from a patriotic point of view, beginning, as these letters generally did, with the greatest brilliancy and ending with the bitterest irony. "May God in His final judgment," he exclaims, "show as much mercy to this poor sinner as our king shows for the sins of Austria!" In 1853 there came the Crimean War, and while Austria, with an ingratitude which scandalized the world, began to show a leaning toward the Western powers as against Russia, Bismarck from his embassy showed a marked tendency to favor the latter. To every Austrian project he opposed the greatest obstacles, but without coming to any final decision with respect to the belligerent powers. As soon, however, as he saw Austria become more pronounced in her sympathies, Bismarck began alternately to urge on both France and Prussia against her and at times he scrupled not to stir up the implacable hatred of both of these powers simultaneously against the Hapsburg foe. Animated by these sentiments, he went to Paris at the time of the first Industrial Exposition, and there he had free access to Napoleon III. On his return, and as though by accident, he met

Prince Napoleon at Frankfort, to whom he proposed a common understanding as between Paris and Berlin, the two most intelligent cities of the world. As a pledge of friendship, France smoothed over and arranged the stormy disputes which had for some time been disturbing the relations between Prussia and the Helvetic Canton of Neufchatel; and Berlin in return held back the arm of its king when, in 1859, the latter evinced a desire to intervene in the Franco-Austrian conflict which resulted in the independence of Italy. While matters were thus progressing, Frederick William IV. became incapacitated, owing to a mental malady, and his brother, William, assumed the Regency, subsequently becoming the first German Emperor who did not belong to the Catholic faith.

IV.

He who lacks the habit of estimating aright the law of contradictions will do well to refrain from a study of the Bismarck mind, for he will find nothing there analogous to our Latin nitidity. The biographies of Cavour, Garibaldi, Mazzini and Ratazzi, the classic statesmen of Italy, seem to us like Greek statues in their symmetry and harmony, so logical and consistent do they show themselves in their sequence. Everything, in fact, of Latin origin seems clear, while everything German appears turgid and obscure: in the former, a logical consistency, and in the latter an incongruity which frequently borders on incoherency.

Where, of all places, did Bismarck go in 1859 to conspire against European stability? To Russia. Named as ambassador to St. Petersburg, once arrived at his post, the diplomatist entirely disappears and we see nothing but the apostle. His one mission seems to be reduced to a continual preaching against Austria. It is clear that, in view of the latter's indisposition to embark in the Crimean War, in favor of Russia, the spirit of international reaction had become dissipated and its most powerful organism, the Holy Alliance, had become dissolved, while with its dissolution there had diffused itself throughout the political atmosphere, like a vivifying oxygen, the idea of nationalities. This ideal had taken flesh and was rapidly making itself manifest. In its march to victory, the revolution was choosing for its instruments the kings of the second half of the nineteenth century, in the same manner as philosophy in the latter half of

the eighteenth century had elected kings to lead it to victory. Victor Emanuel became the incarnation of a revolution which hastened to assume flesh and blood in Italy; Napoleon III. played the same part in France, when he summoned up universal suffrage and the spirit of nationality, while William of Germany followed suit in his hatred of Austria and in his aspirations toward territorial aggrandizement. Nor was Alexander II. of Russia behind, as was shown by his emancipation of the serfs.

In all these movements, the most striking were the manifestations of Sardinia in Italy and of Prussia in Germany. There was this difference, however, between the two: That whereas Sardinia depended more upon right than upon an army to prevail in Italy, Prussia, for the accomplishment of her purpose in Germany, relied solely upon her army. The iron giant called William I. could understand and appreciate no other weapon, and he, therefore, consecrated himself to his army as though it were the sole object of his cult. Forthwith he set to work to forge his sword and to keep it keen and bright. While William was occupied thus, Bismarck was defining and clarifying the national idea to which the army was being educated to devote itself. It was at this time (in 1860) that he journeyed from St. Petersburg to Paris, to which he had been appointed Ambassador. He had not lost his time in the Czar's capital, and one may readily imagine how he spent it in the city of revolutions—that queenly city which, in all her monuments and all her records, shows the ease with which ideas may pass from the domains of vision to the domains of life.

Like the German doctor, Faust, Bismarck, the German Ambassador, translated the Gospel of St. John thus: "In the beginning was the word, and after the word came prompt action," and he proceeded to make himself the man of action in the German revolution. Napoleon III., the eternal conspirator, supported him, like one who, having no one else for the time being to conspire against, amuses his spare hours by conspiring against himself. Again is seen the contrast between the work of Italy and the work of Prussia; for while the former excited in France a lively enthusiasm, the latter aroused nothing but suspicion and distrust. However, when Prussia undertook to do what Italy had done, she set about her task, not like Italy, with the support of her parliament, but directly in opposition to her

parliament's wishes. In order to subject parliament to military law, William found no more capable instrument than Bismarck; therefore, in 1862, he called the latter from Paris to his council, naming him Minister of Foreign Affairs, and shortly afterward (in October) he promoted him to the post of President of the Ministerial Council. Under the spurring of Bismarck, parliament became restive and recalcitrant and rejected all his projects. The Minister became indignant and was more than ever determined to use both king and army for the purpose of accomplishing his darling aim—the unity of Germany. In a burst of passion, he exclaimed in full tribune: "In conflicts such as those impending, it does not suffice to depend simply upon right and reason; we must summon force to our aid;" and there the deputies sat, an impotent majority, incapable, owing to lack of coercive means, of carrying out its own decrees. What a contradiction, this march toward the goal of liberty through a dictatorship! This terrible reaction against parliament and the press, carried to such extremes by the Prime Minister, was viewed with grave concern by Frederick, William's eldest son and the heir to the throne—the sad, humanitarian and philosophic prince whose untimely death was so soon to follow—and he felt compelled to utter his protest. Hence the hatred which ever afterward existed between the statesman of powerful vision and the seer who could see nothing.

But the contradictions of the great revolutionist were not confined to these internal differences—they extended even to exterior politics. Moved by the example of Italy, and hoping to obtain from England and France the same aid which those powers had extended to Italy, Poland rose in 1863. Thereupon, the arch-conspirator and sworn foe of Austria constituted himself assistant to the executioner—to the Czar—and helped to smother in blood that movement which was so analogous to another already working in his own brain and already supported by his own acts. By this cynical conduct, Bismarck not only showed that he was at war with himself, but he forfeited the support of both France and England. *Sic fata voluere.*

EMILIO CASTELAR.

(*To be Continued.*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE CULT OF THE DOG.

In watching the intelligent tricks of well-trained dogs, and noting their affection and anxiety for their masters, most people conclude that they are endowed by nature with superior mental qualities, and that a great gulf exists between their minds and that of the ordinary domesticated or wild animal. We are accustomed to associate the dog and horse together as the chief friends of man—both intelligent, affectionate and trustworthy. The dog is supposed to be the result of centuries of artificial selection and training and the "development" process has raised the naturally intelligent animal to a position nearer to man's level than any other class of brutes. But the widespread craze to tame and train wild animals in recent years has yielded results that seem to discredit the accepted theory of the superior intelligence of the dog.

The taming of the ferocious brutes of the forest is not so difficult a task now that their natures are better understood, and they have been found to possess all the intelligence of the dog for performing tricks. Even mammalians as low down as rats and mice are taught to perform wonderful tricks, and, when properly trained, pet birds, mice, and even snakes, have been found to show a decided affection for their master. The affection of the dog for one who is kind to him is nothing unique in the animal world. Wild, unruly elephants have been known to fall down upon their knees in genuine affection at the sight of some old-time keeper and master, whose kindness to them had won their lasting gratitude. A pet lioness at the London Zoo had such an affection for her favorite trainer that when he was removed she showed all the symptoms of a disappointed and broken heart until he returned. Then her demonstrations of joy and affection could not be surpassed by those of the finest bred dog. Monkeys become so attached to their masters who treat them even with partial indifference that they grow lonesome and heart-broken when separated from them for any length of time.

Instances could be multiplied where the instinct of affection, and the natural ability to perform tricks when properly trained, are conspicuously present in the wild animals and birds. That the dog enjoys this distinction more than most of the brutes is due to the fact that he has been constantly with man for centuries, and his domestication has made his abilities more generally known. In his wild life the dog is just as deficient in the qualities that go to make him the chief friend of man as the fox, tiger, lion, or bear. The dog has been taken from his wild, nomadic life and taught to perform tricks almost as wonderful as those exhibited by dogs whose ancestors have been developed for centuries.

The domesticated dogs preserve their intelligent propensities only by careful breeding and selection. Cross them, and these abilities fade away. If freed from man's control and association, the dogs will immediately proceed to found a new race of their own and degenerate rapidly to the old primal stock from which they were in remote ages derived. The best place to study the undomesticated dogs, to compare them with the sixty or more artificial varieties recognized on the bench, is in their most natural habitat to-day—in the circumpolar world. It is claimed by science that if all of our dogs—the greyhound, mastiff, spaniel, terrier, and collie—were turned adrift in a country where they would be entirely exempt from all the restraints and associations of man, all typical identity would gradually be lost, and they would assimilate one to another in form and color. The slim, rounded tails would become thick and bushy, the ears would grow short, erect and pointed, the bodies would be covered by a thick bristling hair, and the color would become uniformly tawny, gray or brindled. A composite feral tribe of dogs would result that is best represented to-day in North America by the mongrel Indian dog. Climate would have something to do in moulding the colors and characteristics of the untamed brutes. For instance the prevailing color of the Arctic belt is white, and consequently a great proportion of the wild and semi-wild dogs of the circumpolar region are white, while the North American Indian curs are of a tawny or grayish color.

In the circumpolar region the dogs have been less domesticated by man than elsewhere, and the characteristic propensities of the wild dog can be studied there to advantage. The Esquimaux have had some influence upon the half-tame brutes, but they have trained them only to be beasts of burden. They have never been taught tricks, or even to be the friend and companion of man. They frequently consort with the wolves, and one not well acquainted with the scientific distinctions between a wolf and a dog would not be able to say which should enjoy the noble title of dog. This is equally true of many of the half-wild, gray Indian dogs of the West. A pack of them roving across the prairie would be taken by most strangers for a pack of wolves, and it is a fact, too often witnessed, that if a man should encounter a pack of these mongrel creatures in a lonely situation at dusk he would more than likely be attacked by them. They exhibit the cowardly nature of the wolves by sneaking away from a man with a stick in his hand ready to defend himself, but pouncing upon a prostrate human being.

The wild dog, uninfluenced at all by association with man, is typical of nothing but the wolf, and in the circumpolar ice he is found in numbers roving over the fields of snow and ice, frequently in company with the wolves. The Esquimaux have taken these wild creatures, and by a rude process of selection and training they have developed the "huskie," a colloquial abbreviation of the word Esquimaux. These animals represent a type of dog but little removed from the wolf—hardy, vicious, swift of foot and keen of eye. They have been trained to haul sledge loads of goods across the snow and ice, and this comes as natural to them now as for a pointer to point. They possess the blood of the wolf, however, in their veins —the taint of the jackal. At the first opportunity they will run away and join the wild dogs and deteriorate rapidly in their company. Throughout the great Northwest it is hard work to make up a full team of strictly pure huskies. The leader of a team is invariably a trustworthy huskie, but harnessed behind him will be one or more wild creatures that are kept in harness only through the moral influence of the others.

From the color of many of the huskies, and from their general form and other characteristics, it is generally concluded that the fundamental type of circumpolar dog has been changed by crossing with the pure white Arctic-fox, the wild coyote, and the big, gray timber wolf. The certain characteristics of all these animals are apparent to the observer, and besides environment, food and climate these wild animals have done much to change the feral types of this cold region. The pure white Esquimaux dog can scarcely be distinguished from the great Arctic fox. The Lapp dogs are about the size of a Scotch terrier, and they have a wonderful resemblance to the lynx. The hair is long and shaggy, with color of various tints, and they are taught by the Lapps to fight off the wolves from the reindeer. They are consequently great fighters, and never associate with the wolves, but consider them their eternal enemies, showing pretty conclusively that they have but little wolf blood in them. The dogs of Iceland are somewhat similar to those of Lapland and Greenland. They have long hair, curled tails, pointed nose and ears, and very irritable tempers. The dogs of Spitzbergen resemble more distinctly the representative Esquimaux dog, both being white, and very similar in form and general characteristics.

Crossing with the wild animals of the country thus changes the color and shape and temperament of the dogs as much as climate and food. In Siberia the wolves are black and not white or gray, and the fact is shown in the colors of the wild dogs. Most of the dogs of Siberia are black, brown, or reddish brown, and they howl like wolves, associate together in packs, hunt together, and dig holes in the snow and earth to shelter themselves from inclement weather. They live chiefly on frozen fish, and on this diet they will travel hundreds of miles day after day. The native tribes train the dogs to haul loads across the country, and to hunt.

The Kamchatkan dogs are remarkable beasts of burden, and they probably represent the most sagacious feral type of the circumpolar region. They are trained severely by the natives to haul heavy loads across the ice, and their tempers are soured by the hard lessons of training they have to undergo when young. They are consequently unruly and uncompanionable, and the driver, to exact obedience, frequently has to stun the animals with blows on the head. They are somewhat of a huskie type, with sharp noses and ears, bushy tails and shaggy hair.

In Alaska the breed of dogs are of a reddish brown, and are as much wolf as dog. They are strong, voracious, and hardy. A team will draw five hundred pounds behind them, and in the winter time their diet consists of forty frozen herring a day or one large salmon. They show the wolfish nature whenever approached by strangers, or when they get a smell of fresh meat. They are little better than the wild wolves except that they have been taught to drag loads behind them. Such a thing as saving a man's life or being affectionate and lovable to their masters, has never been heard of, and the ordinary instincts and propensities of our domesticated dogs appear entirely foreign to their natures.

The Esquimaux huskie is taken as a rule as the type of circumpolar dog, but that they do not all conform to this type is apparent from these descriptions. Along the Mackenzie River there is even another type differentiated in many ways from any of those mentioned. The breed is called Athabaskan and the animals have very long, curly hair. When crossed with the Esquimaux huskie the hair becomes so long that the eyes are scarcely visible. This breed has been crossed and recrossed with others, so that the Athabas-

kan dog of to-day is generally a hybrid, much larger and stouter than the original breed.

Along Smith's Sound there is a powerful breed of dogs that do not hesitate to attack the most ferocious wild animal. They frequently hunt in pairs, and two of them will unhesitatingly attack the most formidable bear. They have been tamed for hunting purposes, and they will corner the largest grizzly and hold him at bay until the hunters can shoot him. One dog is powerful enough to bring down a reindeer, and kill him in a minute. They are keen of scent, and can detect the presence of a seal under the ice, or smell a deer a quarter of a mile away. They have a thick, furry coat of a tawny brindled color, and in the winter their bodies are covered with a thick fleece of wool. They so closely resemble the wolf of this region that they are readily mistaken for one. They are very similar in appearance and disposition to the Greenland dogs. In Labrador there is a nondescript stock of dogs so fierce in nature that it is customary to suspend a heavy wooden log by a rope to the neck, which impedes their actions so as to make them less dangerous to man and weaker dogs. The true Labrador dog exhibited on the bench has nothing to do with this variety, for, strictly speaking, the Labrador breed is not a circumpolar creature, for he weakens and dies with the temperature at sixty degrees.

The dog is the least pure of our pet animals. His ancestors were the most depraved types of animals and his title is bad. In the northern latitudes he is taught to carry loads and to hunt wild animals; in the Eastern countries he is a scavenger; and in ancient times he was taught to devour the dead. He has been domesticated and trained for ages so that many of his original traits have been obliterated, but the taint of the jackal is there and the wolfish blood is sure to crop up. Turn him loose and exempt him from man's influence and he soon degenerates and returns to his original mongrel type. The question of placing such an animal upon a pedestal and claiming for him all the good traits and mental endowments of a superior creature is unscientific. If we must have pets there are other creatures cleaner and more intelligent by nature.

GEORGE E. WALSH.

A STRIDE IN IRISH CIVILIZATION.

THE movement in Ireland that is destined to elevate the social condition of the agricultural laborers is an interesting and hopeful outcome of agitation. Although initiated for leverage purposes, with few real friends as sponsors, it acquired a force during the Land League Campaign that compelled recognition by the government.

In the struggle to obtain equitable land laws, strength was added to the public assemblies by the presence of laborers. Their wrongs were discussed on the same platforms from which those of the farmers were eloquently ventilated. The conditions in which they lived were so utterly degrading that it was impossible to attempt a truthful description without presenting a thrilling picture of human suffering. And this picture drew tears from the laborers themselves. The hideousness of their debasement had not been perceived until it came to be set forth by sympathetic speakers.

It did not appear that the laborers were blameful for living in one-roomed hovels with pigs and poultry because there were sanitary laws that made it a misdemeanor to do so. A class steeped in poverty could not rise

from wretchedness without some form of government help. This view was so strongly urged that, when the farmer had received the first substantial advantages from legislation, a law was enacted which encouraged the belief that every laborer would be provided with a cottage and half an acre of land.

It is fifteen years since both houses of the British Parliament passed the measure which was to make a new Ireland. Within that period something over 11,000 cottages have been built and occupied. A very small percentage of the agricultural laboring class is represented in the achievement, but there has been a lesson learned that compels a greater speed in the developments hereafter.

The law of 1883 provided that the Irish Local Government Board could order the carrying out of a scheme of improvement initiated by the local sanitary authority. Cottages could be built and land taken for half-acre plots provided that an agreement could be arrived at with the owners and occupiers. In case of opposition confirmation would have to be made by Act of Parliament.

While the Irish National representatives continued to act as a unit, the machinery of the Land League (National League) was sufficiently powerful to prevent disagreements. The occupiers did not relish the prospect of having choice pieces cut from their farms, but feared to excite the anger of the League by outspoken disapproval. After Parnell was dethroned a new order of things prevailed. The "union of hearts" was dissolved and the farmers, having regained independence, soon manifested their real feelings in regard to allotments.

Fortunately for the ultimate success of the movement a beginning had been made that was enough to intensify the longing for a generous administration of the Act of Parliament. The laborer who had secured a cottage, with the coveted half-acre, was the most envied of the residents of his district.

One would have to be present and witness the transfer of a family from a stone or mud hovel to a three-roomed trim cottage to be able to fully appreciate the elation it produced. Coming into possession of such a house was to the numerous children like the fulfillment of a fairy's promise. At nightfall they crept in and out of the two rooms adjoining, mounted softly by the ladder to the cozy room in the gable, and went to sleep unwillingly, fearing lest the "new grandeur" should vanish.

It was understood that a rent of twenty-four cents a week was to be paid for the privilege of occupation, but that was little enough for the beautiful cottage, not to speak of the bit of land for potatoes and cabbage. Hitherto their fertilizers had gone to improve fields in which they had no interest beyond the crops of one season.

The process of collecting material for an ordinary fertilizer is so painful as to make it appear to be more valuable than gold. In the districts where limestone is employed for road-repairing, grass grows luxuriantly along the road fences. It is gathered by laborers' children, and placed in pits to rot. This is considered to be easy work in comparison to that which, for a similar object, has to be done in the mountainous districts. The materials for road-repairing in the mountains usually have no fertilizing properties, and grass is neither rich nor plentiful. Bare-footed, ragged children often have to travel miles to obtain a few poor wisps for the slimy pits at the front door.

The act of Parliament dating from 1883 was to continue in force for five years, but although known from the first to be a weak measure, it was not amended until 1885. The act then passed gave the Lord Lieutenant of

Ireland and the Privy Council the power to sanction or reject schemes to take by compulsion the lands necessary for allotment. It provided that in certain conditions laborers in towns might be given half-acre gardens, and it defined the agricultural laborer as "a man or woman whose occupation is the doing of agricultural work for hire, and includes a herdsman."

Still, it was not possible to proceed with the administration of the law at more than snail's pace, and in 1886 it was further amended. Fishermen and hand-loom weavers doing agricultural work were brought within the definition of agricultural laborers, and there was a provision for permitting laborers to occupy allotments pending the erection of cottages.

In 1891 the crop of bills during the Parliamentary session included another act to amend. This made it easier to get representations before the Local Government Board in regard to the housing of laborers, and provided for the carrying into effect of an improvement scheme in the event of failure to do so by the local sanitary authority. Each amendment appeared to have some weight, but the opposition was usually so fierce that a further act to amend passed in 1892, increasing the allotments to one acre.

No arguments have been used against the principle of allotments that were strong enough to entitle them to the respect of a disinterested person. Too frequently such arguments are based on no higher ground than the selfishness that is begotten of "land hunger."

If the farmers have a grievance at all it is that the pieces of allotments are nearly always taken from their best fields. It does not matter to them that the rental is reduced in proportion, or that it would be unfair to select the poorest land for the half-acre or acre intended to supply the chief requirements of a family.

The changes in farming operations have rendered it necessary to place the agricultural laborers on a basis of this kind in order to prevent increase of pauperism or wholesale emigration. Farmers are able to get along with very little hired help. Machinery and the system of *Kooring* or exchanging work, have become more popular, especially in the province of Munster. *Kooring* is held in high favor because it brings the young people, sons and daughters of farmers, together nearly every day in harvest. Compensation for hard work includes evenings devoted to feasting and portions of nights to dancing, courting and match-making. There was a time when Irish laborers went every year to England and Scotland to assist at harvesting. Alteration in agricultural methods and depression put an end to this market.

By a later Parliament, still another bill was passed to facilitate the working of the Laborers Acts. It was promised by the government as a concession to the Anti-Parnellites, who had introduced and withdrawn a measure with this object in view. The chief secretary for Ireland, Mr. Gerald Balfour, intimated that something would be done by the Treasury to help to place the cottages and allotments of land upon such a footing as that the local tax-payers may be relieved from the burden of having to pay annually the difference between the amount charged for rent, $12.48, and the interest on loan for purchase of land and erection of cottage, about $24.

It is not expected that any scheme for building laborers' cottages will pay directly. At present it costs the tax-payers a great deal to maintain the poor in monster buildings called Unions. Some of these are occupied by as many as 2,000 people each, including sick, infirm and able-bodied. They were originally known as workhouses, and enough was done in them by way of industry, to justify the appellation. Work became unpopular, and

they have since been chiefly remarkable as hot-beds of corrupting influences. The children born within their walls too often go to swell the ranks of the thriftless and the criminal. The system throughout has but one redeeming feature and that is care for the sick.

With a thorough administration of the Laborers' Acts, pauperism would diminish. The self respect generated by removal from the tumble-down, one-roomed hovel to the wholesome, lime-washed cottage would make the poor-house impossible as a refuge.

The Irish people in foreign lands speedily adapt themselves to their surroundings. In their own country the processes which effect a change in habits and customs must be powerful when they succeed against the rooted prejudices of centuries. Bearing this in mind, one cannot view without emotion the results in the case of the Irish laboring class.

It seems a long step from a hovel, with a disease-breeding pool at the front door, to a cottage adorned by trailing vines and bordered by flower-beds bright with color.

This wonderful transformation was accomplished during one season in Ireland. A philanthropic resident of Cork provided flowers and shrubs for the experiment and published a list of prizes for the best flower plots and beds of vegetables. The result was an agreeable surprise to all who visited the cottages. The front yards were tastefully laid out, showing to advantage annuals and perennials.

Those who have travelled in Ireland know that nothing so pitifully appeals to the stranger as the tumble-down houses of the laborers. There is hardly one out of the thirty-two counties wholly free from this blot upon the paternalism which the British governmental system engenders. It would be disappointing to tourists if the hovel and the tatterdemalion were to disappear from the elements that make for the picturesque, but there are few who would not rejoice at such a gain for decency and good morals.

GEORGE HENRY BASSETT.

HUNGER AND POVERTY IN ITALY.

IT is the economical condition of Italy which has brought about the present political situation there. The clamor for bread was the cause of the uprising called "bread riots," but the recent revolt was brought on by the government, which, through mere fear of revolution, turned the troops against its unarmed citizens. The reasons for revolt were very strong and have long existed, with consequent agitation against the government. To quell this agitation effectually the government has found the means, and the occasion was made an excuse for entirely suppressing the opposition in the press and in Parliament.

The condition of Italy has not been known abroad because of the strict censorship of the press and the telegraph. The truth could not be told in Italy. All mouths that could not be stopped by corruption or in some other way were silenced by imprisonment or banishment to regions where they would not be heard from. The few who told the truth abroad were not believed, for the truth was too terrible to be believed easily, and it seemed that if such a state of affairs existed it would already have been known.

A disease is known by its symptoms. The fact that each year in Italy a hundred thousand persons go mad with hunger, while thousands die of the *pellagra*, hunger-madness, shows that the malady from which Italy is

suffering is starvation. The hundreds of thousands in a half demented state, called *la melancolia*, show that this malady is general.

The Italians are justly ashamed of being the only nation afflicted with this scourge. They try to find an excuse by saying that if the peasants would not eat spoiled grain they would not have the *pellagra*. But the peasants often have nothing else to eat. Italy does not raise enough food for its inhabitants and its people are without money to buy.

The other matter of the salt seems at first a trifle. There is plenty of salt in Italy. The salt mines of Sardinia are famous. Rock salt is produced there at a cost of one *centesimo* a kilogram. A tax is put on it which brings it up to 40 *centesimi* a kilogram. Thus it costs the consumer forty times more than it should (about what sugar costs here). One would say that the salt required is so little that the cost of it would be a trifle; but in Italy it is a very noticeable item in the expenses of even a well-to-do family eating much less in bulk than the peasants must do to exist, for they live principally on a diet of *polenta* (corn meal porridge). The fact is that the peasants cannot afford to put enough salt in their food to make it digestible. So lack of salt is reckoned as one of the chief causes of the *pellagra*.

What people and animals suffer from lack of salt is well known; yet the Italian Government, in need of money always, raises it by taxing food more and more heavily, especially salt; for both the rich and the poor must eat salt. Thus the salt tax is its largest revenue.

The sufferings of *pellagra* are those well known in times of famine. The effects sometimes do not entirely disappear. A woman of my acquaintance near Monza, who had had the *pellagra* some years before, was considered cured. She was the wife of a prosperous shop-keeper when I knew her. The only remaining trace of her malady was that from time to time she stopped in conversation, a look of anguish came into her eyes, and she would say in her dialect: "*Il pan l'è bon, e il vin l'è bon, ma il pan l'è bon! Bread* is good, and wine is *good, but bread is good!*" The horror of that suffering from starvation had never left her.

A newspaper office is perhaps as good a place as can be found to see and know what is going on in a country. Documents of all sorts pass before one there, much that is interesting that cannot be published—at least in Italy, with its press censorship. An American in Italian journalism is astonished to see how much there is that cannot be published because of its being too true. But the most curious of all are the items which can be printed freely because they are facts accepted as a matter of course. The following will illustrate: A box was sent to the paper with which the writer was connected containing what appeared to be a cake of mud. It was covered with a thick, green mould, and looked as though it had come from a ditch. The box was marked "bread," and the newspaper which accompanied it contained the following article:

"*Bread of Clay and Acorns.*—They are little discs or biscuits rolled flat and adhering to each other in groups, of a material which only a chemical analysis could determine. In five or six days they are covered with a green growth of mould in long filaments. Thus they bring to mind the fungi growing on old oak trees.

"The housewives gather red clay and boil it. In the thick broth of clay they throw chopped acorns until the water is all absorbed and there remains a dense black mass, which they set to rise, and afterward lay in flat pieces to dry. When it is dry it is ready to serve at table.

"Bread thus prepared is usually abundant, except in years when acorns are scarce. Then the pigs compete with the people; a competition all the more dangerous because the pigs—gluttons that they are—eat the acorns but not the clay."

Our paper merely remarked: "The *dura* of the Africans, whom we have an ambition to civilize, is much more fit for human beings."

Americans will wonder why these poor mud-eaters do not emigrate to America. There is no danger of that, for they are too poor to get away, Neither will the hunger-mad nor the cave-dwellers emigrate. For, according to official statistics, there are 260,000 in Italy who dwell in holes and caverns.

If statistics were taken to tell the story of ruin, neglect, cruelty, oppression and almost desolation of Italy, the tale would horrify the civilized world. But the Italians themselves are so hardened to it that nothing surprises them, unless it is that there is still strength left to rise.

The worst is that no serious measures of relief are being taken. The government, while squandering millions for the prestige of the monarchy, gives nothing but a small sum, amounting, when divided among those suffering with the hunger madness, to twenty-five cents each *per year*. That could not be called a serious measure of relief. The general poverty is so great that it seems hopeless and useless for private citizens to attempt to relieve it by charities. Besides, everybody knows that it is not a question of charities, but a political question.

More serious even than the expensive standing army is the still more expensive bureaucracy supported by the monarchy—and supporting it—which squanders the money of the people. With malefactors in control of the government and surrounding the king, who shows by his attitude that he is utterly indifferent to the welfare of the country, good people in Italy have been completely discouraged. The abuses and corruption of the government were exposed by Dario Papa in the press, and afterward in Parliament by Felice Cavalotti. The government could not suppress these men, for they were patriots and had fought in the war of independence. But now that Felice Cavalotti has been killed in duel by a conservative member of Parliament and Dario Papa is dead of heart failure, struggling for the oppressed of Italy, the government considers the moment favorable for suppressing the opposition. The entire press of the opposition is now silenced—not only the republican *Italia del Popolo*, but the *Secolo*, which had the largest circulation of any newspaper in Italy; also the clerical organ, *L' Osservatore Cattolico*, whose editor, the priest, Davide Albertario, has been arrested. Opposition in Parliament has been suppressed by imprisoning all the leaders of the extreme left.

The Pope is not plotting to overthrow the monarchy, for he knows that it will fall even without his interference. The Catholics hardly expect to regain the temporal power of the Pope, but they hope to have a position of more dignity in a republic than that which they hold under the House of Savoy.

The Republicans are not inciting the people to revolution; they only prepare for what will surely come. They hope that it will be a revolution, not a hecatomb; but if leaders are not prepared, if the people are not educated to act with reason, it is believed that Italy will see a reign of terror, destruction and slaughter such as the world has never known.

MRS. DARIO PAPA.

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WHAT THE UNIONISTS HAVE DONE FOR IRELAND.

BY T. W. RUSSELL, M. P., SECRETARY OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.

WITH the passage of the Irish Local Government Bill things have now reached a point at which it is possible to take stock of the policy of the Unionist Party in Ireland—when it is even desirable to cast up the accounts and to ascertain what the position really is. At the election of 1886 the policy of setting up an Irish Parliament was negatived in the most decided manner by the constituencies. In 1895 the condemnation of that policy was even more emphatic. But neither of these verdicts was given on the assumption that everything was right, or as it ought to be, in Ireland. They were delivered, on the contrary, after the fullest admission by the Unionis leaders that there were grievances to be redressed and wrongs to be righted, and it was clearly affirmed that the Imperial Parliament was at once able and willing to do what was right by Ireland and her people. Lord Hartington, all through the dogged and splendid resistance he offered to Mr. Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill, took this ground. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain were equally emphatic. And now that three years of strong Unionist administration have come and gone since

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1895, it is alike interesting and desirable to ask where we stand—what has been done and what remains to be accomplished? The Irish question, apart, of course, from the demand for the restoration of national rights, may be thus summarized: (1.) Land reform; (2.) Local government; (3.) The Western problem; (4.) Higher education.

I propose to deal with each of these subjects. My contention is that, with one exception, they have been recognized by the Unionist Party to require, not only attention, but radical treatment, and that before the present Parliament expires they are, with the exception referred to, almost certain to be dealt with and satisfactorily settled. I go further and venture to maintain that, when these great issues are satisfactorily settled, no sectional grievance of any importance will remain. Social legislation will, of course, be demanded. Administrative reform will be necessary. As the country progresses new problems will necessarily spring up. But these problems will affect the whole people, and will not demand exceptional or sectional treatment. It is, therefore, of supreme importance that, in order to reach this point, what remains of British prejudice in regard to Ireland should be overcome. The Irish Representatives no longer hold the balance of power in the House of Commons. They are hopelessly divided among themselves. They appear to hate each other far more than they hate "the common enemy." And it is perfectly true that with the revised procedure of Parliament they can be defied. I believe, however, that the Government and the House of Commons ought to resist this great temptation; that, while setting their foot firmly down on the policy of dismemberment, they ought with patience, and even with some sacrifice, to endeavor to undo the wrongs of the past, and so put themselves right in the eyes of the civilized world. Let us see how far this Unionist policy has been carried out. I begin with the

QUESTION OF THE LAND.

Where do we stand on this crucial question? It is impossible to deny that during the last year or two a certain sympathy has begun to grow up in favor of the Irish landlords. Agricultural depression has resulted in the serious cutting down of rents, and it is to be feared that this process has meant the ruin of many a man upon whom the extravagance and sins of his fathers have

been visited. This may or may not be an ignorant sympathy, because, in the first place, the fall in the price of agricultural produce has everywhere necessitated a serious reduction in rent; and, secondly, because the outcry against the Land Commission as a partial tribunal, which brought Sir Edward Fry and his colleagues on to the stage, has been finally disproved by the authority of the Fry commission itself. But the sympathy has undoubtedly arisen. It was inevitable that in such a work as fixing the rents of the farmers of Ireland there should be many mistakes, and that circumstances should even at times have involved carelessness and hurry. But on the question of the impartiality of the tribunal, Sir Edward Fry's words are conclusive:

"We are convinced, as we have already shown, that the settlement of fair rents has been effected in an unsatisfactory manner—with diversity of opinion and practice—sometimes with carelessness, and sometimes with that bias toward one side or the other which exists in many honest minds; but we are also convinced that the administration of justice has not been poisoned by any systematic endeavors on the part of the Commissioners or of the Assistant Commissioners to benefit either side at the expense of the other."

Not in the least surprised, therefore, at the outcry of the Landowners' Convention, and not believing that rents have been unduly reduced, I come to look at the question from the standpoint of the tenant. Has justice at last been done? If not, what remains to be accomplished?

When I was a boy the Irish tenant was in the main a mere serf. Denied all political rights, he had no legal right to his own property in the soil. If he built his own home—which was usually the case—it belonged to the landlord. If he reclaimed, drained or fenced his land, it was mainly done on the security of a yearly tenancy, and he was liable to eviction, and he was often evicted without a farthing of compensation. Hence the shape of the demand in the forties and fifties by the League of North and South. Men like Sharman Crawford, Gavan Duffy and Dr. McKnight combined for one purpose. They asked for security of tenure and legal protection for the property of the tenant. Truly, a moderate and a modest demand. But what fate awaited it? Sir Joseph Napier, the representative of Trinity College, and the Irish Attorney-General in Lord Derby's Administration, introduced a bill in 1854 which met the demand fairly, and might have settled the question for a generation. But the Irish land-

lords would have none of it. The bill perished. Reasonable reform was refused. The lapse of half a century has brought loss and trouble, ending with revolution. The revolution commenced with Mr. Gladstone's bill of 1870. It was practically completed by the Acts of 1881 and 1887. These great measures suffered severely in the Irish courts. But the Morley Committee of 1894, shedding the clear light of day upon the actual facts, paved the way for and rendered absolutely necessary the Act of 1896, by which many of the decisions of the Irish Court of Appeal, however right they may have been in strict law, were reversed as being against public policy and the intention of Parliament, with the result that the tenant's advocate no longer feels when he enters the court that he is treading on a series of trapdoors.

Under the various enactments passed since 1870, the Irish tenant has now secured, among many other things:

(1.) Absolute security of tenure on payment of a fair rent.

(2.) A fair rent, fixed by a tribunal set up by Parliament.

(3.) The right to sell his interest in the tenancy to the highest bidder.

(4.) Absolute protection for his improvements, and the presumption, with certain limitations, as to ownership in his favor.

(5.) Facilities for purchase where the owner agrees to sell, the whole purchase money being advanced by the state.

(6.) Compulsory sale of bankrupt estates in the Land Judges' Courts to the tenants.

The bare enumeration of these rights must convince every fair-minded man that Parliament has gone a very long way toward making an end of the Irish land question. I quite admit that there are points left unsettled, and that the question of the administration of the acts by the Land Commission is of enormous importance. But no one can now say, assuming that things remain as they are, that the Land Law as it affects agricultural tenancies is unjust. It may doubtless permit of individual cases of hardship. The depression in agriculture may make it hard for the farmers to live. But the law is now substantially just in theory, and, notwithstanding mistakes, is on the whole reasonably administered.

One matter, however, of great importance stands out, requiring attention and careful handling. By the Act of 1896 it was proposed to clear the Land Judges' Court of all those bankrupt es-

tates for which a receiver had been appointed by the court. There are hundreds of such properties in the court. Grave difficulties have, however, arisen in the administration of the 40th section of this act. Under this section the Land Judge claims that he alone has the right to decide the price at which the estate may be sold, and that the duty of the Land Commission is confined to valuing the land for the purposes of sale. The contention of the Land Commission is that the Land Purchase Acts apply to estates in the Land Judges' Court, in the same way as they apply to the estates of ordinary vendors.

In this way a complete deadlock has been brought about. Mr. Justice Ross is supposed to take a somewhat liberal view in dealing with the money of the British taxpayer, and in fixing the price to be paid for these bankrupt estates. The Land Commission, on the other hand, is suspected of somewhat narrow dealing—suspected, that is to say, of overlooking the fact that the state in advancing the money has the interest of both landlord and tenant as security for the advance. It is to be hoped, now that the Court of Appeal has decided against the contention of the Land Judge, now that it has been decided that Mr. Justice Ross has no power under the act to "ladle out the money" of the British taxpayer to the mortgagees of bankrupt Irish landowners, a way out of the serious difficulty may be found.

This, however, is administration. The intention of Parliament is clear. What the Act of 1896 intended to do was to clear the Land Judges' Court of these estates, to abolish a huge Rent Office managed by the state, and to give to the tenants on these estates the option of purchase.

To my mind, then, on the land question the Imperial Parliament has gone as far in principle as an Irish Parliament could or ought to go. And the Land Law, so far as agricultural tenancies are concerned, being now substantially just, all that Parliament can do is to see that the Purchase Acts have a free course, and that the Law of Tenure is administered without fear, favor or affection.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

It is now almost sixty years since Lord John Russell promised to substitute County Boards for Grand Juries, in answer to the demand of O'Connell. Sixty years is no doubt a long time to wait. But it has not all been loss. I doubt whether the Irish people

sixty years ago were ready for local self government. Indeed, I am sure they were not. And in connection with this point it ought to be remembered that England, Wales and Scotland only received this right in 1888 and 1889. But, be this as it may, the revolution has come, and come with a vengeance. Mr. Gerald Balfour's bill is thorough, whatever else it may be. Let us roughly set out what it proposes to do.

(1.) It arranges for the transfer of all the administrative functions of the Grand Juries to County Councils elected on a popular franchise, *i. e.*, the parliamentary, *plus* peers and women.

(2.) It changes the entire incidence of rating, making the occupier everywhere liable for a consolidated rate.

(3.) It provides for the payment out of Imperial funds of half of the County Cess now paid wholly by the occupier, and the half of the Poor Rate now paid by the owner. This involves a contribution from Imperial sources of something like £730,000 *per annum*.

(4.) It vests the management and control of lunatic asylums in a Visiting Committee, to be chosen by the County Council.

(5.) It provides for the establishment of Rural District Councils, the members of which will be the Sanitary Authority, and will be elected on the same franchise as the County Councillors.

(6.) It confines the Poor Law authorities, *i. e.*, the Boards of Guardians, to poor law work, and transfers everything foreign to that work to either the County or the Rural District Council.

(7.) It abolishes *ex-officio* Guardians, the property qualification for election and plural voting, and substitutes vote by ballot for the present plan of voting by papers.

(8.) It assimilates the franchise in boroughs and small towns to that in force in the country.

These are some of the leading provisions in what has been justly called "this revolutionary measure." For it is a revolution. If I were to assume that things in Ireland were to continue as they are now, that the battle for place on these Councils was to be fought on party or religious grounds, the bill would mean the transfer of every atom of power to the Nationalists and Catholics in 27 out of the 32 Irish Counties. As to the remaining four Counties, it would mean that in Antrim, Down and Derry the Presbyterians would settle accounts with the Episcopalians, and that the latter body would hold Armagh.

I look forward to nothing of the kind—for these, among other reasons. Many highly intelligent Nationalists are seriously exercised in their minds as to the working out of this great scheme. In most of the Counties the people are wholly unaccustomed to work of this kind. The educated men of many districts, apart from the country gentry, consist of the priests and the shopkeepers, and the former class are wholly excluded from election by the bill. For a Home Rule Parliament each County could easily have found four capable men, either inside or outside its bounds, as representatives. To find 30 or 40 County Councillors who must be residents is a wholly different matter. And the Nationalists I refer to, view with some apprehension such an experiment as Mr. Gerald Balfour proposes. For, of course, a breakdown in County Government would be very injurious, if not absolutely fatal, to the National demand. The Unionists would say at once: "If you cannot manage the affairs of a County or a District, how are you to manage those of a Nation?" This very difficulty, and the necessity for ensuring that no breakdown shall take place, will necessitate the election of a certain number of those Unionists who, on the Grand Juries and other public boards, have been accustomed to do the public work of the County or District. This necessity for co-operation will therefore tend to break down the strong party feeling which now exists. And I look upon it as certain that a considerable number of those Unionist country gentlemen who have been accustomed to County work will find seats on the new boards.

But there is another and a better ground upon which I reach the same conclusion. I refer to the sensible decay of party feeling in Ireland. There are many Protestants who have strenuously resisted the demand for an Irish Parliament, who, admitting the strength of the Nationalist case from certain standpoints, desire to co-operate heartily with the majority of the people, where co-operation is possible. They do not think that the government of Ireland by England has always been wise. Indeed, up to 1868 it abounded in mistakes sufficient to madden a sensitive people. Short of a separate Legislature, they desire to pay respectful attention to every reasonable demand made on behalf of the majority of the Irish people. I know this to be a growing feeling among educated Protestants. This bill, and this is one of its chief attractions for me, will enormously foster this feeling. It is only a few

months since Roman Catholics gained admission to the corporations of Belfast and Londonderry. They were, of course, excluded not on account of their religion, but by the franchise which prevailed in the one case, and by the arrangement of the wards in the other. What has been the result? Extreme men on the Protestant side fretted and fumed. Deputations tried to persuade Members of Parliament of the mischief that would be certain to ensue. Is the business of these Irish towns anything the worse for the admixture of a handful of "mere papists" in the Town Councils? No one—not the extremest of Orangemen—will say so. A great blot on the administration of these towns has been removed, and the air is all the sweeter for the removal of this grievance.

Look at the House of Commons itself. Ten years ago no man knew what a sitting would bring forth. The Irish Nationalist members were at war with the House. Years before I entered Parliament I had been on terms of friendship with such men as Mr. Healy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Jordan. But the stress and strain of this acute daily warfare severed all friendships and made us almost personal foes. We agreed on many things, and we knew that we agreed. But such was the bitterness of the strife that all agreement was lost sight of in the daily feud that raged. This feeling has, I rejoice to think, passed away. I can now meet and consult with Irish Nationalists on Irish questions. At a critical moment in the history of the Morley Land Committee in 1894, when the Unionists left the room and washed their hands of the whole business, I was able to remain in my seat and co-operate heartily with Mr. Dillon, Mr. Healy and Mr. Sexton in drawing a report which necessitated the Act of 1896, and I can with confidence assert that no act of mine in Parliament has more entirely commended itself to the people I represent than this one, which would have been impossible ten years ago. Colonel Saunderson can now preside over a meeting of Irish Members, representing every party, to discuss the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland. And, speaking generally, a truce has been called.

This blessed spirit has been apparent all through the discussions on the Local Government Bill. From the first there has been a section of Irish Unionists who disliked the bill. These gentlemen did not take the ground that out and out resistance

ought to be offered to it. No such line of battle was possible. It was felt to be absurd that powers and privileges conferred ten years ago upon the laborers of Dorset and Devon should be withheld from the Irish farmer. But the demand for "safeguards," for a minority vote, for the disfranchisement of illiterates, for double member constituencies, and for other restrictions calculated to lessen the voting power of the majority of the Irish people, was persistent. It is greatly to the credit of Colonel Saunderson, Colonel Waring and Mr. Wm. Johnston—all three typical Orangemen—that they have stood firmly by the bill and have not sought to embarrass the Government. These gentlemen have followed this course, although denounced by their organs in the press and on platforms. And it is only just and fair to recognize the fact. What the outcome of it all may be is another matter. It is a great experiment. It is not too much to say that its success will depend wholly upon the spirit shown by the Irish leaders on both sides. If religion and politics do not get the upper hand in the elections, if the best and most competent men are chosen as Councillors, if there is a general determination to let the dead past bury its dead and to work in the future for the good of the country, then Mr. Gerald Balfour's bill will bring with it a healing power for which all men will be found to speak him well. But whatever comes, this fact cannot be questioned—the Irish people will have got the complete management of their local affairs. In this respect they will be in exactly the same position of England, Scotland and Wales.

HIGHER EDUCATION.

Upon this question much might have been said twelve months ago. Little I fear can, or need, be said to-day. Five and twenty years ago Mr. Gladstone made a courageous effort to deal with this question—the most difficult and thorny question in Irish politics. The great man failed in his effort—failed because of the opposition of Trinity College, Dublin, and of the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops. During the present year Mr. Arthur Balfour, the ablest and the most popular leader the Conservative party has seen for many years, has approached the question afresh from another standpoint. I am afraid it must be said that he, too, has failed, although he has had the support of Trinity College and the good will of the Roman Catholic representatives in Parlia-

ment. After a two days' debate in the House of Commons, in which the whole weight of the House, as well as of the argument, was in favor of the views expressed by the First Lord of the Treasury, it was felt that the question could not be taken up by the Government without the certainty of dividing the Unionist party in a way that the Government could not risk. Mr. Balfour did not contemplate, as is generally supposed, the establishment and endowment of a Roman Catholic university, pure and simple. What he did contemplate was the establishment and endowment of a second University in Ireland on lines acceptable to Roman Catholics, *i. e.*, a university whose doors, offices and emoluments would be open to all creeds, as in the case of the University of Dublin, but the board or governing body of which should be Roman Catholic, just as the Senate of the University of Dublin is Protestant. Whatever grievance the Roman Catholics of Ireland may have in connection with this matter, and personally I think it a very real and serious grievance, there is not the slightest use in attempting to conceal the fact that the "No Popery" feeling in certain parts of England and Scotland, the strong Nonconformist view against even the indirect endowment of religion by the state, added to the opposition of Ulster, all combine to make the task almost an impossibility. I regret it on every ground. In the first place it makes a good Home Rule argument. I cannot say in the future what I have always maintained in the past—that the Imperial Parliament is alike able and willing to remedy every Irish grievance. I admit the grievance here. And I have, also, to admit that Anti-Roman prejudice is still strong enough to prevent the application of a remedy. I regret it, also, because of the injury accruing to Ireland by the refusal. It is all very well to say that Ireland is a country of small farmers and that it is the means of earning their daily bread, not university education, that is wanted. But what would Scotland have been if this argument had prevailed? It is the glory of that part of the United Kingdom that the sons of the common people have gone from the parish school to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen or St. Andrews, and that as a result they have conferred honor and renown on the land of their birth in every part of the world. The way ought to be open in Ireland as it has been and is now in Scotland. It is not technically barred at present so far as the state is concerned. Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges and the Royal University

are open to all creeds. This is quite true. But as regards Trinity and the Queen's, both institutions are banned by the Church, while the Royal is a mere examining body, and not much of that. A Roman Catholic lad whose parents desire that he should receive the advantages of university education ought not to be compelled to get it at the expense of his conscientious convictions. He ought not to be forced to transgress the law and disobey the mandate of his Church. At all events, the question, I fear, is settled for the present Parliament, and settled in a way that is certain to produce mischief and trouble in the future.

THE WESTERN PROBLEM.

I have now given a brief sketch of the present situation as regards three questions of first-class importance—the Land, Local Government and Higher Education. I come now to consider another problem occupying public attention, upon which some action is clearly desirable—the condition of large numbers of people in certain parts of the South and West, commonly described as the congested districts. Special attention has been lately concentrated upon these areas by the failure of the potato crop and the consequent want and distress which invariably follow in the train of this calamity. Here, the question of the extent of this distress, and the best methods of dealing with it, does not arise. I wish to get behind the distress itself to the causes which produce it, and to the remedies which are capable of being applied.

Visiting these districts, and witnessing the extreme poverty of the people, one cannot help asking what the conditions of life must have been prior to 1847, when the population was double what it is to-day. But even with the clearances that have taken place since that dread period, the evidences of which are visible to the naked eye to-day, the cry of want and distress comes to the doors of Parliament with unfailing regularity. Given the slightest failure in the potato crop, the resources of the Poor Law are immediately strained, relief works in some shape or other are called for, demoralization at once sets in, and the whole country is humiliated. Why should such a state of affairs exist? These districts form part of a country rich beyond the dreams of avarice. The annual budget of the United Kingdom amounts to £112,000,000, sterling. The country is full of realized wealth. Its industrial progress is one of the wonders of the world. It can spend £130,-

000,000 *per annum* on alcoholic luxuries without apparent suffering. Why, then, should a state of affairs such as exists within this limited and well-defined area be allowed to go on—getting worse, as some people think, rather than better, as the years go round?

The first thing necessary here is to get at the facts. Roughly speaking, the area to be dealt with lies on the western seaboard of Ireland, and includes certain portions of Kerry, Mayo, Galway and Donegal. The actual facts of the problem are simple in the extreme. In these parts of Ireland agriculture, or what goes by that name, is the sole industry. As a result of the famine of 1847, cattle and sheep have taken to a very large extent the place of human beings. Great tracts of country have been turned into sheep walks. The best of the land has been given over to grazing and the people are left to scratch the mountain side or to reclaim patches from among the rocks. Life is impossible for people under such circumstances. The young men go to England and Scotland for the harvest—where their labor is greatly appreciated. Young girls go to domestic service. Others go to America. And from all three sources a revenue is obtained which in normal times just suffices to keep body and soul together. From the land itself subsistence for a family is impossible. The people grow potatoes, with the result that, using the same seed year by year, the land gets worn out. Then come failure and relief works. They rear small cattle on the bleak mountain sides—animals that are hardly worth rearing and which produce little or nothing when they are reared. Out of much of such land no economic rent is possible, and no landlord can have any real interest in anything there save in a radical reform of the whole plan of living. In normal times the diet of thousands of these people is more meagre than that of the ordinary pauper in the worst of our English workhouses. I saw recently that an accomplished correspondent of a smart daily paper confessed his inability to find "the famine" that was being insisted on by the Irish members in Parliament. But this same gentleman admitted to the full the wretched conditions under which the people lived and the necessity of dealing with the problem itself.

Now, although this statement will be challenged, it cannot be fairly said that the Government have shown any lack of consideration in this matter. Some years ago Mr. Arthur Balfour persuaded Parliament to make a free grant of £1,250,000 (and this

has since been supplemented by a very large sum) for railways to traverse some of these districts. The lines are all open for traffic and are being worked by the great trunk lines of the country. In 1891 Mr. Balfour took another step, and one which may yet turn out to be the means of dealing effectively with the difficulty —he established the Congested Districts Board. This body consists of certain gentlemen selected by the Irish Government, who are charged with the duty of assisting the people of these districts in a variety of ways. They have an annual income of £42,000 derived from a capital sum taken from the Irish Church surplus. Beyond all doubt their work has been of importance—not alone in the paths they have gone, but in pointing out the possibilities. Two or three things must be said at this point. The first is that something ought to be done to make the holdings occupied by these people more adequate than they now are. The land at the best is wretched in character. But reclaimed bog grows good potatoes, and, if the potato crop turns out well trouble diminishes. The Congested Districts Board have already pointed the way in this respect. They have purchased certain small estates, and, by getting rid of the grazing tenants, they have been enabled to add the land thus acquired to the small and inadequate holdings of the tenants. They have repaired the cabins, made farm roads, mended the fences and built schools. And when all this has been done, they have sold the holdings to the tenants under the Land Purchase Acts—with the result that they pay as a terminable annuity to the state for the enlarged holdings very little more than they paid to the old landlord as a perpetual rent for the smaller area. If the Congested Districts Board had never done anything but this one thing—and it has done much more—it would have fully justified its existence. Of course, this remedy is not capable of universal application. But in a great many districts the grazing land is there. No one proposes to take it without the fullest compensation. But, if ever state interference could be justified, it would be here and under these circumstances. With more money to work upon, the Congested Districts Board could do much, even without compulsion.

But this is only the first step in the work. These people have many splendid virtues. They endure hardship, suffering and hunger under the conviction that it is the will of God. This for them is enough. But whatever their virtues may be, they know nothing

of the arts by which a country prospers. They are not in reality farmers. They are in fact fifty or a hundred years behind even the rest of Ireland. With enlarged holdings will come the necessity for some form of agricultural education. And even then the land will not suffice for the people. Centres such as Carna and Carraroe will have somehow or other to be thinned out, and cottage industries introduced. All this the Congested Districts Board have on hand. Their operations are only limited by their financial resources. It is money that is required. And for the enlargement of holdings it is not a free grant, but a loan, that is needed. I believe that those who are responsible for the government of Ireland are fully alive to the problem and are anxious to solve it. No miracle can be worked. Time, money, firmness and patience are alike necessary. And as it is only an extension of work already sanctioned and begun that is necessary, I hope and believe that the present Parliament will not cease to exist without laying the foundation for better days in these long-neglected and, in many cases, beautiful regions. It ought not to be said that:

> "In a climate soft as a mother's smile,
> With a soil fruitful as God's love,
> The Irish people starve."

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIES BOARD.

Next session will probably see the re-introduction of the Agriculture and Industries Bill—a measure which was introduced and withdrawn by Mr. Gerald Balfour in 1897. This bill proposes to establish an Agriculture and Industries Department, with a special board, whose duty it will be to foster and encourage the backward agriculture of certain districts, and to aid in establishing industries that will act as a supplement thereto. The measure has much more support outside Parliament than within its walls. It is the outcome of a remarkable movement* which culminated in what was called the "Recess Committee"—a body composed of men of all parties who place their trust for the future of Ireland in the development of its industrial resources, rather than in political reforms. The report of the Recess Committee undoubtedly produced a great effect upon public opinion. It showed how much the state had done on the Continent of Europe in aid of agriculture and other industries, and how little had been done in

* This movement was fully described in an article entitled "The Irish Question in a New Light," contributed to the January (1898) number of this REVIEW by the Right Hon. Horace Plunkett, M. P., Chairman of the Recess Committee and President of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society.—ED. N. A. R.

this respect for Ireland. A great impetus has also been given to the movement by the steady growth and success of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, a body which is steadily reforming the butter industry by means of co-operative creameries and other agencies. There can be no doubt that there is a wide field for operations of this character. Much is being done by the organization I have referred to and by the Congested Districts Board. And the establishment of popular County and District Government will enable more to be done. In this work the state may very well be asked to bear a part, and the carriage of the bill abandoned in 1897 would be another large step in the material regeneration of the country.

From what I have said, it will be apparent that, so far as the real needs of Ireland are concerned, there has been no neglect by the Legislature during the present Parliament. The alternative policy to Home Rule is being steadily brought to the front and applied. A policy such as that which has been pursued without faltering has, of course, given rise to much searching of heart among many Unionists. The land-owning class, many of them overwhelmed by mortgages and family charges, have not welcomed the Land Act of 1896. Nobody expected they would do so. And it would be idle to deny that the calamities by which many of them have been overtaken have elicited a volume of sympathy which made the task of the Government very difficult. Similarly, as regards Local Government, the old governing class, and a section of the extreme Orangemen in Ulster, have bitterly resented what means in reality their disestablishment. But the feeling of resentment has been by no means universal, and sensible men everywhere have realized that it was impossible to maintain the old non-representative and exclusive system of County and District Government. But the Government, undeterred by abuse, and heedless of threats, which, of course, were as impotent as they were foolish, have carried out the pledges given since 1886, and a few months now will see the local affairs of Ireland committed to the management of the Irish people. A great experiment truly, and one assuredly worth making. I am told it will prove the prelude to Home Rule, and that its successful working will ensure the larger and more ambitious scheme. This view is held by Lord Spencer and a large number of English Liberals. My own view, however, is of a directly opposite character. The Home

Rule movement has gone back—not forward. The death of Mr. Gladstone must also tend to further disintegration on the question. For old Liberals who never felt sure of their policy, but who were devoted and with good cause to "the Grand Old Man," will now feel free to act on their own views. They will say—they are already saying*—that the Local Government Bill is as much of Home Rule as they ever really wished to confer upon Ireland, and they will weaken the ranks of the Home Rule Liberals by this plea. It is also becoming more and more apparent that any real alliance of the British Liberals with the Irish Home Rule party is out of the question. It is not only on the question of education that their ways lie apart. They approach other questions from wholly different standpoints. And even if the views here expressed were baseless, I see no hope for an Irish Parliament within any period to which a practical politician cares to look forward. Given the defeat of the Unionist party at the next election—a not impossible contingency—what then? Where is the leader of the Liberals? Where is the Liberal policy? Under no conceivable circumstances can the Liberals sweep the country. A majority of 30 or 40, inclusive of the Irish vote, is the utmost they can hope for. Will they satisfy the Irish demand? If so, shipwreck awaits them on a Home Rule bill. Will they refuse to do so? They will be out of office in a week through the opposition of the Irish vote.

Under all these circumstances, it is something for men who care more for the welfare of the people than for systems of government to feel that much is being accomplished for Ireland, that grievances are being redressed, wrongs righted and justice done. This is what is going on in Ireland under the auspices of the Unionist party, to the satisfaction of all well-wishers of the country.

T. W. Russell.

* See Mr. Burton's letter to the Hon. R. Spencer, East Herts Election, June 21, 1898.

SHAKESPEARE IN 1898.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

Some time ago, Mr. Swinburne prophesied that 1894 would in time to come be known as "Walter Scott's year," because, although much that was curious and interesting appeared during the same months, nothing equalled the splendor which was thrown on the memory of Scott by the circumstance of the accidentally simultaneous publication of the "Journal" and other illuminating material. It is not easy to diagnose the state of literary health while the symptoms are upon us, and, as a matter of fact, no one, so far as I am aware, has noted that we are passing through a complete crisis of Shakespearianism. But it is true; and the concentrated activity of Shakespeare scholars in 1898 has been so remarkable that I, in my turn, prophesy that this will be known as "Shakespeare's year." This renewed and impassioned study of a poet who seemed almost hopelessly hackneyed, weighed to the ground under the terrible apparatus of the commentators, is a very striking phenomenon. Here we have a writer so over-written and over-expounded (one might have said) that it was impossible to produce a new sensation regarding him, and behold! a fresh class of students rises who treat his glorious works as if they were reading them for the first time.

This, indeed, is what strikes me as uniting in a common purpose the otherwise very dissimilar and even, on minor points, opposed critics and historians to whose labors I am about to draw attention in some detail. All of them approach their great theme as some farmer on the slopes of Vesuvius might visit his field after an eruption. It seems hopeless at first; here is the spot, indeed, but all is covered with scoriæ and dust, all is hidden with light and volatile matter steadily super-imposed. It would be madness to waste top dressings on that white and

sterile coat of ash, and the Italian farmer is tempted to leave the place altogether, and seek fresh land. But he does better; he removes the scoriæ—it is surprising how light they are—and he finds the rich fields beneath practically unhurt. That, as it seems to me, is the central instinct which has dictated to the latest students of Shakespeare their attitude. They found the poet buried under conjectures and supposition; theories of all kinds had been started, flying in the wind and dropping, almost unfelt, on to other theories, and helping to conceal and sterilize the truth.

Twenty years ago there was a great and useful movement in the sceptical direction. The text of Shakespeare had been treated with a senseless superstition. Every scene of every play had been, without question, attributed, exactly as we possess it, to his inspired pen, and no sort of investigation was made into the sources of our authority. The doubting scholars came suddenly upon us with their tests and formulas; they pointed out discrepancies and exposed illusions. There were proposed, and for the moment accepted, standards of versification. At such and such periods of his life, Shakespeare wrote thus and thus. If we found in his works of a certain date other methods of composition, then those passages were not written by Shakespeare or not at that time. An immense amount of good was done by these investigations, but they were carried much too far. People would take a play and, by using their verse-tests, declare that this scene was written by Kyd and that act by Peele. The passion grew by what it fed on, and if all the conjectures which were set forth had been accepted, in the lump, not one single unmutilated work, except perhaps "The Tempest," would have been left to Shakespeare's credit. Then there came a reaction, and Mr. Swinburne merrily quizzed all those good folk who counted verses with their fingers because, he said, they had no ears to count with. The school of chemical experiment applied to poetry fell into discredit; but it had done excellent service. It had exploded a great many errors, it had observed a great many un-noticed facts, and above all it had removed the tiresome superstition of Shakespeare's being a kind of inspired idiot, who blindly produced a body of absolutely perfect work without any of the living inequalities of an artist.

Among the manifestations of the new Shakespearians of the

last few months—all, it must be remembered, working unconsciously of the labors of the rest—the earliest place in time must be given to Mr. Sidney Lee. This gentleman has for seven years held the highly responsible office of Editor of the "Dictionary of National Biography," which he took up when the severity of the task proved too much for the health of Mr. Leslie Stephen, who had founded it in 1882. Mr. Sidney Lee is one of the most competent and brilliant of the younger school of English writers, and the rigor of his duties, their constant strain on his attention, and the width of range which they demand, have marvellously edged and tempered his intellect. This Spartan training among facts and dates, when, as I once heard the Master of the Temple very wittily say, the motto of a writer has to be the funereal one, "No flowers—by request," is as beneficial to certain minds as the laxity of journalism is hurtful. Mr. Sidney Lee has certainly thriven upon it like the *herb marjoram,* that must be crushed if it is to grow. His biographies have become more and more admirable, until his "Shakespeare," which, happily, perhaps, came so late in alphabetical order, is a masterpiece.

This biography may be called an "article," but it is really lengthy enough to form a book, and I am, in fact, enabled to state that it will before very long be published in separate form, with additional illustrative matter. It is not, I hope, a breach of confidence to announce that in this extended form it will be found to contain interesting new information about Thomas Thorpe and the W. H. of the "Sonnets," which will certainly attract a good deal of attention to one of Mr. Lee's appendices. It may be found that he has solved at last the mystery of the publication of those poems, as so many mysteries are removed, by showing that no mystery exists. To Mr. Lee's "Life of Shakespeare," as it already lies before the public, I must however confine myself.

If we ask ourselves what it is that Mr. Lee has accomplished in his remarkable biographical monograph, the answer appears to be that he has resumed in a perfectly sober and logical survey the facts about Shakespeare's life as they lie scattered over a thousand diverse sources. While other biographers of the poet have endeavored by a more or less reckless network of ingenious guesses to form a plausible portrait of him, not daring to trust alone

to what is certainly and finally known, Mr. Lee has had the courage to discard conjecture altogether, and to content himself by drawing into focus all the disjointed facts. This had been in measure done before. It was first attempted in 1709 by the poet laureate, Nicholas Rowe; Malone, a century later, searched systematically among the official papers at Stratford; while, above all, the late Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps spent a lifetime in collecting what Mr. Lee calls "massive material" for a biography. Far be it from me to seem to speak disrespectfully of that estimable scholar, whose courteous hospitality I once enjoyed with profit in the extraordinary sort of Indian village in which he stored his literary treasures above Brighton. But the mind of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps had no leaning toward the synthetic; he could not marshal his information. A fact to him was what a primrose was to Peter Bell, and his "Outline of a Life of Shakespeare" is one of the most chaotic books in existence. The results of important research are there, but they lie in distressing confusion.

It is to Mr. Sidney Lee's praise that, without the use of conjecture—that dangerous critical narcotic—and clinging as close to every spar of fact as Halliwell-Phillipps did, he has yet contrived to make out an intelligible story and to minimize the superstitious or fabulous part of the chronicle. To give an instance: A vast and needless mystery has been made about Shakespeare's wealth, as if the formation of such a fortune as he retired upon were the result of witch-craft. Turn to Mr. Sidney Lee's narrative, and the miracles of Shakespeare's money making become perfectly plain sailing. It is an exceedingly interesting episode in Elizabethan economics, and as we read the careful evidence the biographer puts together, we see how much exaggeration there has been in the treatment of the poet's financial adventures. Shakespeare was about as well off as any other successful actor-manager of the day, but certainly not abnormally prosperous. For instance, we can make out that, from the time of his adopting the profession until 1599, Shakespeare's average annual revenue was about 6,500 dollars of our money to-day. After that date he was much better off; before he retired, his yearly profit from his share of the theatres amounted to at least 25,000 dollars of to-day. This is a large income; but it pales before the profits of a contemporary manager, Edward Alleyn, who was able, without impoverishing his family, to purchase the

manor of Dulwich for £10,000 (equal to half a million dollars to-day), and to devote it to public uses. The receipts of the play houses were exceedingly large, and Mr. Lee thinks that the managers bought plays very cheaply. Ten pounds (500 dollars to-day) is the very highest price for a play recorded in the Elizabethan and Jacobean actors' accounts. It is important to realize, and Mr. Lee states it with minute lucidity, that Shakespeare's fortune was made, not by the writing of his plays, but by his admirable conduct of theatrical business.

While Mr. Sidney Lee was preparing this clear and exact biography of Shakespeare, which is certainly the most complete which we possess, an eminent foreign critic was composing a work inspired by much the same order of ideas, although carried out along very different lines. Dr. Georg Brandes has hitherto been, perhaps, less known to English-speaking readers than to any similar class on the Continent of Europe. Taking France out of the question, Dr. Brandes is certainly at this moment the most eminent foreign critic alive. He is a Dane, and his training was performed in the University of Copenhagen, where he would undoubtedly now be Professor of Belles Lettres if it were not for certain political and religious objections on which it is needless to dilate here. Enough to say that he has produced a curious deadlock, for if the Government will not appoint Dr. Brandes the University will accept no one else, and for a quarter of a century the chair has consequently been in abeyance. Dr. Brandes began to write in the manner which he has now made characteristic about thirty years ago. He was greatly influenced by Sainte-Beuve, and later perhaps by Paul de St. Victor. He was the earliest of the long line of those who have elucidated and interpreted Ibsen, and he has made the great movements of literature in the nineteenth century the study of his life. He has always written with admirable competency on Scandinavian, French and German writers, and he has occasionally adventured on English literature as well. In 1875, as a volume of his great critical work on the nineteenth century, he published his "Romanticism in England," which, however, has never been considered the most original portion of the enterprise. He has produced, moreover, an excellent monograph on Lord Beaconsfield. But English literature has, until now, not been by any means Dr. Brandes' most familiar province.

Armed with long practice in seizing upon the spirit of literary artists from the mere sympathetic study of their lives and writings, in modern instances where academic tradition has had no opportunity to lay down hard and fast opinions, Dr. Brandes has at last come to the conquest of the greatest poet of the world, and the one around whom most of what we call "accepted opinion" has crystallized. He has taken Shakespeare exactly as he has for thirty years been in the habit of taking modern writers like Victor Hugo or Björnson or Heine, and he has grappled with him face to face. He has said to him: "I will not let you go, until you reveal to me the secret of your being." But the first difficulty which confronted him was the lack of abundant and trustworthy information. Of all recent writers, certainly of all in the first rank from Goethe and Byron and Châteaubriand onward, we have full, and in many cases excessive and bewildering, information. As time goes on, the extreme minuteness of our knowledge of contemporary men of genius will tend increasingly to embarrass and overburden criticism. But of the great writers of earlier times our acquaintance, apart from their published works, is usually extremely meagre. How little we certainly know of the detail of the life of Dante, of Cervantes, even of Moliere! It has become the fashion to say that we know next to nothing of that of Shakespeare, and so commentators have thought it needful to weave a web of fabulous conjecture round his name. But to Dr. Brandes, as to Mr. Lee, it has seemed that, by starting in a patient and logical spirit from the mass of existing documents and data, the outline of Shakespeare's career can quite intelligibly be sketched.

Those who read Dr. Brandes' handsome volumes, competently translated under the revision of Mr. William Archer, must recollect that what they have before them was not originally intended for English students. It was published, as all Dr. Brandes' books are, simultaneously in Danish and in German, and it is addressed to readers in the whole north and east of Europe, from Rotterdam to Archangel, and from Trieste to Bergen. If it had been written for English people, it must have dwelt more minutely on the predecessors of Shakespeare. Dr. Brandes is evidently not a specialist about Webster or about Ford. But for foreign readers the great thing is to distinguish Shakespeare from the group, to stand so far away as practically to see nothing defi-

nitely but Shakespeare. This is a work which demanded a foreign critic, and where Dr. Brandes has been so happy is in the exact vision he has been able to reproduce of an isolated Shakespeare, lifted, as an English commentator now-a-days scarcely dares to lift him, so high above his contemporaries that they scarcely count. This is not the whole truth, but it is a face of the truth, and the freshness of the Danish critic's standpoint, the vigor and novelty of his impressions, and the determination he shows to present the poet before us as a living figure, make his monograph, in its cunning mixtures of biography and criticism, the best popular or general portrait of Shakespeare yet given to a Continental audience, certainly, and perhaps even to an English one. In his first volume he appears to me rarely to go amiss; in the second, I confess, I find his interpretations of the plays occasionally fantastic.

The charge of forming a judgment independently of the study of contemporary Elizabethan literature cannot, at any rate, be brought against Mr. George Wyndham. The width of reading exemplified by the Introduction to this gentleman's edition of the Poems of Shakespeare has astonished all those who have given a longer time than he and a more unbroken attention to the same "lovely argument." Mr. Wyndham, like another George two hundred years ago, the young poet George Stepney, has shown an erudition which "makes greybeards blush." He has been known to society as a young man of fashion, to politicians as a juvenile Member of Parliament, who, trained originally under Mr. Arthur Balfour, has awakened the highest anticipations. A year or two ago, the mode in which he edited North's "Plutarch" caused more than a ripple on literary opinion in London, but it is safe to say that no one expected Mr. George Wyndham to emerge so suddenly and so completely as he now has done from "the mob of gentlemen who write with ease."

The poems of Shakespeare consist in the main, as any one knows, of three works—of "Venus and Adonis," a love story; of "Lucrece," a narrative merged in a long moral tirade; and of the "Sonnets." In early days the first two of these vastly exceeded the third in popularity; during Shakespeare's lifetime there appeared seven editions of "Venus and Adonis," five of "Lucrece," and only one of the "Sonnets." In the present century this order has been reversed, and while a whole library has been

formed around the Sonnets, the two narrative poems have been neglected more than any other portion of their author's repertory. Mr. Wyndham starts on the assumption, which is contrary to accepted opinion, that the only way in which these three works can profitably be studied is in unison. Here, merely as an instance of that simultaneous attraction to the positive view of Shakespeare's character which I have indicated as the note of criticism this year, I may venture to point out that I had myself, in words published a few weeks before Mr. Wyndham's edition, but certainly not seen by him, emphasized the identity of tone between "Venus and Adonis" and the early sonnets, in the pathos of the vain pursuit of adolescent beauty.

As far as the Sonnets are concerned, Mr. Wyndham calls us back from the casuists and the guess-work pedants who forget the poetry in their eagerness to tie it down, cadence by cadence, to some theory of their own. He is freer than any commentator has been—since Armitage Brown in 1838 first began to bewilder us with autobiographical conjectures—from prejudice in favor of one particular hypothesis of subject and address. Even Mr. Sidney Lee is not quite satisfied to leave us alone, but ingeniously argues in favor of Southampton's being Shakespeare's ardent and mysterious friend, the "Master-Mistress of his passion." Mr. Wyndham, not uninterested by the enigma, is yet content to state it, and gives the Southampton and the Herbert arguments impartially, for us to employ our idle moments in discussing. He most justly considers that these personal facts or fancies are no more than the discovery of marble mines in Carrara, or buried statues in Sicily, might be to a great Italian sculptor of the Renaissance; that their prime importance is the stimulus which they gave to the sublime expression of his own individual genius. The position Mr. Wyndham takes up, as one who through a jarring tribe of gesticulating professors leads the neophyte straight to the work of art itself, and bids him contemplate it undisturbed, is one requiring no little courage. Less learning than he himself has proved would scarcely justify it, yet it is completely justified. The publication of this edition of Shakespeare's Poems makes a certain epoch, and clears the ground of a large mass of entirely dead material which has cumbered the ground for sixty years.

With the earliest months of this year, the most illustrious of American editors of Shakespeare, Mr. Horace Howard Furness,

sent forth the eleventh volume of his Variorum Edition, that almost superhuman labor on which he has been engaged so long. This volume is entirely devoted to "The Winter's Tale." No new feature or fresh critical departure marks Mr. Furness' latest appearance, and yet we are quite justified in claiming this veteran among those of the younger school who have set their mark on 1898. Mr. Furness, in his solid and patient progress almost overwhelmed sometimes, like Atlas, "by the too-vast orb of his fate," has prepared the way for these realistic and cautious students. Common sense, an incessant balancing of the exact weight of authority, an impatience of flummery and fustian, these have always been the features of his vast compilation, and have given it that unique value which is admitted all over the world. Possibly because the temper of readers was never before so ripe for it, the "Winter's Tale" seems edited with a greater verve and a more triumphant solution of difficulties than any of its predecessors. This I believe to be an illusion; it is we who have changed, not Mr. Furness; he has at last come into his own. Hardly any wish more pious can at this present date be breathed by those who love English literature, than that Mr. Furness may be given health and opportunity to bring his splendid enterprise to a conclusion.

The "sweet o' the year" of Shakespeare is not bounded even by the notable contributions which I have already mentioned. Less distinctly to my purpose, but not to be overlooked, is the ingenious treatise on the forms of sport known to Shakespeare which Mr. Justice Madden has lately issued; and at the moment that I write there are appearing in the *Saturday Review*, a series of articles, by Mr. Frank Harris, on the personal temperament of the poet as revealed in the texture of the plays. Extraordinary is the vitality and richness of the genius out of whose natural stem so many clusters of fresh foliage can still spring within a single year. For half a century after the death of Shakespeare no definite recognition of his mastery can be discovered. Dryden, to his own immortal honor, first had the courage to claim for the author of "Hamlet" a place among poets which was absolutely transcendent. But he did not carry opinion universally with him, and as a mere curiosity of literature, it would be amusing to reprint what Rymer, the official critic of the reign of William III. found to object to in the conduct and language of Shakespeare's plays. It was he who, in a fine burst of indignation, declared

that "Othello" was a play so faultily constructed and so ignorantly conceived, that it was a disgrace that the players should be allowed to wear the King's uniform when they acted in the part of Iago.

With the reign of Queen Anne, the genuine study of Shakespeare began, and while Addison was reading the plays with rapture and awe, the text was almost simultaneously attracting the attention of Rowe and of Pope, of Sewell and of Theobald. From that time onward, the toil of elucidation has never ceased, but one humdrum scholar after another has succumbed to the irresistible enchantment. A century and a half have exactly passed since the least humble and perhaps the least competent, but certainly not the least celebrated, of Shakespeare's editors, Bishop Warburton, issued the text that passed for authoritative till Dr. Johnson's took its place. One hundred years ago, George Steevens was the reigning editor of the poet, hotly pursued by Isaac Reed. It would pass the memory of man, and is probably known only to Mr. Furness, how many other phantoms have walked since then over the marble of Shakespeare's tomb. They have passed into the land where names are shadows; he is as young, and strong, and (to borrow Coleridge's phrase) as "thousand-souled" as ever. Indeed, as masterpieces are living things and grow long after the decease of those who create them, it may without paradox be said that at no time within three hundred years has Shakespeare been so imperiously vital as he is to-day. The sudden output of vivid simultaneous commentary on his life and work which it has seemed interesting to draw attention to is not to be looked upon as exhausting the theme with any abrupt finality. To fresh generations of minds, Shakespeare will present facets which the keenest of living critics cannot perceive to-day. We shall steadily learn to know him more accurately, more solidly, more sensibly. But what does seem to me likely is that several years or even some decades may pass before we make much advance on the ground so vigorously won in 1898.

EDMUND GOSSE.

THE GREAT LAKES AND OUR COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY.

BY JOHN FOORD.

THE commercial primacy of the world belongs to the country that can produce the cheapest pig iron. For this carries with it the ability to command the cheapest machinery and the cheapest transportation, which, in their turn, render possible the conversion of raw materials into manufactured products, and the delivery of these to the consumer at the lowest attainable range of cost. Iron and steel are produced in the least favored localities of the United States as cheaply as in Great Britain; in the most favored localities they are produced more cheaply. Yet, in the very centre of American iron and steel production the ore and the fuel have to be brought together from points a thousand miles apart, while in Great Britain a hundred miles is quite an exceptionally wide interval between the two. How has this formidable handicap of 900 miles of transportation been overcome? How has it become possible to produce a ton of pig iron in Pittsburg to-day at about the same price as the ore entering into that iron cost fourteen years ago? To be strictly accurate, the answer would have to enumerate a variety of causes, including improvements in blast furnace construction and practice, and economies in the production of coke. But underlying them all is the controlling influence which determines the cost of the ore—the depth of water in the Lake channels. By every foot that this depth has been increased the distance between Duluth and Cleveland has been virtually shortened by 100 miles, so that in the 40 years in which the depth of water on St. Clair Flats has been doubled, and a navigable depth of 20 feet has been established in the St. Mary's Falls Canal, the cost of transporting a ton of ore on the Lakes has come down from four mills to six-tenths of a mill per ton per mile.

Time was, and that but recently, when Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and Ohio found within their own borders most of the ore that was needed to supply their furnaces. In the census year 1880, the mines of these four States yielded 4,243,372 long tons of ore, the total product of the United States being but 7,120,362 tons. In that same year the Lake region contributed only 1,677,814 tons, or 23.6 per cent. of the total output. In 1896 the total ore production of the country was 16,005,449 tons, to which the contribution of the four States named was only 1,456,740 tons, while that of the Lake region was 10,566,359 tons, or 66 per cent. of the whole. Last year the total shipments of ore by Lake from all the Lake ports aggregated 13,681,522 net tons. In other words, the expansion of the iron and steel industry of the United States has become contingent on the supply of ore from Minnesota, Wisconsin and the upper peninsula of Michigan. The question of whether the ore should go to meet the coal or the coal to meet the ore has been answered in favor of the movement of the ore, for two reasons: First, because of the greater nearness of the coal region to the seaboard and to the great primary markets for finished steel; and, next, because the problem of cheap ore carriage is greatly simplified by the fact that the coal required for general use in the Northwest supplies, in part at least, a return freight. Were the coal taken to the ore, the whole freight movement, except in grain and lumber, would be in one direction, while, as matters stand, against ore shipments of 13,000 tons, the tonnage of coal going in the opposite direction is about 6,500,000 tons.

But for the water transportation furnished by the Great Lakes, it is safe to say that the Superior mines would never have been developed, and the rapid advance now being made by the United States toward the industrial supremacy of the world would have been impossible. There are, it is true, practically unlimited supplies of ore and coal in the States of Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia, but the ores are mostly what is known as non-Bessemer in quality, having, as a rule, too much phosphorus to admit of their profitable employment in the making of steel. In addition to the variable supply of phosphorus in the Southern ores, they are much less rich in iron than those of Lake Superior. The advantage which rich ores enjoy over "lean" ores is cumulative, resulting in a smaller cost per ton of product, because of the saving in fuel, fluxes, labor cost, and furnace space. There are no

finer Bessemer ores in the world than those which the Lake Superior ranges yield, a fact which is becoming painfully apparent to the British iron master, who has to go to Spain and Sweden to supplement the deficiency of his native ore. Even at a rapidly increasing scale of consumption, the period of their probable exhaustion can hardly be said to belong to the arena of practical discussion. It is but six years since the discovery of the Mesabi range nearly doubled the productive possibilities of the Lake mines, and developed a system of surface mining at whose rapidity and economy of operation the world has not ceased to wonder. Here, then, is the very keystone of the rapidly expanding structure of the industrial greatness of the United States. The centre of steel production may change from Pittsburg to the south shore of Lake Erie; the head of Lake Superior, even, may come to be the seat of furnaces and rolling mills to supply the needs of the Northwest; but, be the ore converted where it may, the five great ranges of Marquette, Gogebic, Menominee, Vermilion and Mesabi will continue to supply, as they do to-day, the raw material for most of the steel produced in the United States.

An expenditure of between $40,000,000 and $50,000,000 will represent the contribution of the Government of the United States toward bringing the head of Lake Superior as near to the foot of Lake Erie as the latter is, in point of cost of transportation, to Pittsburg. The work has been, on the whole, intelligently and honestly done. Much of the money expended has gone to the deepening of the Lake harbors, a work no less essential than the deepening of the Lake channels. Of these latter in which are found the natural obstacles to navigation between Buffalo and Duluth, there are three—the Detroit River, and beyond it Lake St. Clair and St. Clair River, connecting Lake Erie with Lake Huron, and the St. Mary's River, connecting Lake Huron and Lake Superior. The draft of vessels navigating the lower Lakes has always been controlled by the depth of water on St. Clair Flats. The St. Clair River originally entered Lake St. Clair through several different mouths or passes. Previous to 1858 the depth of water by way of the North Pass was only 9½ feet. Improvements at the South Pass, concluded at about that time, provided a depth of water of nearly 12 feet. The St. Clair Flats Canal, projected in 1856 and finished in 1871, gave a depth of 13 feet, which by 1874 was increased to 16 feet. In 1887 the work of

deepening the canal and its approaches to 20 feet was begun, and is now practically complete. On the lower Detroit River, the channel at what is known as the Lime-Kiln Crossing could not be depended on for more than 13 feet of water. The improvement of this channel began in 1874 and progressed from year to year till by 1890 a navigable passage 440 feet wide and 20 feet deep was finally secured. This is to-day the most important water highway in the world, the vessel tonnage traversing it being four times as great as that passing through the Suez Canal, and as much as the entrances and clearances in the foreign trade of Liverpool and London combined.

But the trade of the lower Lakes could never have approached its present dimensions had the trade of Lake Superior remained undeveloped, and the rapids of the river at Sault Ste. Marie continued to obstruct navigation. The first ship canal to turn these rapids was constructed by a private corporation under a land grant from the State of Michigan. It was begun in 1853, and opened to navigation in 1855. Its cost was about a million dollars, and it was a little over a mile in length, with an available depth of 12 feet. How limited was the commerce thus provided for may be inferred from the fact that in 1864 the average registered tonnage of the vessels passing through the canal was 405 tons. In 1870 the United States Government made its first appropriation for improving the canal, so as to obtain a 16-foot navigation. The new lock was open for business in 1881, but had not been five years in use before the need of further improvements became manifest. These began in 1886, and have finally resulted in the construction of a new lock 800 feet long and 100 feet wide throughout, with 21 feet of water on the sills. The prism of the canal has also been deepened to correspond with the available draft of water in the lock. Supplemented by the improvement of the Hay Lake Channel, from the canal to Lake Huron, this work supplied the last important link of a 20-foot channel between Buffalo and Duluth. In 1891, General O. M. Poe, who has been identified for 40 years with the improvement of the lake channels, reported that an expenditure of $3,339,567 would be required to remove the remaining obstructions to a minimum depth of 20 feet in all the lake passes. This work is well under way, and the results are already apparent. During the season of 1890 a little over 9,000,000 tons of freight passed through the St. Mary's River; in 1897

the total was close on 19,000,000 tons. Speaking of the former aggregate and the corresponding figures for the Detroit River, General Poe remarked: "The increase in the available depth of channels on the lakes from 9½ feet in 1852 to 16 feet in 1882 developed this commerce, and it is only reasonable to expect that a further increase of 4 feet will make a corresponding increase in the shipping. The results are most noticeable, perhaps, in the character of the vessels employed in the carrying trade. These have increased in size and seaworthiness until they form a fleet which has not its equal upon any inland waters on the face of the globe. Of large capacity and great power, regardless of wind or weather, steamers of the prevailing type bear their cargoes to and from ports a thousand miles apart with the precision of railroad trains, each of them transporting at once more than ten ordinary freight trains. Surely, such a commerce deserves every aid and encouragement that can be extended to it. Give it channels practically navigable upon a draft of 20 feet, and it needs no prophet to foretell a wonderful growth; but only a prophet can foretell its degree."

The fact is to be noted, however, that the increase of Lake traffic since 1890 has been almost entirely traceable to the increase due to Lake Superior. The gain of 9,000,000 tons passing through the Detroit River is more than covered by the gain of 10,000,000 tons passing through the St. Mary's Falls Canal. Of course, that part of the freight movement of Superior whose port is Chicago or Milwaukee does not enter into the returns of Lower Lake traffic. There is even a considerable current of freight—that of ore from Menominee and Escanaba to Chicago—which, passing through neither the upper nor the lower of the great passes of the lakes, escapes tabulation. Keeping in mind these qualifications, it is interesting to note that of the 18,982,755 net tons of freight sent through the St. Mary's Falls Canal during the navigation season of 1897, 10,633,715 net tons were iron ore. In 1890 the ore tonnage passing through the canal was 4,774,768 tons, so that of the total increase of 10,000,000 tons in the canal traffic since 1890, 6,000,000 tons have been in iron ore. It seems a clear case of the facilities creating the trade; but it is more than this, it is a satisfactory example of intelligently directed public expenditure lending new vitality to private enterprise, and laying the foundation of national supremacy in the fundamental department of

manufacturing industry. During the 40 odd years of continuous improvement of the Lake channels the ship-builder has pressed close on the heels of the Government engineer. In fact, the builder has frequently been somewhat ahead of his pioneer. Steamers requiring when loaded a given draft of water have always been on the stocks while the corresponding depth of channel was being secured, and have often been afloat before it was forthcoming. The 20-foot minimum is, by no means, a finality; but there would be little profit in its increase till the Lake harbors have been deepened to conform to the channels. The process of harbor improvement is now going on, and as the Lake steamer requires but a foot or two of water under her keel the new ones have been built for a mean draft, when loaded, of 17 feet. On this draft the largest of them, measuring 475 feet over all, 50 feet beam and 29 feet deep, can carry 6,500 to 6,750 gross tons of ore. This is the latest phase of the evolution of a type that had its origin some 50 years ago, when the capacity of the largest of Lake craft was 600 tons. In the early seventies a steamer of 1,300 tons occupied the front rank; by 1885 the maximum had risen to 2,500 tons, and a steamer of 3,000 tons was a monster, about the possibility of whose profitable employment practical men had grave doubts. Most of the steamers composing the Rockefeller fleet, and constructed within the last few years, are built to carry 5,000 tons on a draft of 17 feet. No such steamer could have got into Lake Superior 13 years ago; and, while the capacity of the Lake freighter has thus been doubled during a period comparatively short, the cost of building and running it has been reduced at a ratio of from 30 to 40 per cent. That is to say, the 5,000-ton steamer of to-day costs only $5 per ton to build, while the 2,500-ton steamer of 1885 cost $7 per ton; the coal cost per trip of the 5,000-ton steamer instead of being double that of the 2,500-ton steamer, does not average 25 per cent. more; and, while 16 round trips between Lake Superior and Lake Erie ports was considered a good season's work in 1885, 22 round trips are now merely a fair season's work. It will be perceived that, though the average freight rate on ore is less than half what it was in 1885, there may, for the modern type of vessel at least, still be a sufficient profit in the business.

With the increase in size and efficiency of the Lake steamers, the improvement in mining and transfer appliances has fairly kept

pace. The open-pit mining, which has become possible on a large scale since the discovery of the Mesabi range, has reduced to a minimum the cost of taking the ore from the ground and placing it on a railroad car. To open a mine of this kind it is only necessary to strip off some 30 feet in depth of superincumbent soil and begin with a steam shovel or a "winze" the process of extracting the gigantic deposit of soft ore. The capacity of the steam shovel is nothing short of marvellous. Professor Tunell, who made a report to the Secretary of the Treasury on Lake commerce early this year, says that during one day in the summer of 1896 three steam shovels, working 14 hours each, dug and raised from the natural bed of the Oliver mine of the Mesabi range 10,700 gross tons, or 420 carloads of ore. Twenty-five-ton ore cars have been continuously loaded from the ore bed at the rate of 2½ minutes per car; the largest shovel, weighing 90 tons, with hoisting engines of 200 horse-power, has loaded as much as 5,825 tons, or 233 cars, in a day of ten hours. The average cost by this process of loading the ore into cars from the bed of the mine is easily within 5 cents per ton. It is calculated that since 8 tons of ore are uncovered for each yard of surface stripped off, and as stripping costs some 40 cents per cubic yard, an additional cost of 5 cents per ton must be added to the mining cost under this head. That makes the initial labor cost of Mesabi ore on the cars 10 cents per ton. The remaining cost consists of interest on and depreciation of mining plant, royalties and transportation.

The first step in the process of transportation consists of the 70 miles, more or less, from the mine to the shipping port. This is covered by railroads equipped with cars specially designed for the ore traffic, and with ore docks built as high as 57 feet above the water, from the pockets of which the ore falls through iron chutes into the holds of the vessels lying alongside. So expeditiously is the work of loading done that vessels frequently leave port with an ore cargo of 3,500 to 4,000 tons within two hours of the time of arriving at the dock. The work of unloading is effected with only less expedition. It is not more than 13 years since the only method of unloading was to use horse power to lift the ore from the hold in buckets, dump it into wheel-barrows, wheel it on the dock and empty it on the stock pile. To-day, on the new dock at Conneaut may be seen at work the most highly developed mechanical method of handling the ore. There is no

longer any stock pile, but in its place a steel car capable of carrying 50 tons, into which the ore is delivered direct from the hold of the vessel. The apparatus of transfer consists of 12 great legs, divided into four separate groups of three machines each, running on a 20-foot track. Each leg spans five railroad tracks, and on the water side of the machine the boom extends to the further side of the vessel, permitting more than one bucket to operate in the same hatch. When all the legs are at work the capacity of this plant is between 900 and 1,000 tons per hour—a speed at which vessels of the 6,000-ton type can be unloaded in less than 7 hours, or within one-half the time which has been but recently regarded as the minimum. About all the manual labor that is expended on the ore in its passage from the mine to the furnace is called into requisition during the process of transfer from the freighter to the railroad car, and, as will be perceived, this quantity is a steadily diminishing one. As to the remaining cost of hauling the ore from Conneaut to Pittsburg, it is the expectation of the directors of the road to be able to reduce it below three mills per ton per mile and still leave a sufficient margin for a dividend. Low as this rate is, however, it would make all the difference between cheap ore and dear ore, if applied to the transportation between the head of Lake Superior and the Lake Erie port. A ton-mile rate of three mills from Duluth to Conneaut will result in a freight charge of $2.55, or a little more than the probable aggregate of all costs and profits on the ore from its place in the ground to the furnace at Pittsburg.

The whole process of extraction, transportation and transfer is a very instructive study in the potency of small economies for building up a great industry. Foreign observers have remarked that the higher rate of wages prevailing in the United States has compelled our manufacturers to exert themselves in so perfecting their equipment as to get rid of manual labor whenever that was practicable. This process has been specially manifest in all stages of the iron and steel industry. The steam shovel is a product of the same necessity as the mechanical apparatus which has minimized the cost of production at blast furnaces and rolling mills. The point that seems to escape the foreign observer is that it is in the last degree improbable that the Bessemer ores of Lake Superior can ever resume their old level of price. The tendency of late years has been to bring about a consolidation of interests be-

tween the mine owners and the iron and steel manufacturers—to eliminate not only the middleman in the ore market, but also the independent common carrier, whether by water or by rail. From the stripping of the mine to the production of the steel ingot, the effort has been to make but one continuous process, every stage of which should be under virtually the same direction, and at none of which should there be any tax paid in the shape of interest or dividends which does not inure to the profit of the combination. About one-third of the whole product of the Lake Superior mines is taken by the Carnegie Steel Company, and around this fact centre the influences which have given the ore situation its present shape and which are likely to make that shape a permanent one. The Carnegie establishment might be appraised at anywhere from thirty to fifty millions of dollars. It is a plant established on an enormous scale, and it belongs to the very essence of its success that it should be fully employed. There is much more profit in working such a plant to its full capacity on a low range of prices than in having only part of it employed at relatively higher prices. But to establish such prices for steel as will insure the full activity of works capable of consuming 4,000,000 tons of ore *per annum,* it is evidently necessary that the strictest economy should be observed at every step in the process of production, from the mine to the rolling-mill. It is equally necessary that the company should be sure of getting its ore at a fairly uniform price, since under any other condition it would be impossible to make large contracts extending over a considerable period of time. For the cultivation of a foreign trade it is specially necessary that there should be some degree of certainty as to the future price of raw material.

It is considerations like these that underlie the so-called "deal" made between the Carnegie and Rockefeller interests. Mr. Rockefeller is the largest owner of the mines of the Mesabi range, and, while the physical structure of the Mesabi ore renders its exclusive use in furnace practice impossible, 40 per cent. of it can be used in combination with harder and coarser ores. The agreement between the Carnegie Company and Mr. Rockefeller contemplates the taking of at least 1,200,000 tons of Mesabi ore every year, on the basis of a payment which is variously represented at a royalty of 25 cents per ton, or a payment of $1.05 per ton for the ore delivered over Mr. Rockefeller's railway at the Lake Superior port.

In the latter case, to the mining royalty of 25 cents has been added a uniform transportation charge of 80 cents per ton, which includes the cost of providing the transfer facilities already outlined. In addition to the railroad from the mine to the shipping docks, Mr. Rockefeller owns the fleet required to carry the ore from the Lake Superior to the Lake Erie port. The agreement provides that the rate of freight to be paid for this service shall be the average rate of the season—a rate which steadily gravitates to between 50 and 60 cents per ton. At the Lake Erie port the ore is transferred to the Carnegie road, the Pittsburg, Bessemer & Lake Erie route from Conneaut to Pittsburg. A simple calculation will show that under such an agreement as that above indicated the Carnegie Company gets its soft ore delivered at the furnace at a price below the lowest at which Bessemer ore has ever been sold at Lake Erie ports, and is entirely independent of the changes of the market to which the ore accumulated there used to be subject. But, Mesabi ore being good for only 40 per cent. of the composition required for satisfactory furnace work, the other 60 per cent. had to be provided for in some similar manner. This explains the acquisition by the Carnegie interest of the great Norrie mine on the Gogebic range—the largest iron mine in the world—and of other properties yielding a like product. To avoid the risk of being exposed to a disastrous competition, other great iron and steel producers have made similar combinations with mine owners, so that, to all intents and purposes, the two great branches of the industry on which commercial supremacy is built have become one.

The question of controlling the steel market of the world is primarily one of ore, as Great Britain, which has to import about a third of its entire consumption, is finding out to its cost. It is because this question has been finally settled here, and all further progress can tend only to make the ore cheaper than it is to-day, that the statement may be hazarded that for generations to come the primacy of the United States in the production of iron and steel is manifestly secure.

JOHN FOORD.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

BY A CANADIAN LIBERAL.

THE appointment of a Joint High Commission by the governments of Great Britain and the United States of America, charged with the duty of attempting an amicable and mutually satisfactory adjustment of all outstanding disputes, causes of irritation, and questions of commercial policy, between Canada and the United States, embracing trade relations, the sealing question, the Alaskan boundary question and the Atlantic and inland fisheries regulations, is an event of great importance. It is an emphatic indorsement by both governments of the principle of arbitration. It is a movement reflecting the best spirit of the highest existing form of civilization. Perhaps no diplomatic conference has ever been entrusted with more important functions. Upon the issue of its deliberations hang consequences of the deepest importance to the present, and consequences that will reach far down into the future, the unfolding of whose mighty issues mankind will watch with bated breath.

The propitious moment for intrusting these high duties to an international commission seems to have arrived. Events in their swift progress have brought the two great Anglo-Saxon powers into more harmonious relations. The dictates of reason, the ties of consanguinity, the bonds of a common language and race, and the high claims of religion and humanity have with sudden and startling effect swept away the prejudices, the animosities and the jealousies that have kept these two mighty nations apart, and in place of all these we have the dawn of an era of good will, and of a common desire to act for a common purpose from the highest of motives. The most important practical initial step in bringing these peoples together will be to remove the

causes of friction and ill will that have existed between the two Anglo-Saxon commonwealths upon this continent. The Canadian Government is undoubtedly ready to enter upon this task in a broad-minded, liberal spirit. It is prepared to meet the United States half way, more than half way if necessary, and hopes to be received by the United States with the kindly and fair, if not the generous, consideration which a mighty nation of eighty millions of people can well afford to extend to a kindred commonwealth of but six millions.

The geographical relations of the territories of the United States and of Canada are of such a nature as to invite freedom of commercial intercourse. These countries are naturally drawn to each other by community of race, and similarity in their laws and institutions. Possessing a conterminous boundary, extending from ocean to ocean, and having common interests, it is only in their political autonomy that environment and natural conditions permit distinct and separate existence. Natural intimacy of association, if artificial barriers were withdrawn, would be greater between such groups of provinces and of States as the maritime provinces of Canada and the seaboard States of the Union—the provinces of Quebec and Ontario and the Middle States of the Union, the provinces of the Canadian Northwest and the States of the Mississippi Valley, and the province of British Columbia and the States of the Pacific slope—than would be the intimacy of association and commercial transactions between many of the groups of States in the American Union. The natural conditions that render intercourse desirable between the separate States of the American Union free from tariff restrictions or legislative impediment, will apply to any province in the Canadian confederation, and the mutual advantages that would result from absolutely untrammelled commercial intercourse between commonwealths north and commonwealths south of the boundary line would be of exactly the same character as those that result from the untrammelled intercourse that is now existing between all the States of the American Union. The potent influences that work in the direction of social and commercial intimacy and of substantial homogeneity can only be thwarted in their natural course by hostile tariff legislation, and the settled purpose on the part of one of the two governments, or of both, to defy nature.

Canadian statesmen have ever realized the importance of cultivating more liberal trade relations with the United States, and the present system, which deprives the two countries of the full enjoyment of the advantages which natural affinities would give if not interfered with, cannot justly be said to be due to Canadian policy or Canadian obstruction. Whatever differences of opinion may have existed in Canada as to the details of a commercial arrangement for broader trade relations, and as to how near it should approach a zollverein, there has been practically no difference of opinion as to the desirability of having those relations broadened to a greater or less extent.

The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was the consummation of an earnest desire upon the part of the people of British America to draw nearer in trade relations to the United States. The operation of this treaty during the twelve years that it remained in force was of a beneficent and mutually advantageous character. Its abrogation by the United States was in the highest degree regrettable. Modifications of the treaty, no doubt, might have been reasonable and desirable. Its provisions, which were confined to the free exchange of natural products, could no doubt have been extended with advantage. It was beyond question reasonable that such a proposition should have been made and fairly and dispassionately considered. An agreed list of manufactures could have been added to the list with mutual advantage, and the era of good will and commercial intimacy which was being developed under its operations could have been extended.

Following closely upon the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 came the Confederation of the British North American colonies. Efforts were almost immediately put forth by the authorities of the newly created Dominion to open negotiations for a renewal of reciprocal trade relations. These overtures on the part of Canada were not met by the United States authorities in a favorable spirit.

When the Liberal party of Canada came into power in 1873, no time was lost in arranging for the consideration of a renewal of reciprocal relations between the two countries by a joint British and Canadian Commission. The Hon. George Brown was sent to Washington as the representative of Canada, and was associated in the negotiations which followed with Sir E. Thornton,

the British Minister at Washington. The result of these negotiations was an agreement between the Commissioners and the United States Executive upon a reciprocity treaty of a broad and liberal character, which embraced in its schedule for free exchange natural products, agricultural implements under a head of forty enumerations, and classifications of manufactures, thirty-seven in number. This treaty was rejected by the United States Senate. Had its provisions been adopted, the history of friction and ill feeling between the two peoples, arising from strained commercial relations, would not have required to be written.

Since the rejection of the Brown Draft Treaty by the United States Senate, overtures have upon one or two occasions been made by the Conservative Government which came into power in 1878, and remained at the head of Canadian affairs until 1896. Both Liberals and Conservatives concurred in the admission that abolition of trade restrictions to a greater or less extent was desirable. The Conservative feared to go beyond the application of the principle to natural products; the Liberal was willing to make a broader and more liberal treaty, embracing a sufficient list of manufactured articles to give a reasonable *quid pro quo* for concessions made by the United States in the admission of natural products. The two parties viewed the question as to political effects from different standpoints also. The Conservative was suspicious of too great a degree of commercial intimacy, and a dependence to any considerable extent upon American manufacturing centres for supplies, fearing the growth of annexation sentiments as an outcome of commercial and business intimacy. The Liberal statesman, on the contrary, dismissed all fears of this character and pronounced them groundless and absurd. The object to be aimed at, in their belief, was to secure material prosperity for Canada, and a condition of commercial relations between two great Anglo-Saxon states where nature would be left as far as possible to assert its sway. The annexation question, they averred, might safely be left to take care of itself, and the opinion was entertained that increased prosperity and wealth would not necessarily have a tendency to make the Canadian discontented with his political institutions.

After eighteen years in opposition, the Liberal party came into power in 1896. It had gone through the general election contest of 1891, pledged to make every effort compatible with the

interests and the dignity of Canada, to obtain more extended trade relations with the United States. The same pledge was a feature in its appeal to the electors of Canada in 1896, and no effort since the advent of the party to office, something over two years ago, has been spared to make good its promises to the people. Leading members of the Liberal party have visited Washington seeking in a proper and legitimate manner to pave the way to the opening of negotiations. Their success, while the Dingley bill was under consideration, was not at all flattering. The reciprocity clause of that bill, contrary to the representations and application of leading Canadians, failed to provide for the consideration of reciprocal trade relations in natural products. The refusal thus to lay the foundation for the consideration of a treaty under the provisions of the Dingley bill was accepted as an indication that the United States Government would not be prepared to entertain proposals for a broad reciprocal trade arrangement. These indications were received with very great regret by the Liberal leaders of Canada.

Last autumn Sir Wilfrid Laurier visited Washington. Mr. Foster proposed, on behalf of the United States, that the Canadian Government should at once abandon pelagic sealing, and leave the other questions at issue between the two countries to be settled at a later date. Sir Wilfrid Laurier very properly responded that the Government of Canada was ready and anxious to enter at a moment's notice upon the consideration of all questions pending between the two countries; that its commission would be appointed, and the matter proceeded with whenever the United States was ready, but that he did not deem it advisable in the interests of Canada to allow one of the numerous matters pending between the two countries, in which the United States took the deepest and most immediate interest, to be selected for concession by Canada, as this course might result in an indefinite postponement of the consideration of questions in which Canada herself took perhaps deeper interest than did the Government of the United States. The matter thus dropped for the time being, with the express declaration from the head of the Canadian Government that Canada stood ready to enter upon the consideration of these questions at any time, and was anxious to do so.

After a delay, longer no doubt than would have intervened but for the all engrossing conflict with Spain, the Government of the

United States has decided to become a party to the appointment of a Joint High Commission. Promptly following this decision, Her Majesty has appointed the British and Canadian members of this commission, who are Lord Herschell, late Lord Chancellor of Great Britain; Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of the Dominion; Sir Richard J. Cartwright, Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce; Sir L. H. Davies, Canadian Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and John Charlton, M. P. The *personnel* of this commission can hardly fail to be satisfactory to all who desire to see friendly relations between the two countries promoted. Its Canadian members are veterans in their connection with Canadian public affairs. The Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, entered Parliament in 1874, and has served continuously in that capacity since that time. Sir Richard J. Cartwright has been connected with Parliamentary and political affairs in Canada since 1863. He was returned to the House of Commons in 1867, and has been a member of that body since that date, except for a period of three years. Mr. John Charlton entered Parliament in 1872, and has been a member continuously since that date. Sir Louis H. Davies entered Parliament in 1882. All of these gentlemen throughout their long Parliamentary careers have been outspoken in their expression of a desire to promote friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States. Each one of them has the utmost respect for the great Republic. All of them have made a study of its institutions; are conversant with its history, with its enormous resources, and with its almost illimitable latent power. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier, may be said to be an ardent admirer of the United States. His *beau ideal*, as a statesman and a great leader, is Abraham Lincoln. Not the slightest tinge of prejudice or race animosity influences him in his feelings toward the great Republic. Almost as much can be said with regard to all the other members of the Canadian Commission, whose utterances in favor of cordial relations and friendly intercourse have earned for them in the past a storm of obloquy from the ultra-loyal Conservative element of Canada, by whom they have often been branded as disloyal men and annexationists—most unjust charges, as their public utterances could never have been construed as advocating more than closer union, better feeling, and common purposes in dealing with all affairs involving the interests of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Lord Herschell, the English member of the commission, will look after imperial interests, and will, of course, be the most important figure upon the commission. His sympathies may be relied upon to be thoroughly with any proposal that looks to Anglo-Saxon unity and cordial relations between the two great representatives of Anglo-Saxon power. It goes without saying that the Canadian members of this commission will deal with all the questions submitted to them in a broad-minded, friendly spirit. If its members are met in the same spirit by the American members of the commission, the outcome of their deliberations can scarcely fail to be one that will confer a blessing upon the Anglo-Saxon race, and through them upon humanity.

The questions to be submitted will be in the order of their importance; the trade relations between the two countries, including bonding regulations; the fishery question, in its application not only to the seaboard fisheries, but to regulations for the control of the fisheries on the great inland lakes; the settlement of the Alaskan boundary question; and the question of pelagic sealing, and regulations generally bearing upon the sealing question. All of these questions are of prime importance.

Upon the settlement of the trade question hinges probably more important consequences as to the future of the two countries than upon any of the others named. The volume of trade between Canada and the United States, even under the restrictive conditions that at present exist, is very large, and exceeds the total trade of Canada with Great Britain. The total imports of Canada for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897, amounted to $119,218,609. The total exports of the country for the same year amounted to $137,950,253. The balance of trade in favor of Canada was $18,731,644.

The following table will illustrate the comparative volume and importance of this trade with the United States, and with Great Britain, and all other countries. In this table the exports are restricted to the products of Canada, and the imports to importations for consumption in Canada. The table is as follows:

CANADA.

Abstract of Trade Returns, 1897.

Total imports for consumption	$111,294,021
Total exports, produce of Canada	123,959,838
Balance of trade in favor of Canada	22,665,817
Total imports for consumption on free list	45,073,256

Total dutiable imports for consumption		$66,220,765
Total amount of duty collected		19,891,997
Rate of duty on total import for consumption	17.87	
Rate of duty on total dutiable import for consumption	30	
Total imports from the United States for consumption		61,649,041
Portion free of duty		31,166,532
Portion duitable		30,482,509
Total exports to United States, produce of Canada		43,991,485
Balance of trade in favor of United States		17,657,556
Amount of duty collected upon United States imports		8,147,075
Rate of duty on total amount of imports from the United States for consumption	13.215	
Rate of duty on duitable portion of imports for consumption from the United States	26.72	
Total imports from Great Britain for consumption		29,412,188
Portion free of duty		9,194,766
Portion dutiable		20,217,422
Total exports to Great Britain, produce of Canada		69,533,852
Balance of trade against Great Britain		40,121,664
Amount of duty collected upon imports from Great Britain		6,205,367
Rate of duty on total amount of imports for consumption from Great Britain	21.09	
Rate of duty on dutiable portion of imports for consumption from Great Britain	30.69	
Total imports for consumption from all countries other than United States and Great Britain		20,232,792
Portion of the same free of duty		4,711,958
Portion of the same dutiable		15,520,834
Total exports the produce of Canada to all countries other than Great Britain and the United States		10,434,501
Balance of trade against Canada		9,798,291
Duty collected upon above imports		5,539,555
Rate of duty upon total imports from such countries for consumption	27.37	
Rate of duty upon dutiable portion of imports from such countries for consumption	29.25	

More than one-half of the total imports of Canada for consumption for 1897 were from the United States. The free list was 50½ per cent. of the total amount. Against this free list of over $31,000,000 Canada received under the Dingley bill in the last fiscal year the privilege of free entry for its products into the markets of the United States to the extent of not more than $8,000,000. The importance of the Canadian market to United States manufacturers is yearly increasing. The imports of manufactures last year from the United States exceeded $30,000,000 in amount, over $5,000,000 of which was upon the free list. The arguments to be presented in favor of more extended commercial intercourse will, therefore, be well founded ones.

The bonding regulations of the two countries will, no doubt, if the labors of the commission reach a successful issue, be placed upon a permanent and satisfactory basis. The bonding privileges at present enjoyed by each country over the routes and lines of

transit of the other are of great mutual advantage, and to terminate these privileges would cause widespread business paralysis and disaster in both countries. A considerable proportion of the exports of Canada now pass over American railway lines in bond, and are exported from American seaports. The bulk of the Manitoba wheat crop is trans-shipped from railway to vessel at Fort William, Lake Superior, freighted to Buffalo, and shipped in bond from that port to New York by rail or canal. This trade is in its infancy, and will assume vast proportions in the near future. The products of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec find their winter outlet to European markets largely over American lines, and from the ports of Portland, Boston and New York. The return trade in winter, and to a considerable extent in summer, in imports from Europe to America follows the same route. Lumber and other forest products pass in large quantities through Lake Champlain, and by canal and the Hudson River to New York in bond, destined for the West Indian and South American markets. These, and other lines of export and import transit in bond, give a great volume of profitable business to American railways and canals and to American seaports. Canadian railway lines and the Canadian canals in many ways serve the purposes and promote the interests of the American producer, consumer and middleman. The Grand Trunk, Michigan Central, and Wabash lines cross the territory of Ontario, and by doing so secure the most direct line from Chicago to New England and New York. The flouring mills of Minneapolis, and the producers of Minnesota and Northern Wisconsin have their most direct and economical route to the New England cities over the Canadian Pacific line *via* Sault Ste. Marie. The Canadian railways are competitors with American lines for a large amount of business between American points, and this competition prevents combinations from securing exorbitant rates. Its influence may not be popular with American railway managers, but it promotes the interests of the American producer and consumer. The Welland and St. Lawrence canals are open and largely used in the transportation of grain, flour, and other commodities from the Western States to New England and New York. Over all of these Canadian rail and water routes, bonding privileges for live stock and all kinds of products and merchandise in transit are granted under regulations of the greatest liberality.

Occasionally a voice is heard in one of the Houses of Congress demanding the abrogation of bonding privileges between Canada and the United States, not so much because any argument can be adduced against the practical operation of an international system of interchange of transportation facilities that weaves into one harmonious web a multitude of industries and confers benefits upon millions of people on both sides of the boundary line, while at the same moment serving most potently to fuse the interests and promote the homogeneity of two kindred peoples, but because it is proposed to punish the Canadian bad boy for offences—real or supposed—by calling down upon his head the share of the consequences of an act of commercial war that would fall to his lot. At rarer intervals a similar voice has been heard in the Canadian Parliament, coming from some loyal Rip Van Winkle who has slept with his prejudices while the column of progress was marching on, and who demands that Canada shall be self-sustaining and self-contained, and shall seek the sea only over her own lines of communication. The commission can render no greater service to its constituent interests than to take such action as will render these jingo demands ghostly voices in the wilderness of the past which an era of justice and good will repudiates.

The fishery question in all its bearings will be one of very great importance, and the adjustment of the difficulties that have grown up under the laws and regulations based upon the Treaty of 1818 will have a very powerful influence upon the inauguration of better relations. Complaint has arisen as to the character of privileges extended to American fishermen, on the ground that they fall far short of the ordinary commercial comity of the latter quarter of the nineteenth century as accorded one to another by enlightened maritime states. Whatever privileges may have been denied under the provisions of legislation warranted by the conditions of the treaty, as to shelter, making repairs, purchase of bait and supplies, and use of Canadian railways for transport of catch in bond, will form a subject of friendly consideration. The regulations on the great interior lakes lying upon the border of the two countries require to be made uniform. At the present time, stringent provisions are in force upon the Canadian side for the protection of these fisheries, while upon the American side they are being depleted by reckless disregard of the conditions necessary for their preservation.

The settlement of the Alaskan boundary question should have received earlier attention, and has now become a matter of unexpected importance, owing to the gold discoveries of the Klondike region and other sections of the upper Yukon Valley within the limits of Canada. The delimitation of the boundary of the narrow strip of land along the coast from Mount St. Elias southward, which intervenes between Canadian territory and the waters of the Pacific, will be a matter presenting some difficulty, as the question as to the southerly limit of this coast barrier and as to what constitutes the coast line, and whether it shall follow deep and narrow indentations which are canals or estuaries, will naturally lead to divergence of opinion. It is sincerely to be hoped that this question will be settled in a satisfactory manner.

The question of pelagic sealing also awaits consideration, and the natural desire of the United States to preserve the seal herds of the Pribyloff Islands, and to put an end to the wasteful and cruel destruction of seals at sea by pelagic sealing, will naturally command careful attention and considerate action.

Other questions may possibly present themselves for the consideration of the commission; among them possibly the problem of securing a better outlet for the region adjacent to the great lakes by a deep water channel to tide water. Preliminary consideration looking to a final adjustment of this most important question might properly engage attention.

The broad field to be covered by the investigations and action of this Joint International Commission make the high importance of its labors clearly apparent. Upon its wisdom, forbearance, spirit of mutual concession and friendliness of purpose, will depend the question as to whether the results will be thoroughly satisfactory, or the reverse. The dawning of an era of better feeling between the two great Anglo-Saxon commonwealths intensifies the importance of its action, and the hope of every friend of Anglo-Saxon interests, and of human progress, will naturally be for a successful consummation of its mission, and the securing of a settlement which will remove from the storm centre of irritation and friction arising between the two Anglo-Saxon families, all clashing interests and divergent purposes that have hitherto proved a prolific source of annoyance and bad feeling.

A CANADIAN LIBERAL.

THE UNITED STATES SENATE: ITS PRIVILEGES, POWERS AND FUNCTIONS, ITS RULES AND METHODS OF DOING BUSINESS.

BY THE HON. W. A. PEFFER, LATE U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS.

ON the fourth day of March, 1789, the day named in the Constitution for the assembling of Congress, only eight Senators appeared and they adjourned from day to day and from time to time until the sixth day of April next following, when a quorum was present and eleven States were represented. North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet ratified the Constitution. A roll-call disclosed the presence of the following-named Senators: From New Hampshire, John Langdon and Paine Wingate; from Massachusetts, Caleb Strong and Tristram Dalton; from Connecticut, Oliver Elsworth and William S. Johnson; from New York, Rufus King and Philip Schuyler; from New Jersey, William Paterson and Jonathan Elmer; from Pennsylvania, William Maclay and Robert Morris; from Delaware, Richard Bassett and George Read; from Maryland, Charles Carroll and John Henry; from Virginia, Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson; from South Carolina, Ralph Izard and Pierce Butler; from Georgia, William Few and James Gunn. One-half of them had been members of the convention which framed the Constitution and seventeen of them had taken part in the work of the Continental Congress. Eleven were lawyers, and among the others the record shows one merchant, one man of business, one physician and one farmer.

Following the practice of the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention, the Senate sat with closed doors.*

* This practice was continued until the beginning of the session that commenced December, 1794. As early as April 29, 1790, efforts were b gun to open the doors when the Senate was in legislative session, but without success (except during the discussion of the Gallatin contested election case), until on the 20th day of February, 1794, when a resolution passed to open the doors at the beginning of the next session.

By agreement the Senators arranged themselves in a semi-circle in front of the presiding officer, beginning on the right with New Hampshire and ending on the left with Georgia. The President-elect of the United States not yet having appeared and taken the oath of office, the Senate devoted a good deal of time to the preparation of rules for the proper transaction of business. The manner of communication between the two Houses was referred to a select committee on the 16th of April, and a week later the committee reported that they had conferred with a like committee on the part of the House of Representatives and they had agreed to report the following rule :

"When a bill or other message shall be sent from the Senate to the House of Representatives it shall be carried by the Secretary, who shall make one obeisance to the Chair on entering the door of the House of Representatives, and another on delivering it at the table into the hands of the Speaker. After he shall have delivered it, he shall make an obeisance to the Speaker and repeat it as he retires from the House.

"When a bill shall be sent up by the House of Representatives to the Senate it shall be carried by two members, who, at the bar of the Senate, shall make their obeisance to the President, and thence, advancing to the Chair, make a second obeisance, and deliver it into the hands of the President. After having delivered the bill they shall make their obeisance to the President, and repeat it as they retire from the bar."

This report was agreed to and then reconsidered. The subject was again committed and recommitted and on May second it was "agreed that until a permanent mode of communication shall be adopted between the Senate and House of Representatives, the Senate will receive messages by the Clerk of the House, if the House shall think proper to send him—and papers sent from the House shall be delivered to the Secretary at the bar of the Senate, and by him conveyed to the President."

The committee's report was never adopted. The early practice was continued. When the Clerk of the House appears inside the door of the Senate chamber with a message, the fact is announced by the Doorkeeper thus : "Message from the House of Representatives," when business is temporarily suspended, and the President recognizing "Mr. Clerk," that officer, bowing and addressing the Chair, says : "I am directed to inform the Senate that the House has passed ——," a certain bill or resolution, or whatever may be the nature of the information to be communicated. Having thus spoken, he delivers the paper, or papers, to the Doorkeeper and politely retires. The document is then de-

livered to the Secretary or his Chief Clerk, and business is resumed.

The same simple proceeding is had when the President's Private Secretary appears with a message from the Executive. On being announced and recognized by the chair, he says: "I am directed by the President of the United States to deliver a message in writing," or "to announce his approval" of a certain bill, or whatever may have been the President's action on a particular matter.

The Senate communicates with the President through its Secretary or by a special committee of its members.

The next subject involving questions of official etiquette which the Senate at the beginning had to determine was: "What style or title it will be proper to annex to the offices of President and Vice-President," and a committee was appointed to consider the matter. The subject was discussed frequently from April 23d until May 14th, and many different titles were suggested, as "His Highness," "His Excellency," etc. The committee finally reported in favor of "His Highness, the President of the United States of America and Protector of the Rights of the Same." But the House of Representatives favored the simple language of the Constitution, "The President of the United States," and that has been the form of address ever since.

At first, executive communications were delivered to the Senate by Cabinet officers, and when the President wished to communicate in person with the Senate, he informed that body when he would appear, as he did on several occasions and conferred with the Senate in respect to treaties and appointments. This practice did not long continue, however. The President's Private Secretary soon came to be the bearer of his messages, and he has performed that service ever since, though the rule providing for the reception of the President, when he calls on the Senate officially, is still preserved and is now in force.

The first message of President Washington was delivered by himself orally in an address before both Houses, and each House, following the custom of the British Parliament, prepared and delivered an "answer" to the address.

The first code of rules adopted for the government of the Senate was severely disciplinarian. One of them required that "inviolable secrecy shall be observed with respect to all matters

transacted in the Senate while the doors are shut, or as often as the same is enjoined from the Chair." The last one provided that:

"These rules shall be engrossed on parchment and hung up in some conspicuous part of the Senate Chamber. And every Senator who shall neglect attendance during a session, absent himself without leave, or withdraw for more than a quarter of an hour without permission after a quorum is formed, shall be guilty of disorderly behavior, and his name, together with the nature of the transgression, shall be written on a slip of paper and annexed to the bottom of the rules, there to remain until the Senate, on his application or otherwise, shall take order on the same."

Attention, order and manly bearing, with resulting ease and dignity in speech, were so highly prized by these our first Senators, that seven of their rules of procedure related to personal deportment of members of the body during session hours.

Looking back from this distance, it seems strange that such rigid rules were deemed necessary among gentlemen so punctilious as they. Congress met in Philadelphia the next year and a newspaper writer of that city thus described the Senate's decorum:

"Among the Senators is observed constantly during the debates the most delightful silence, the most beautiful order, gravity, and personal dignity of manner. They all appear every morning full-powdered and dressed in the richest material. The very atmosphere of the Chamber seems to inspire wisdom, mildness and condescension. Should any of the Senators so far forget for a moment as to be the cause of a protracted whisper while another was addressing the Vice-President, three gentle raps with his silver pencil-case by Mr. Adams immediately restored everything to repose and the most respectful attention."

These rules were amended and modified from time to time as occasion and experience suggested, and in 1806 a new code was adopted, retaining such of the old as had proven to be suitable for the work of the Senate. The revision included forty rules, the exact number now in force. The most important change from the old code was the omission of the "previous question." Under the operation of that rule a majority of a quorum could at any time stop a debate. The rule was not popular. Only four times in sixteen years had it been invoked, and in one of the instances it was ruled out of order because the matter pending was a preamble and not a substantive proposition.

There have been several attempts to restore the rule, in substance at least, notably in 1841 by Henry Clay, in 1850 by Stephen A. Douglas, in 1870 by Hannibal Hamlin and Henry Wilson; and the subject has been brought to the attention of the Senate occa-

sionally since, when some measure was vigorously urged and persistently opposed, as in the case of the bill to repeal the purchasing clause of the silver law, at the extraordinary session in 1893.

The effect of dropping the previous question has been to broaden the scope of debate and this sometimes provokes unfavorable criticism outside the chamber as well as inside; but it is questionable whether it ever will be, or ought to be, restored.

Without the spur of the previous question the Senate has become more patient and conservative than it was in the beginning. It is nowhere recorded in the proceedings of the Senate, since the century began, that any member of the body was denied the privilege of speaking to any important matter pending. A vote on the main question can be reached only by unanimous consent, and that is never given on any great question until every Senator who desires to speak upon it has had an opportunity to be heard. If he does not conclude to-day he may proceed to-morrow and continue the next day.

And from this courtesy among Senators it sometimes happens that a small matter is the occasion of long, able and powerful debate on questions in no way related to the pending proposition. No harm has come from this. On the contrary, it has been instructive and helpful. Every great discussion in the Senate has served to enlarge the horizon of liberty and to strengthen the foundations of the Republic. As an example take this : In January, 1830, Mr. Foote, a Senator from Connecticut offered a resolution instructing the committee on public lands to inquire and report certain facts relating to the public domain.

Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, speaking to the resolution, criticised the Eastern people, because, as he believed, they were disposed to prevent emigration to the Western States and Territories, and would be aided in their efforts by stopping sales of the public lands there. This brought Daniel Webster to the defence of New England, and in his answer to Mr. Benton he alleged that the author of the Ordinance of 1787, which opened a vast region of the West to settlement and dedicated the Northwest Territory of freedom, was an Eastern man. Discussing the wisdom of that measure, he referred to the prevailing customs in the South, and made comparisons distasteful to Senators from the slave-holding States.

Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, defended his people and arraigned those of the East in a long and able speech.

Mr. Hayne's speech was delivered on the 21st day of January. On the 26th, Mr. Webster replied in an argument which has become historic.

Inspired by this battle of giants, Mr. Calhoun, who was then Vice-President, resigned that position that he might enter the Senate as a member, and in July next following he delivered a speech discussing not anything then before the body, but the argument delivered by Mr. Webster six months before.

Following this, at the next session of Congress, came the famous free trade report of the Committee on Ways and Means, followed by the nullification proceedings of '32 and the compromise tariff act of '33, and eighteen years afterward by the compromise measures of 1850, and in 1852 by the adoption of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798-99, as the creed of the Democratic party, supplemented by the slaveholders' rebellion in 1861—all bearing close and direct relation to what was said in the Senate in the discussion following the introduction of Mr. Foot's modest resolution proposing to inquire whether it would not be wise to temporarily limit the sale of public lands.

Speeches of Senators on important subjects are, in most cases, prepared carefully in advance, reduced to writing and read by the author from manuscript. It is very seldom that a Senator proceeds in a great effort without copious notes, if his speech is not in writing or print before him.

In order to maintain the relative power of parties in the Senate and in order that no Senator need "lose his vote," a custom prevails by which members of opposing parties form themselves into "pairs," and if one of a "pair" is absent when a vote is taken, the other does not vote.

All confidential communications from the President of the United States are considered in secret executive sessions, and all treaties laid before the Senate, and all remarks, votes and proceedings thereon are kept secret, under the thirty-sixth rule. The fourth clause of this rule provides that "any Senator or officer of the Senate who shall disclose the secret or confidential business or proceedings of the Senate shall be liable, if a Senator, to expulsion from the body; and if an officer, to dismissal from the service of the Senate, and to punishment for contempt."

The injunction of secrecy may be removed, in any given case, by a resolution of the Senate. This is not often done, however, but newspaper reporters have become so expert in their profession that they publish fairly accurate statements of what was said and done in executive sessions of the Senate.

In all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, Senators are privileged from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of the Senate, and in going to and returning from the same, and for "any speech or debate" in the Senate they "shall not be questioned in any other place."

From the beginning it has been the custom to allow newspapers to be paid for out of the "contingent fund," which is a fund to be applied to special uses under the exclusive control of the Senate—as stationery, select committee expenses, etc. At first the number of papers which Senators allowed themselves was limited to three each. Stationery was used without limit until 1868, when the amount allowed to each Senator was fixed at $125 a session for newspapers and stationery. It was subsequently changed to $125 a year, and that is the rule now. If more than that amount is drawn the difference is paid in cash by the Senator; if less is drawn he receives the difference in money.

Senators are privileged to send through the mails, free of charge, any public document printed by order of Congress and official letters to any officer of the Government.

Each Senator is entitled to one copy of every Government publication, and he may have it bound in half morocco or material no more expensive.

No person is admitted to the floor of the Senate Chamber while the body is in session or during the fifteen minutes immediately preceding the hour of meeting, except the following: The President of the United States and his Private Secretary, the President and Vice-President elect, ex-Presidents and ex-Viee-Presidents, Judges of the Supreme Court, ex-Senators and Senators-elect, the officers and employees of the Senate in the discharge of their official duties, ex-Secretaries and ex-Sergeants-at-arms of the Senate, Members of the House of Representatives, and members-elect, ex-Speakers of the House of Representatives, the Sergeant-at-arms and his chief deputy and the Clerk of the House and his deputy, heads of the Executive Departments, Ambassadors and Ministers of the United States, Governors of States and

Territories, the General commanding the army, the Senior Admiral of the navy on the active list, members of National Legislatures of foreign countries, Judges of the Court of Claims, Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Librarian of Congress and the Assistant Librarian in charge of the Law Library, the Architect of the Capitol, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, Clerks to Senate Committees and Clerks to Senators, when in actual discharge of their official duties.

The Senate meets, usually, at 12 o'clock, noon. After prayer by the Chaplain and the reading of the journal of the last preceding day's proceedings, the first thing in order is the presentation of petitions and memorials; then follow in their order reports of standing and select committees, introduction of bills and joint resolutions, and concurrent and other resolutions.

The first two hours of the session is known as "the morning hour," during which all preliminary proceedings are had, such as debates on Senate resolutions, first and second readings of bills, motions for reference, consideration of matters coming over from a previous day, etc. At 2 o'clock the presiding officer lays before the Senate the "unfinished business," if there be any, and if not, the calendar is in order.

In addition to the usual prerogatives of parliamentary bodies, the Senate enjoys certain privileges and exercises certain functions and powers which are conferred upon it by the Constitution of the United States. It may originate legislation on any subject over which Congress has jurisdiction, except revenue.

It may concur in, amend or reject any bill or resolution sent to it by the House of Representatives; it may adjourn for any length of time not exceeding three days, without the consent of the other House, but must not adjourn to any place other than that "in which the two Houses shall be sitting." The Senate is the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and it chooses its own officers and makes its own rules. Though a legislative body, it is charged with executive functions in respect to treaties and appointments to office. The President has power to make treaties and appoint officers, but that power has coupled with it—"by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." The President "shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint" Ambassadors, other public ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme

Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not otherwise provided for in the Constitution, and which shall be established by law. A simple majority of a quorum may advise and consent to an appointment, but two-thirds of the Senators present are required to ratify a treaty.

Under the operation of the twelfth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, taking effect 25th September, 1804, the Senate is charged with the duty of choosing the Vice-President in case none of the persons voted for for that office has received a majority of the votes cast; and, when sitting for this purpose, two-thirds of the whole number of Senators must be present, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. The only instance of the Senate's performing this function was in the case of Richard M. Johnson in 1837.

The Senate has power to compel the attendance of absent members, to inflict punishment for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds may expel a member for any cause deemed sufficient.

The power of the Senate to punish persons not members of the body, for contempt, defamation, libel, etc., has never been clearly and fully defined. None of the cases acted upon has settled any important questions in that direction. Though in some respects fashioned after the model of the Upper House of the British Parliament, the Senate has no judicial power, except in cases of impeachment. Its powers of punishment and expulsion are applicable only to its own members, and were granted for its own protection. The Duane case is in point. William Duane, of Philadelphia, on the 19th day of February, 1800, published in the *General Advertiser, or Aurora*, a newspaper of that city, a copy of a bill "prescribing the mode of deciding disputed elections of President and Vice-President of the United States," together with editorial comments thereon, reflecting on the action of the Senate and of certain Senators, naming them, in respect to the alleged passage of the bill, which matter was declared by the Senate to be "false, defamatory, scandalous and malicious, tending to defame the Senate," and Mr. Duane was summoned to appear at the bar of the Senate, on a day named, "at which time he will have opportunity to make any proper defense for his conduct," etc. He did appear and asked for the assistance of counsel. The request was granted, but on terms

that he regarded as in restraint of his constitutional rights, and he refused to further appear or answer.

On March 27th following, the Senate held that Duane was in contempt and the Sergeant-at-arms was directed to take him into custody and hold him subject to further order of the Senate. But Congress being about to adjourn, and the Senate not claiming power to hold a prisoner beyond the session, the President of the United States was requested by a resolution of the Senate, May 14, 1800, to instruct the proper officer to institute an action against Duane for the defamatory publication. An action was begun, he submitted his case to the court and was sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment and to pay the costs of prosecution.

In several instances happening since Duane's case was disposed of, newspaper reporters have been deprived of the privileges of the floor or gallery, as the case may be, because of publishing matter disrespectful to the Senate or its members.

As to the power of the Senate to compel witnesses to appear and testify, whatever may be its extent, it is not unlimited. The existence of this power was taken for granted until 1857, when the question was raised by the refusal of a witness to testify before a committee of the House of Representatives, with the result that, while the witness was in custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, January 21st, 1857, the committee before whom he was subpoenaed to testify, reported to the House a bill, which became a law three days afterward, providing for trial and punishment of contumacious witnesses before committees of either House of Congress. The law was changed somewhat by act of January 24th, 1862. The present statutory provisions relating to this subject are found in Sections 101 to 104 inclusive, and Section 859, of the Revised Statutes of 1878. By Section 102, refusal to testify is declared to be a misdemeanor, and Section 104 provides that: "Whenever a witness summoned as mentioned in Section 102 fails to testify, and the facts are reported to either House, the President of the Senate or the Speaker of the House, as the case may be, shall certify the fact under the seal of the Senate or the House to the District Attorney for the District of Columbia, whose duty it shall be to bring the matter before the Grand Jury for their action."

It was under these provisions that the witnesses in the Sugar Trust scandal investigation in 1894 were indicted and tried.

There have been but few cases of disorder among Senators in the Senate Chamber of a character requiring official action. Senators rarely violate a rule of order willfully, and they are usually prompt to make proper explanations and apologies for any breaches of privilege happening among them in debate.

A resolution to expel Benjamin Tappan, a Senator from Ohio, was submitted May 10th, 1844. That Senator, in violation of the rule of secrecy, had delivered to a newspaper reporter for publication a copy of the Texas annexation treaty. The resolution was afterward modified so as to declare that Mr. Tappan "has been guilty of a flagrant violation of the rules of the Senate and disregard of its authority." After the resolution was adopted, it was further resolved, "That in consideration of the acknowledgments and apology tendered by the said Benjamin Tappan for his said offense, no further censure be inflicted on him."

In the case of Senators Benton, of Missouri, and Foote, of Mississippi, a special committee was appointed to report. On several occasions prior to April 17th, 1850, these two Senators "had some sharp personal altercations in the Senate. On that date, while Mr. Foote was speaking in reply to Mr. Benton, the latter started from his seat and moved toward Mr. Foote. Mr. Foote left his seat and took a stand in front of the Secretary's table, at the same time drawing and cocking a revolver. Mr. Benton was led back to his seat by Senators in the midst of great confusion, and Mr. Foote was induced to surrender the pistol."

The committee reported that the whole scene was most discreditable to the Senate, but recommended no action, expressing the hope that their condemnation of the affair would be "a sufficient rebuke and a warning not unheeded in future."

The attack on Charles Sumner occurred in the Senate Chamber after the body had adjourned, and the offending party was not a member of the Senate.

The Senate has exercised its power of expulsion five times. William Blount, a Senator from Tennessee, was expelled July 8th, 1797, for complicity in a scheme to transfer New Orleans and adjacent territory from Spain to Great Britain. John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, was expelled December 4th, 1861, for participation in the rebellion. Trusten Polk and Waldo P. Johnson, Senators from Missouri, were expelled January 10th, 1862,

for aiding and abetting the rebellion. Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana, was expelled on the 5th day of February, 1862, for disloyalty in writing a letter to Jefferson Davis introducing a man who wanted "to dispose of what he regards a great improvement in firearms."

In connection with these expulsions for disloyalty it may be stated that the Senators from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia voluntarily retired between the months of November, 1860, and July, 1861. A. O. P. Nicholson of Tennessee retired March 3d, 1861.

Of the Senators in office May 1st, 1898, twenty-one served in the Confederate army.

The Senate has the "sole power to try all impeachments." The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States are impeachable for "treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors," and on conviction for any of these offenses they shall be removed from office; but no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present. There is no appeal from the judgment, and the President, though authorized by the Constitution "to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States," is specially prohibited from interfering in cases of impeachment. They are excepted.

"Judgment, in case of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law."

The Senate is not called upon to determine generally who are "civil officers of the United States;" it is sufficient, in each case as it is presented, to inquire whether the party impeached is included in that class. Articles impeaching William Blount were presented to the Senate for trial in 1797. Mr. Blount, being a member of the Senate, pleaded that he was not a "civil officer of the United States," and on that ground he objected to the jurisdiction of the Senate. On argument, his plea was held good and the impeachment proceedings were dismissed, but on the evidence against him he was expelled from the Senate.

There have been seven cases of impeachment prosecuted before the Senate. (1.) The above-mentioned William Blount, a

Senator from Tennessee, for violating the neutrality laws of the United States, 1797. (2.) John Pickering, District Judge, New Hampshire, for having appeared on the bench in a state of intoxication, 1803. (3.) Samuel Chase, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, for that "* * * disregarding the duties and dignity of his judicial character, did, at the Circuit Court for the District of Maryland, held at Baltimore in the month of May, 1803, pervert his official right and duty to address the Grand Jury * * * for the purpose of delivering to the said Grand Jury an intemperate and inflammatory harangue," etc. (4.) James Peck, District Judge, Missouri, for "high misdemeanors in office," 1826-31. (5.) West W. Humphreys, District Judge, Tennessee, for advocating the right of secession in a public speech, 1861. (6.) Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, for "high crimes and misdemeanors," 1868. (7.) William W. Belknap, Secretary of War, for "high misdemeanor in office," 1876-77.

When the Senate tries a case of impeachment, each Senator takes an oath in the following form:

"I solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that in all things appertaining to the trial of the impeachment of —— ——, now pending, I will do impartial justice according to the constitution and laws. So help me God."

The Senate long ago prepared and adopted a code of rules to govern in the body when sitting on impeachment trials, and in the case of President Johnson, on advice of the Chief Justice, the Senate's impeachment code of (25) rules was formally adopted by the body sitting for the trial of the particular case.

The House of Representatives has the sole power of impeachment. When charges of an impeachable character are preferred in the House against the President, Vice-President, or any civil officer of the United States, a special committee is usually appointed to investigate and report the probable facts, and the Judiciary Committee consider and report whether, on the facts stated, an impeachable offense has been committed and whether the person charged is probably guilty. If the report is affirmative, a committee of "Managers" is appointed by ballot to prepare articles of impeachment and to conduct the prosecution before the Senate. The Managers, on the part of the House in the President's case, were John A. Bingham, of Ohio; George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts; James F. Wilson, of Iowa; John

A. Logan, of Illinois; Thomas Williams, of Pennsylvania; Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts; Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania.*

The preliminary proceedings in impeachment cases are formal and tedious. When all things are ready the members of the House, before proceeding to the Senate, resolve themselves into a "Committee of the Whole House" for the purpose of prosecuting the impeachment and attend in that manner, though none of them but the Managers takes part in the proceedings.

When the President of the United States is on trial, the Chief Justice presides.

The following is a copy of the opening entry on the journal of proceedings of the trial of the impeachment of President Johnson, March 30th, 1868:

"At half past twelve o'clock, P. M., the Chief Justice of the United States entered the Senate Chamber, escorted by Mr. Pomeroy, chairman of the committee heretofore appointed for that purpose.

"THE CHIEF JUSTICE.—'The Sergeant-at-Arms will open the court by proclamation.'

"THE SERGEANT-AT-ARMS.—'Hear ye! hear ye! hear ye! All persons are commanded to keep silence while the Senate of the United States is sitting for the trial of the articles of impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives against Andrew Johnson, President of the United States.'

"The President's counsel, Messrs. Stanbery, Curtis, Evarts, and Groesbeck, entered the Chamber and took the seats assigned to them,

"At twelve o'clock and thirty-five minutes, P. M., the Sergeant-at-Arms announced the presence of the managers of the impeachment on the part of the House of Representatives, and they were conducted to the seats assigned to them.

"Immediately afterwards the presence of the members of the House of Representatives was announced, and the members of the Committee of the Whole House, headed by Mr. E. B. Washburn, of Illinois, the chairman of that committee, and accompanied by the Speaker and Clerk of the House of Representatives, entered the Senate Chamber and took the seats prepared for them."

The Senate is a school. The world's history is its text book. The record of a single day's proceedings frequently shows a range of work as wide as Christendom. No man well made up can be there long, if he will but listen, without himself becoming wiser and better. His opportunities for usefulness multiply as the new days come to him; his intellectual horizon expands, his view broadens and he grows stronger.

* The President's counsel were: Henry Stanbery, of Kentucky; B. R. Curtis, of Massachusetts; Thomas A. R. Nelson, of Tennessee; William M. Evarts, of New York; William S. Groesbeck, of Ohio; Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania.

It is no disparagement to any one who ever was or is now a member of the United States Senate, to say that it is only the few that are really great. The work of the body has resulted from the combined labors of all its members; each is entitled to his full measure of credit. The least among them has had some part in making up the Senate's record. But in all these hundred years and more there have always been some strong men there, men of great intellectual stature, who were seen and heard above the rest, grand characters that stand out among their fellows like peaks in mountain ranges and that we see afar off as we see cliffs and promontories on the shore line of the sea.

The House of Representatives, as the popular branch of the National Legislature, is commonly regarded as being nearer the people and more responsive to the popular will than the Senate is. Be that as it may, the rules of the lower House are and have been many years framed to restrict rather than to enlarge the freedom of speech: In the Senate there is no limit to debate except unanimous consent. The youngest member's objection prevents a vote if he desires to amend or to be heard on the main question. In a speech of great force delivered a few years ago in the Senate by Mr. Hoar, alluding to this subject, he said:

"The freedom of debate in the House of Representatives is gone. What I sometimes think is of more importance, the freedom of amendment, is gone also. * * * It is here only that the freedom of debate is secure. * * * Victories in arms are common to all nations. * * * But the greatest victories of constitutional liberty since the world began are those whose battle-ground has been the American Senate and whose champions have been the Senators, who, for a hundred years, while they have resisted the popular passions of the hour, have led, represented, guided, obeyed, and made effective the deliberate will of a free people."

W. A. Peffer.

THE ABDICATION OF MAN.

BY ELIZABETH BISLAND.

In the midst of the excursions and alarums of war and preparation for war a sudden and great silence has fallen upon the everlasting discussion of the relations of the sexes. Before the stern realities of that final and bloody argument of Republics as well as Kings further dissection of the Woman Question has been deferred. The most vociferous of the "unquiet sex" have been regarding respectfully the sudden transformation of the plain, unromantic man who went patiently to business every morning in a cable car, and sat on a stool at a desk, or weighed tea, or measured ribbon, into a hero ready to face violent annihilations before which even her imagination recoils. The grim realisms of life and death have made the realism of such erstwhile burning dramas as The Doll House shrink into the triviality of a drama fit only for wooden puppets. Sudden and violent readjustments of ideas are apt to be brought about when human relations are jarred into their true place by the thunder of cannon. War legitimatizes man's claim to superiority. When the sword is drawn he is forced to again mount that ancient seat of rule from which he has only recently been evicted: or rather from which he has himself stepped down. The democracy of sex at once becomes ridiculous—the old feudal relation reasserts itself.

It is interesting to note that there has not been one feminine voice raised to protest against the situation. The entire sex, as represented in this country, has, as one woman, fallen simply and gladly into the old place of nurse, of binder of wounds, of soother and helpmeet. Not one has claimed the woman's equal right to face villainous saltpetre, or risk dismemberment by harbor mines.

I believe this to be because woman prefers this old relation.

I believe that if man were willing she would always maintain it; that it depends upon him whether she returns to it permanently or not. I believe that her modern attitude is not of her own choosing—that man has thrust that attitude upon her. For the oldest of all empires is that of man; no royal house is so ancient as his. The Emperors of Japan are parvenus of the vulgarest modernity in comparison, and the claims of long descent of every sovereign in Europe shrivel into absurdity beside the magnificent antiquity of this potentate. Since the very beginning of things, when our hairy progenitors fought for mastery with the megatherium, and scratched pictorial epics upon his victim's bones, the House of Man has reigned and ruled, descending in an unbroken line from father to son in direct male descent. His legitimacy was always beyond dispute; his divine right to rule was not even questioned, and was buttressed against possible criticism not only by the universal concurrence of all religious and philosophic opinion, but by the joyful loyalty of the whole body of his female subjects. Moses and Zoroaster, St. Paul and Plato all bore witness to his supremacy, and the jury of women brought in a unanimous verdict in his favor without calling for testimony.

Women yet living can recall a day when they forgot their pain for joy that a man-child—heir to that famous line of Kings—was born into the world. They can remember a time when their own greatest claim to consideration rested upon the fact that they were capable of perpetuating the royal race. They recollect a period when even from his cradle the boy was set apart to be served with that special reverence reserved for those whose brows are bound with the sacred circlet of sovereignty—when a particular divinity did hedge even the meanest male; a tenfold essence being shed about all those who were of the tribe of Levi

Why then—since all this is of so recent existence, since man's rule was founded so deep on woman's loyalty—has he been swelling the melancholy ranks of Kings in Exile? For that he has ceased to reign over woman does not require even to be asserted. It is self-evident.

When was this amazing revolution effected? Who led the emeute that thrust man from his throne? It is a revolt without a history; without the record of a single battle. Not even a barricade can be set up to its credit, and yet no more important

revolution can be found in the pages of the oldest chronicles. So venerable, so deep-rooted in the eternal verities seemed the authority of man over woman that the female mind, until the present day, never doubted its inevitableness. Indeed, as is the case with all loyal natures, she was jealous for the absolutism of her master, and was quick to repair any such small omissions as he himself might have made in the completeness of his domination. All of her sex were trained from their earliest infancy to strive for but one end—to make themselves pleasing to their rulers. Success in the court of man was the end and aim of their existence, the only path for their ambition, and no other courtiers ever rivaled these in the subtle completeness of their flattery. Man's despotism, of course, like all other tyrannies, was tempered by his weaknesses, but while woman wheedled and flattered and secretly bent him to her projects she did not question his real right to govern.

Here and there through the past there arose a few scattered pioneers in recalcitrance. One of the first to deny the innate supremacy of the male was a woman who herself wore a crown. Elizabeth Tudor had a fashion of laying heavy hands upon her rightful lords whenever they displeased her, and she appears to have rejected the whole theory of feminine subordination. John Knox—strong in the power of the priest, whose sublimated prerogatives man had skillfully retained in his own hands—could and did dominate Mary Stuart even upon the throne, but when he blew from Geneva his "First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Woman," and called all the ages to witness that the rule of a female was an affront to nature, that trenchant lady who held the English sceptre forbade him ever to set foot in her domains.

Elizabeth, however, was a unique personality and had few imitators. The literature of her day abounds with expressions of supreme humility and loyalty from the one sex to the other. Elizabethan poets deigned to play at captivity and subjection to the overwhelming charms of Saccharissa and her sisters, and turned pretty phrases about her cruelty, but this was merely poetic license of expression. All serious, unaffected expression of conviction, such as was to be found in the religious writings of the time, and in the voluminous private correspondence which gives us the most accurate description obtainable of the real actions and

opinions of our ancestors, never suggested a doubt of man's natural and inalienable superiority, mental, moral, and physical. So undisturbed was this conviction down almost to our own day, that the heresy of Mary Wollstonecraft gave the severest of shocks to her own generation. So heinous seemed her offense of *lésê-majes* in questioning man's divine right that one of the most famous of her contemporaries did not hesitate to stigmatize her as "a hyena in petticoats."

History gives us but one record of a general outbreak. In the 13th Century the Crusades had so drained Europe of its able-bodied men that the women were forced to apply themselves to the abandoned trades and neglected professions. They shortly became so intoxicated by the sense of their own competency and power that when the weary wearers of the cross returned from the East they were at first delighted to discover that their affairs were prospering almost as well as ever, and then amazed and disgusted to find the women reluctant to yield up to their natural rulers these usurped privileges. Stern measures were necessary to oust them. Severe laws were enacted against the admission of women into the Guilds—the labor organizations which at that period governed all the avenues of industrial advancement; and the doors of the professions were peremptorily slammed in the women's faces. Such episodes as these, however, were detached and accidental. Female treason never dared unrebuked to lift its horrid head until within the present generation.

The emancipated new woman has various methods of accounting for the humbling of this hoary sovereignty. Some find it only a natural concomitant of the general wreck of thrones and monarchical privilege—in other words, that it is but one phase of advancing democracy. By some it is supposed that in this Age of Interrogation man's supremacy, along with all other institutions, has been called upon to produce an adequate reason for being, and having no answer that seems satisfactory, he has been summarily forced to abandon pretensions which rested merely upon use and wont. It is said by some that woman has been examining with coldly unprejudiced eye the claim of man to rule, has been measuring his powers against her own and has not been daunted by the comparison. The more noisy declare that she has stripped him of his royal robe and that, like Louis XIV. minus his high heels and towering peruke, she finds him only of medium

stature after all; that she has turned the rays of a cynical democracy upon the mystery encompassing his Kingship and refuses to be awed by what she sees there; that it is because of this she begins to usurp his privileges, thrust herself into his professions, shoulder him even from the altar, and brazenly seating herself on the throne beside him she lifts the circlet from his brows to try if it be not a fit for her own head.

The weakness of all such explanations is that they do not take into account the fact that woman is not by nature democratic. Whatever political principles the occasional or exceptional woman may profess, the average woman is in all her predilections intensely aristocratic; is by nature loyal, idealistic, an idolator and a hero worshiper. Strong as the spirit of democracy may be, it could not by itself alone in one generation change the nature of woman. The explanation must lie elsewhere.

In the language of a now famous arraignment—"*J'accuse*" man himself.

No ruler is ever really dethroned by his subjects. No hand but his own ever takes the crown from his head. No agency but his can wash the chrism from his brow. It is his own abdication that drives him from power—abdication of his duties, his obligations, his opportunities. Ceasing to rule, he ceases to reign. When he ceases to lead he wants for followers, and the revolt which casts him from power is only the outward manifestation of his previous abdication of the inward or spiritual grace of kingship. When man ceased to govern, woman was not long in throwing off the sham of subjection that remained.

Like other subjects, woman required of her master two things —*panem et circenses,* bread and circuses. When the industrial changes brought about by the introduction of machinery put an end to the old patriarchal system of home manufactures, man found it less easy to provide for his woman-kind—more especially his collateral woman-kind—and without any very manifest reluctance he turned her out into the world to shift for herself. Here was a shock to her faith and loyalty! The all-powerful male admitted his inability to provide for these sisters, cousins, aunts, and more distant kin who had looked up to him as the fount of existence, and had toiled and fed contentedly under his roof, yielding to him obedience as the natural provider and master. Woman went away sorrowful and—very thoughtful.

This alone was not enough to quite alienate her faith, however, Woman was still, as always, a creature of imagination—dazzled by color, by pomp, by fanfaronade. A creature of romance, adoring the picturesque, yielding her heart to courage, to power, to daring and endurance—all the sterner virtues which she herself lacked. The man of the past was often brutal to her—overbearing always, cruel at times, but he fascinated her by his masterfulness and his splendor. She might go fine, but he would still be the finer bird. When she thought of him she was hypnotized by a memory of gold, a waving of purple, a glitter of steel, a flutter of scarlet. He knew that this admiration of hers for beauty and color was as old as the world. From primordial periods the male has recognized this need of the female. The fish in the sea, the reptile in the dust, the bird in the forest, the wild beast in the jungle are all aware of their mates' passion for gleaming scales, for glowing plumes, for dappled hides and orgulous crests of hair. They know, they have always known, that no king can reign without splendor. Only man, bent solely upon his own comfort and, it would seem, upon the abandonment of his power, deliberately sets himself against this need of the female, which has become imbedded in her nature through every successive step up in the scale of evolution. He alone fatuously prides himself on the dark, bifurcated simplicity of his attire ; intended only for warmth and ease and constructed with a calculated avoidance of adornment. To avoid criticism he has set up a theory that a superior sort of masculinity is demonstrated by the dark tint and unbeautiful shape of garments ; (as if the fighting man, the soldier—who is nothing if not masculine—were not always a colorful creature ;) and chooses to ignore or resent woman's weakness for this same gold-laced combatant, and the silken, picturesque actor.

"*J'accuse*" the man of abandoning his mastership and becoming a bourgeois in appearance and manner through a slothful desire for ease. There can hardly be a question that Louis le Grand's red heels and majestic peruke were uncomfortable and a bore, but his sense of humor and knowledge of men were such that his bed curtains were never untucked until his lion's mane had been passed in to him on the end of a walking stick, and was safely in its place. He could imagine how unimposing the King of Beasts might be in *negligé*. He knew that to be reverenced

one must be imposing. Louis the unfortunate found it far less tedious to abandon stateliness and work wigless and leather-aproned at his locksmith's forge, while his feather-headed queen played at being a dairy-maid at Trianon, forgetting that the populace, which had submitted humbly to the bitter exactions of the man who dazzled them, seeing the bald head and leathern apron would get abruptly up from its knees and say: "What! submit to the pretensions of a locksmith and a dairy-maid—common folk like ourselves—certainly not!" and proceed to carry their sovereign's suggestion of equality to the distressingly logical conclusion to be found at the mouth of the guillotine.

"*J'accuse*" man of carrying further this democracy of sex by adding rigid plainness of behavior to ugliness of appearance, forgetting that a woman, like the child and the savage, love pomp of manner as well as of garment, and that what she does not see she finds it hard to believe. Every wise lover soon learns that it is necessary to reinforce the tenderness of his manner by definite assurances of affection several times in every twenty-four hours. Then, and then only is a woman sure she is loved.

How can she believe man heroic unless he use the appearance and manner of the hero?

Sir Hilary of Agincourt, returning from France, found his lady from home, and he and all his weary men-at-arms sat there—mailed cap-a-pie—throughout the entire night until she returned to welcome them home and receive their homage. What if at other times Sir Hilary may have been something of a brute? —Lady Hilary, flattered by this fine piece of steel clad swagger, would, remembering it, forgive a thousand failures of temper or courtesy.

When El Ahmed held the pass all through the darkness while his women fled across the desert, and his foes feared to come to hand grips with him, not knowing he stood there dead, propped against the spear he had thrust into his mortal wound to hold himself erect—there was no female revolt against the domination of men who were capable of deeds that so fired women's imaginations.

These may, after all, seem to be frivolous accusations—that men do not dress well; do not behave dramatically; but the signification of these seemingly capricious charges lies deeper than may appear. Man has been seized with a democratic ideal, and

after applying it to political institutions has attempted to carry it into domestic application. He is relentlessly forcing a democracy of sex upon woman; industrially, mentally, and sentimentally. He refuses to gratify her imagination; he insists upon her development of that logical selfishness which underlies all democracy, and which is foreign to her nature. Now, nature has inexorably laid upon woman a certain share of the work that must be done in the world. In the course of ages humanity adjusted itself to its shared labors by developing the relation of master and defender, of dependent and loyal vassal. Sentiment had adorned it with a thousand graces and robbed the feudal relation of most of its hardships. Mutual responsibilities and mutual duties were cheerfully accepted.

Woman was obliged to perform certain duties, and these could only be made easy and agreeable by sentiment, by unselfishness. Man needed her ministrations as much as she needed his. He realized that sentiment was necessary to her happiness and he accepted the duty of preserving that sentiment of loyalty and admiration for himself which made her hard tasks seem easy when performed for a beloved master. He took upon himself that difficult task of being a hero to a person even more intimate than his valet. He took the trouble to please woman's imagination.

The hard democracy of to-day will take no note of the relation of master and dependent. Each individual has all the rights which do not come violently in contact with other's rights, and has no duties which are not regulated by the law. Unselfishness is not contemplated in its scheme. Every individual has a right to all the goods of life he can get.

Women are beginning to accept these stern theories; beginning to apply the cruel logic of individualism. So far from the power to win his favor being her one hope of advancement or success she does not hesitate to say on occasion that to yield to his affections is likely to hamper her in the race for fame or achievement. So far from giving an heir to his greatness being the highest possibility of her existence, she sometimes complains that such duties are an unfair demand upon her energies, which she wishes to devote exclusively to her own ends.

The universal unpopularity of domestic service proves that the duties of a woman are in themselves neither agreeable nor

interesting. Where is the man in all the world who would exchange even the most laborious of his occupations for his wife's daily existence? The only considerations that can permanently reconcile human beings to unattractive labors is first the sentiment of loyalty—that such labors are performed for one who is loved and admired—and second the fine, noble old habit of submission. These incentives to duty, these helps to happiness, man has taken from woman by weakly shuffling off his mastership.

I accuse man of having willfully cast from him the noblest crown in the world—of having wrongfully abdicated. War has at least this merit that it forces him to drop the vulgar careless ease of the bourgeois and resume for the time at least those bold and vigorous virtues which made him woman's hero and cheerfully accepted master.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

ZIONISM.

BY THE REV. DR. H. PEREIRA MENDES.

BEHOLD a beautiful ideal, old as the Bible itself, presented to the world anew. It is Zionism. The word has been coined, and its ready acceptance has made it current.

The passing years have seen the Hebrew's Ghetto razed, and the walls of his Judengasse thrown down. In one country after another the sentences of exile have been revoked in his favor, and the doors of the very legislatures have been opened for him. The ranks of the learned receive him gladly, commerce presents its walks for him to tread, and handicrafts and agricultural pursuits are free for his hands to work at.

No sooner was the cry of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity answered in all lands by those rights being accorded to him, than in France he became a Frenchman of the French; in England, an Englishman of the English; in Germany, a German of the Germans; and, here, he is an American of the Americans.

This is to say, he became a model citizen as soon as citizenship was granted to him. Since that day he has always done as he does to-day. He sheds his blood in the ranks of his country's soldiery; he helps to build that country's commercial prosperity and scientific honor; he pays his full proportion of all taxes, and contributes freely at all times, in all ways, in all emergencies; only he does not contribute his proportion of inmates to prisons and inebriate asylums.

But still he is always a Jew; there is something which keeps him so. His religion, his spiritual pabulum, his ideals, all seem to be different from those of his fellow-citizens.

And, in addition to these, there is a mysterious something which keeps him separate from his neighbors of alien faith.

This something is his peculiar destiny. His destiny is to be

a conservative influence upon society for reverence, for recognition of Divine interference in human affairs, and for individual and national progress on these lines.

Religion, Ideals, Destiny. Searched to its core, Zionism will be found to mean just these; the religion which Micah sums up in three words—Justice, Loving-kindness, and Humility; the Bible ideals of Universal Peace, Universal Brotherhood, and Universal Happiness; the destiny to carry all to share with him spiritual aspirations which make for righteousness. The mission of Zionism is the strengthening of Jewish sentiment for good, in order that it may logically be the conservative influence above mentioned. This, then, is the end of Zionism: to found a model government, a model state of society, a model system of education.

Zionism thus assumes many fields of action, the cultivation of which is taken up as occasion demands.

It will be at once perceived that it is as old as the Bible. The fields of action popularly identified with Zionism by its promoters to-day are one and all founded on Bible teachings. Any Zionistic idea not so origined, such as acquisition of Palestine by purchase, is *ipso facto* rejected by Biblo-Zionists.

Let us now take up these subjects *seriatim:*

(I.) A model Government.

A glance at the governments of the world shows serious faults in the greatest.

In Russia, expansion of empire means increase of imperial power, but no increase in the prosperity and intellectuality of the people. In Germany, it does mean increased imperial power, and the prosperity and intellectuality of the people are increasing at the same time. But, by reason of her militarism, she falls short of being an ideal government, as Russia does by her lack of representative government. And both of them fall short by reason of differentiation between religious sects.

In Austria, the monarchy shows a distinct failure due to unfusable elements. No one doubts that when the present Emperor dies the Austrian empire will disintegrate.

Italy shows a beautiful land, once the home of a grandly virile nation, now the home of a nation of diminished glory and diminished strength. The monarchical power seems unable to stave off bankruptcy, or to prevent bread riots, or to wisely administer the nation's military strength.

Spain shows a monarchy of which the less said the better and the kinder. Once the greatest among the civilized nations in territorial expanse, she has lost nearly everything. Her cruelty in Cuba and the Philippines has alienated her friends. Her country, once studded with universities to which the young flocked from all parts of Europe for culture, now is the home of dense ignorance and crass bigotry. Monarchy in Spain has permitted decay. It has therefore been a failure.

France shows a republic which has given the death-blow to republicanism in many a heart that would fain be loyal. For if republicanism can hurl justice from her throne, can deprive a citizen of his liberty and of his honor without allowing him to know the evidence against him, can permit its military power to refuse to answer the inquiries in the court of justice, and so demonstrate that militarism is greater than justice; if a republic can be so false to its noble ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; if a republic can be so lost to honor, that it places the honor of its army officers above the honor of its army, above its own fair name, yes, above the honor of France, no true-hearted man can wish such a republic to stand.

A further proof of the failure of the French Republic is offered by the fact that the vast expansion of French territory does not mean any great commercial advantage, or any increased prosperity, for the French at home. Other nations reap as much advantage from the French colonies as the French themselves, and without the expenditure of life and treasure which France has to incur to maintain these colonies. Figures tell cold facts. If the French people realized how few are the ships carrying the French flag in the commercial world compared with those of other nations, they would begin to suspect the mistake of colonization by a stay-at-home nation. And the worst sign of France's decay is the terrible evidence of her vital statistics.

Great Britain and Holland are practically republics, except that their presidents are called "queens," and are for life. Both countries show great prosperity, and so judged, would appear to offer the best form of government to-day. The vastness of the British Empire may cause her fall; the smallness of Holland may invite a swallowing up. But brave little England has become a mighty power, and brave little Holland is a model in many ways. To judge by existing facts, their system of government would appear

to be the best at this moment. But no one will say that there are no faults therein. For example, in England, one of its great pieces of government machinery, the upper House of Parliament, has weak component parts—the hereditary peers who do not stand for intellect. And another deficiency is intimated by the existence of crushing poverty among the masses.

In America the failure of the republican system is becoming more evident at each Presidential and minor election. The disease of uncertainty paralyzes commercial enterprise. Business is periodically disturbed for months. Politics has become jobbery. Greedy parties control the votes and are thirsty for spoils. The growth of immense fortunes and trusts is also a menace, for labor will insist upon its share of increased prosperity. And the pension system is fast becoming a cancer of the malignant type. Hence the old classic question, which form of government is the best, is not practically answered at this moment, for all modern governments are proven faulty in their system.

The ideal government of Zionism is a confederation or a republic, with a ruler who, far from being a despotic czar or an autocratic emperor, will regard himself as really a viceroy or representative of God, the real king, who, Zionism declares, "reigns for ever and ever." Church and State will be separate, each supreme in its own domain, and both working for the same ends.

The Jewish State will have no political aims or colonial enterprise. It may not extend its borders beyond the ancient lines of the Bible from west "the river of Egypt" to east "the Euphrates," and north from the white mountains (Lebanon) to the deserts on the south.

Thus it will be eminently qualified to act unbiassed by its own interests as arbitrator between the nations of the world when political differences of importance may arise.

War will therefore be unnecessary; swords can then well be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks. Nations will not need to learn war any more. The curse of conscription will not need to exist. One-third of the expenses of each government now used for war budgets will be saved, and the people under that government will be so much less taxed in proportion. As arbitrator, the Jewish State will have to curry favor with no power. There will be no reason why to its own jurists a body of jurists of other countries shall not be added.

For the chair of International Law will surely be a prominent one in its State-University whose doors will be open to men of all creeds. The Torah always had and always will have but "one law for the stranger and the native." And the powerful experiences of a history of thousands of years, giving a consciousness of God in human affairs, will most effectually secure a verdict in accord with the strictest justice and righteousness. A Jewish State, the realization of the Prophets' ideal, is one of the purposes of Zionism, for it means arbitration instead of war. The ideal is one of such extreme value to the civilized world, that all nations must wish it Godspeed.

But some may say, Why to a court under the auspices of the Jews, the lowly, the long-despised Jews, should the proud nations of the earth pay respect?

Because the nations that follow the teachings of the lowly Jew, Jesus, may surely consult such a tribunal.

(II.) A model State of Society.

I do not know that any one will contend that the state of society in any of the great countries is satisfactory.

Under the surface of the best society there is much immorality. Social evil is by many excused. There is a different standard of morality for man and for woman. Religion is for many a conventionality. Not one in five of the population is a communicant, from a religious point of view. Among the working classes more evils exist. Women and girls have to work for beggarly wages with the resultant temptations. The spiritual level in factory districts and in mining districts is very low. Lawyers are a necessity, not simply to draw up contracts, as notaries in certain countries do, but to prevent their clients being taken advantage of, and, if possible, to give their clients every possible advantage in the transaction. Men in high social position manipulate the stock market, and build fortunes on the ruins of other people's fortunes. They are not ostracized from good society. Great trusts are formed which crush other people's energies. The directors are not ostracized from good society. Businesses are built up by shamefully under-paid work, as we are told by the stories of sweatshop and pittance paid for wretched toil. "The Song of the Shirt" is still the psalm of life for thousands of unfortunates. The employers are not ostracized from good society. The air which God created is free to all. The water we drink is taxed for

the municipality. But the land on which are our houses is rented for private individuals, the owners. Yet the same God who gave the air, gave the water for mankind's use ; and all the earth, as we heard at Sinai, is His, and meant for all His children. Evidently some regulation of land tenure is required, for surely the present system is at fault.

In business a high code of honor is the guide for some, but not for all. Goods are sometimes misrepresented. Promises are broken. Granted that people guilty of these offences do not fix our standard of honor; yet among those who do are many who, for example, will lend money on mortgage, and though the property may depreciate in value through no fault of the one who borrows, yet they who lend will exact the full amount of the mortgage, and many people will say, "Why, of course they will, why shouldn't they?" Yet I think there is something to be said on the other side.

A model state of society, as legislated for in the Jewish code, makes holiness or purity of life its ideal. Immorality is incompatible with it. Religion in the Jewish system is far from being a conventionality. It enters into the web of daily life. Instead of one in five of the population being a communicant, every member of every family is required to observe the six sacred seasons, the "days of holy convocation," as they are called, or perhaps more correctly, "days for sacred exercises." They are, the Sabbath, for weekly spiritual exercises; Memorial and Atonement days for spiritual introspection and repentance; Passover with its lesson of freedom; Pentecost with its lesson of revelation or divine concern in human affairs, and Tabernacles with its teachings of human gratitude for divine blessings. In the Jewish system the poor are specially protected. The Jewish Code forbids grinding down the poor. "Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant, the poor and needy, of thy brethren or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates"—(Deut. xxiv. 14.) It has nothing but scorn for the man who is so greedy of gain that he "pants after the dust on the heads of the needy." Even the poor must be brought near to God, must be always provided for, must participate in the benefits of the great festive seasons. The ideal Jewish code provides for notaries and judges, and the command to "make after righteousness" is made to thunder in their ears. It pronounces "woe to those who join house to house"

for others' injury, and as for those who make corners in corn, "the people curse them." Deception of any kind in business transactions is rigorously forbidden, and the lofty ground is taken, not that these ideals must be lived up to for fear of incurring penalty of the law, but they must be lived up to out of reverence, or veneration, or love for God. Indeed, this teaching to do all that is right out of love for God is twice repeated in a Scripture section by every observant Hebrew every day of his life. It says we are to love Him with all our heart, with all our soul and with all our might. This simple creed of Love is to be in our hearts. This simple creed we are to teach our children by our own example in our homes and abroad, by expressing our gratitude to Him when we lie down and when we rise up. This simple creed is to guide our hands and guide our thoughts. It is to be the rule of our homes in private life, and the rule of our lives in public affairs. Surely, the state of society that aims for all these things is a model State. The State which Judaism aims at is just such a State.

(III.) A Model System of Education.

The Hebrew in this model State would be false to his traditions of the past centuries if he did not show the same love for learning which made his age in Spain the Golden Age, and which leads many of our best minds to-day to avail themselves of the privileges of university life in countries where they are permitted. But the education of the intellect is not the only education. The education of the hand is also necessary. The teaching of the Jewish rabbis, bidding every man love work, teach his son a trade, the fact that the rabbis themselves engaged in manual labor, the fact that so many of the Bible laws refer to agriculture and labor of all kinds; the fact that artisans such as Bezaliel and Achisamach, were called "men filled with the spirit of God," show the dignity of labor in the eyes of the Jew.

A third form of education equally provided for is the education of the heart. The inculcation of the doctrine of love above referred to, is sufficient illustration, although pages could be filled upon this subject alone. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart." "Show kindness to thine enemy, and to him that hateth thee." "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink."

A State which has a system of education for the brain, the hand and the heart must have a model system of education. tion. And when it provides not only for the education of the heart, or human emotion, but also for the spiritual education, or the uplifting of the soul of the human being, or son of God, to God the Father, who shall not concede its ideality?

Yes! True Zionism means a model government, a model state of society, a model system of education.

Hence, true Zionists understand that their policy to-day is one of preparation for this. They realize that the Hebrews and the world at large must be educated up to these ideals. They know that as far as the Jews themselves are concerned, the culmination of Zionism, the regeneration of Palestine as a Jewish State, as God wills, will not be, cannot be achieved, until the Hebrews themselves command the respect of the Gentiles. Divine intervention to this end is looked for. "At that time I will bring you again, and at that time I will assemble you, I will appoint you for a name and a praise among all peoples of the earth, when I bring back your captives before your eyes, saith the Lord."

The Zionist programme, therefore, is preparation by moral, mental, and spiritual elevation, and in this connection let us mention its revival of the Hebrew language.

Truth to say, the Hebrew language has never been dead. It has always been a medium of communication between Hebrew communities of the East and West, and whole communities have always been able to converse in it. It has always been the language of prayer, for which there exists the example of Ezra and the last of the Prophets, who, with their coadjutors known as "the men of the Great Synagogue," chose Hebrew for the language of the ritual, still in use to-day. And they did this despite the fact that Aramaic and not Hebrew was the vernacular; that not a few of the people spoke "half in the speech of Ashdod and could not speak in the Jews' language," and that, to all the congregation, interpreters had "to give the sense" of the law, and "cause them to understand the readings."

All praise to modern Zionism, which seeks to prove the virility and adaptability of the Hebrew language by issuing Hebrew papers and periodicals, publishing Hebrew works, and translating into Hebrew books upon books of standard value, from a Shakes-

pearian play to a novel by George Eliot, from Herbert Spencer's sociology to Alexander Humboldt's philosophy.

Let me now turn to yet another phase of Zionism and its activities.

For modern Zionism aims also at the protection of Hebrew interests, the rescue of the Hebrew oppressed, the rehabilitation of the Jew as a tiller of the soil, the colonization of Palestine, the exploitation of its products, and the co-operation of all existing Jewish societies to these ends.

The Alliance Israelite Universelle of France, the Anglo Jewish Association of England, the Board of Jewish Delegates of America, the Allianz of Germany, Hoveve Zion (Lovers of Zion), Shoveve Zion (Returners to Zion), etc., etc., of Europe and America, aim at exactly these things. These, except the last two, are comparatively old.

Within the last year there has been an extraordinary activity in the formation of new Zionist Societies in all countries, due to the movement which culminated in the Basle Conference last August. This conference has now passed into history, and would deserve a separate article. There are in New York city alone about forty Zionist societies, and others exist from Montreal to New Orleans. Modern Zionism has done and is doing much to rekindle the flame of Jewish Nationality. "Palestine for the Hebrews as God hath willed it" is its cry, and the Hebrew heart in every part of the globe pulsates accordingly.

But the present and pressing task of Zionism is colonization. To a large extent this task is imposed by the terrible condition of over three millions of Jews, "reconcentrados," in Russia. Zionism attempts a partial amelioration of their miserable state by sending some to Palestine.

Yet, let it be at once declared that the fulfillment of this ideal of modern Zionism; this hope of the Jew as he trod his *via dolorosa* throughout the world for eighteen centuries; this bright promise of which the prophets spoke, and of which psalmists sang, does not mean the forfeiture of citizenship or of any civic rights by any Hebrew in any country wherein he may choose to reside. He will owe and he will pay material allegiance only to the country of his adoption, complete material allegiance. He will owe only spiritual allegiance to a Hebrew State when such shall be established. That State can, and will, lay claim to no temporal rights nor to a right

to interfere in the temporalities of any country outside its own historically defined borders, as we have already observed. It will never summon Hebrews in any land to the Hebrew flag to fight against the country of their birth, or adoption, or residence.

Even as the Catholic is an American in America, loyal, law-abiding and ready to fight for the country of his birth or residence, even though the seat of his spiritual government is in distant Rome, so will be the Jew, loyal, law-abiding and ready to fight and die for the country of his birth or adoption. In fact, the possibility is even more apparent in favor of the Jew. For, unlike the Catholic, he will have no Pope to lay claim to temporal power, or to hold that obedience to him comes before obedience to his country, as is so oft alleged against the Catholic.

By his personal example of reverence in all countries, by ordering his life wherever he happens to be in accordance with his belief that a Divine supervision of human affairs exists, the Jew will fulfill his destiny in all lands. By looking to a Jewish State in Palestine, he will simply turn his heart to the central seat of his religion, thence to derive for himself the spiritual strength which he, being human, must need, and there to point humanity at large for inspirations for right living. Zionism means all this. But it means much criticism, much opposition.

The feeling against the Jew is too deeply seated, too ingrained to admit of the realization of the ideals of Zionism easily. Anti-Semitism is no phantasy. It is a painful reality. Just as all great world-movements have meant opposition, calumny, and even bloodshed, so this movement, Zionism, can never hope to succeed without conquering opposition, silencing calumny and enduring violence.

Opposition! Calumny! Violence! What a pitiful story that the race, whose daughter, Mary, gave Jesus to the world, should have been victim to these for so many centuries should to-day be "despised and rejected" by those who worship and respect that son of Mary the Jewess.

Anti-semitism exists. It has strengthened Zionism. It is not the first time in our history that our virility has been developed in adverse winds. We are ready to face more Opposition. We are ready to bear more Calumny. We are ready to endure more Violence! We know how to suffer, to endure—and to wait.

Our revenge for the past will be to turn our opponents into

our friends, our calumniators into our advocates, and those who are treating us with injustice or worse shall yet become our champions. Zionism will prove to be the solution of Anti-semitism. Greater political miracles, greater social miracles, have occurred.

To bring about a better mutual understanding between all sections of the community, is the logical aim of Zionism. It is included in the ideal of our prophets when they preach the Brotherhood of Man. Being an ideal of the prophets, it is an ideal of Zionism.

Closely linked with the ideal of Universal Brotherhood is the ideal of Universal Peace. Universal Peace can be realized and maintained only by the establishment of an international court of arbitration. Universal Peace, and the establishment of an international court of arbitration are also ideals of the Prophets. Therefore they are ideals of Zionism.

The logical result of Universal Brotherhood and Universal Peace will be Universal Happiness, the third great ideal of the Prophets, and therefore, the third great ideal of Zionism.

The condition of Universal Happiness can only be reached when a pattern State exists, to show a model government, a model state of society, and a model system of education. Zionism means these and just these, and for these it is patiently preparing.

Time may be required before these dreams become actualities. But what is time to the deathless nation?

H. Pereira Mendes.

GRAVEYARDS AS A MENACE TO THE COMMONWEAL.

BY LOUIS WINDMÜLLER.

A RATIONAL disposition of human remains has become a serious question wherever the population of cities has increased in greater proportion than that of the country at large; and at the present moment it deserves earnest consideration, since infectious diseases prevailing in tropical climes where we carry warfare may be brought here.

The custom of burying bodies in close proximity to each other at insufficient distances from human habitation is reprehensible in the highest degree. During the continuance of their natural decay, extending over a period of some five and twenty years, they contaminate the air, pollute the earth and defile the springs, threatening disease. If we could overcome foolish prejudice and false sentiment which prevail against the ancient custom of burning the dead, we would correct a grievous wrong.

The strongest motive for the interment of remains is affection. It is customary to visit the graves of our friends, dwell in thought on the acts of kindness they have done, and adorn the mounds which cover their bodies with fragrant flowers. It is considered the sacred duty of a feeling heart thus to commemorate at least the anniversaries of their passage from the world. And the unwillingness of men to cut short the progress of the corruption which goes on, unseen, beneath these mounds, can only be explained by a sentimental yet stubborn resolution that as far as they can prevent it the remains shall never be disturbed. Having laid them to "final rest," they fondly expect them to stay in the selected inclosure, because the ground is conveyed by a title supposed to guarantee possession for all time to come.

But what do these promises mean when neither the dead nor

their living representatives can longer assert their claims? Relatives could not, if they would, dispute the right of municipalities to eminent domain nor the decision of many courts that corpses after a time cease to be property. As a matter of fact, the expectation that cemeteries shall afford a permanent resting place to the bodies interred in them is conclusively discredited by experience. Writing of old Boston graveyards, Oliver Wendell Holmes said: "The stones have been shuffled about like chess-men; nothing short of the day of judgment will tell whose dust lies beneath." When King's Chapel burial ground, in Boston, was recently invaded by a subway under Tremont street, a colony of forgotten ancestors was discovered, and promptly removed. But, of all American cities, New York—where about a hundred graveyards have been destroyed or partially abandoned since it became a city—offers the most striking examples of the changeableness of "resting places," which the history of some of its old churchyards will demonstrate.

In the early part of this century graves were in evidence in New York to such an extent that a splenetic Englishman who came to visit our shores speedily returned when he found every street lined with headstones. Tombs, such as exist around Trinity and St. Paul to-day, encircled numerous other churches. As congregations grew, many of them sought other burial grounds which were then considered safer from disturbance on account of their distance. These have in turn been overtaken and absorbed by the ever growing city.

The first graveyard in New York was situated on Morris street, near Broadway. It was removed and the ground sold at auction in 1676, when a plot was acquired opposite Wall street, described in the first charter of the city, on April 22, 1686, as "the new burial ground without the gate." It was used as such, in conjunction with Trinity Church, until city interment was prohibited. There were many graves around the old Reformed Church, called the Middle Dutch, at Nassau, Cedar and Liberty streets, which was dedicated in 1729. British soldiers were quartered there between 1776 and 1783. It was turned into a post office in 1844, and sold to the Mutual Life Insurance Company in 1882. Of numerous bones discovered when the Mutual Building was erected, none were identified.

In 1853, when Beekman street was widened, some graves in

the yard of the Presbyterian Brick Church, on the site of the present Printing House Square, were disturbed, and in 1857, when Henry J. Raymond erected the New York Times Building, the remaining bodies were removed to a block bounded by Christie, Houston, Stanton and Forsyth streets, which had been used by three Presbyterian congregations as cemeteries since 1807. When this ground was sold in 1865 the bodies, or what was left of them, were once more disturbed. No vestige remains of the numerous graves that place once contained.

St. John's burial ground, at Clarkson, Hudson and Leroy streets, formerly the property of Trinity Parish, has recently been condemned by the city and converted into a public park. Few bodies being claimed, a majority were allowed to remain. Children may now play on the turf which covers the bones of their ancestors.

About 1840, the Methodist Church on Second street, between Avenue A and First Avenue, was turned into a public school. Some 1,500 bodies that had been placed there since the beginning of the century, were not moved until 1860. Of that number fifteen only were claimed by relatives. One gentleman abandoned the skeleton of his own father, because the skull seemed too small, and the charge for separate burial too large. He therefore allowed the remains to be placed, with the others, in a common grave in Evergreen Cemetery.

About 1832 some merchants bought ground on Second street, between First and Second Avenues, and created the "New York City Marble Cemetery." Among them was Robert Lenox, who was buried in 1839, in a vault of the First Presbyterian Church, about No. 16 Wall street. When other bodies were removed with that congregation to Fifth avenue and Twelfth street, the remains of Robert were taken to this cemetery, and in 1880 they were joined by those of James, his public spirited son. Here Thomas Addis Emmet, the famous jurist, was buried; here also ex-President James Monroe and John Ericsson, builder of our monitors, rested until removed. For some time past more bodies have been taken from this cemetery than have been buried there. Long shamefully neglected, the grounds have recently been cleared of rubbish. Graceful monuments to the once wealthy dead might please the eye, if they were not overshadowed by miserable dwellings of the living poor.

Another "Marble Cemetery," situated one block west, is hidden by squalid houses which entirely surround it; a mysterious alley leading to it from Second Avenue is closed to the public by tall iron gates. The creditors of one Selleck Nichols conceived, about 1830, the idea of turning this part of his land into a burial ground; realizing better prices for dead tenants than they could have obtained from the living, they succeeded in getting Nichols out of difficulties. Some two thousand bodies lie there; the plot-owners included Chancellor James Kent, Dr. David Hosak and Daniel Lord. Nevertheless, the place is practically abandoned to inhabitants of adjacent tenements, who use it as a dumping ground for offal; mounds of the dead are covered with what is filthy and worthless. As deceased owners can give no title, the plot cannot be sold, and must remain worse than useless until "condemned" for the benefit of the public. It would make a capital playground for children of the poor.

When St. Mark's Cemetery, at the corner of Eleventh street and Second avenue, was abolished the bodies were transported into a common grave at Evergreen and dwellings erected which, once the pride of that neighborhood, have long since assumed an air of shabby gentility. St. Mark's Churchyard, opposite, is as yet in restricted use. Here are the remains of Peter Stuyvesant, Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, and Philip Hone; the body of Alexander T. Stewart rested here until it was stolen.

On December 17, 1729, a Portuguese Jew deeded to his co-religionists a plot of ground between James and Oliver streets, near Chatham square, to be used as a burial ground for all time. When the Bowery was extended southward in 1856, the larger part of this cemetery was condemned. In passing, I saw contractors cart away bones and skulls in broad daylight. A small, almost triangular, plot south of Oliver street, covered with mouldy tombstones bearing Hebrew inscriptions, remains undisturbed and unheeded.

Between 1846 and 1852, when burial within the limits of the city was practically prohibited, a number of cemeteries were located on Long Island in the old town of Newtown. These consist of:

Calvary	with	300	acres	of	ground	and 600,000	bodies.
Lutheran	"	400	"	"	"	175,000	"
Cypress Hill	"	400	"	"	"	125,000	"
Evergreen	"	400	"	"	"	90,000	"
Several others	"	325	"	"	"	60,000	"

Eighteen hundred acres of charnel fields cover one-tenth part of a district which contains 25,000 inhabitants, and a million of dead bodies. These cemeteries are close to each other, between four and five and one-half miles from the City Hall of the enlarged city, constituting almost its geographical centre; they are as near the Battery as the entrance to Central Park, three miles nearer than Columbia College. The ground between them and the East River is sure to be improved; it would furnish a natural outlet for the congested population of the eastern districts in Manhattan. A bridge over Blackwell's Island, which could be built for a comparatively small sum, would make Newtown more accessible than Harlem is, and draw a multitude of residents to a territory now largely dedicated to the dead. The city authorities should prohibit interments before the number is allowed to swell so that their removal shall be a physical impossibility.

In 1860, when bodies interred in the cemetery of the Eighteenth Street Methodist Church were removed from Forty-fourth street and Eighth avenue to huge vaults in the rear of the church on Nineteenth street, it was considered quite an undertaking; fifteen to twenty were piled over each other, and many were crushed by the weight of those placed upon them. The son of the sexton, who assisted in the removal, fainted and lost the sense of smell, which he never recovered. In 1875, some eight hundred of these bodies, all that could then be found, were again removed to a common grave at Woodlawn.

I might refer to other churchyards which have been forgotten; one of the oldest was the South Dutch Reformed, opened in 1691, on Garden street (now Exchange place), on the north side, between Broad and William streets, the headstones of which remained in sight of the occupants of adjoining buildings long after the destruction of the church.

These examples show how delusive is the presumption that the "dwellings of the dead" are secure against intrusion. Parts of Calvary, where the remains of Captain Raphael Semmes rest, show the example of a constantly used cemetery, which apparently is neglected. Burials number 18,000 annually; seventeen only out of 13,000 owners provide for the care of their plots. When sold the trustees are not obliged to look after them, so that most graves are slighted. Innumerable stones, many having an ungainly appearance, are placed close together, barely leaving room for vegetation.

A visit to any old cemetery would convince the impartial observer that, after their departure, affection for the remains of our dear ones dies out sooner than we care to acknowledge. Few stones of recent dates attest that the inmates have not been forgotten; the rest are in a state of greater or less decay. Everybody fondly hopes that his memory will last. It is, nevertheless, a fact that within the life of one generation the preceding one is generally doomed to oblivion; it takes more time for the flesh of a body to decompose than its memory is apt to live. And to save the feelings of the few survivors who remember the deceased for a brief period, we allow the putrifying remains of one who would have shrunk from inflicting injury, while living, to become an unnecessary menace after his death.

A great obstacle to the only rational treatment of remains has always been and is now the expectation of a resurrection of the actual body, which very many cannot separate from the belief in immortality.

According to the faith of the Egyptians, the soul after death had for thousands of years to pass through the bodies of different animals, returning finally in a purified state to the body it once had occupied. The preservation of the body became, therefore, an object of the utmost importance, and corpses were embalmed by a costly and tedious process. The Egyptians considered their houses mere hostelries, their tombs dwellings, for the construction of which everybody prepared according to his means.

The Jews adopted the custom of Egyptian burial in a modified form. Carefully washing the body, they placed it, wrapped in a winding sheet or shroud, in a distant cave. The Talmud expresses an expectation of resurrection, even on the advent of the Messiah, when the righteous in Israel would enjoy a millennium of bliss.

The Mohammedans look for a resurrection of the body and its reunion with the soul at doomsday. Hence, they bury each body in a separate grave, and consider its disturbance a sacrilege. Large tracts of valuable lands, over which contagion has often spread with alarming rapidity, are wasted; soil and climate favor production of abundant crops, if corn were planted instead of corpses.

Misconception of the meaning of resuscitation induced early Christians to discard the pyre, the use of which Hindoos, Greeks and Romans had found expedient, and to adopt the Jewish

custom of burial. God, doubtless, has the power to collect not only bones but the very atoms which compose our mortal frames, whether they consist of ashes into which a Gorini furnace had converted them in an hour, and which then were scattered to the four winds of heaven, or whether they had gradually been turned by decomposition into a heap of dust. The slow decay injures the living; it can avail the dead nothing.

Objection to cremation by members of the medical and legal professions on the assumption that poison cannot be detected in ashes has been generally abandoned. In suspicious cases intestines might be preserved before the rest of the corpse is consigned to the furnace; but, in any case, fire would scarcely consume a mineral poison. On the other hand, when mineral poison is found in the stomach of a disinterred body which had been embalmed, it cannot be considered a conclusive proof of crime, because the fluid injected into such bodies usually contains arsenic. Henry Thompson, an English authority, claims that, out of five hundred thousand burials, barely five have occurred which required disinterment for the purpose of any investigation.

Some people shrink with horror from the possibility of being burned alive, but the danger is no greater than that of being buried alive. The former, indeed, may be preferable, as the agony would be over once and for all. But neither will happen, if proper medical precautions are taken.

There are other important questions of public and private economy connected with this subject. In China graves are scrupulously guarded against intrusion, because the spirits of the departed are supposed to hover over their graves until they become reunited with their bodies. Consequently, railroads can get no franchise to cross whole provinces which are used for cemeteries; and which are closed to civilization till the time of the Chinese resurrection.

In Continental Europe an average period of 25 years is generally allowed for the occupancy of a grave; in most cases its ownership reverts to the municipality, so that it may be used anew at the expiration of that period. This may seem brutal, but experience shows that it is necessary, and that here we rarely remain in possession of a lot which we purchase from a suburban cemetery longer than fifty years. The dead of London require an annual waste of 23 acres of valuable ground. If 4,000 corpses are crowded

into the space of one acre, the limit in the case of the most populated graveyard, and if we accept the present rate of mortality, 20 per 1,000 inhabitants, as the standard, New York, with a population of 3,500,000, would have to provide room for 70,000 corpses, and would require annually 17½ acres to bury them in. Unless the custom is changed the available room in the vicinity of all large cities will gradually be absorbed by remains of the dead.

In considering the welfare of individuals, the expenditure of one may benefit another, but citizens should be treated on equal terms. With the exception of Greenwood, almost all cemeteries used in the neighborhood of New York are either poorly managed by churches or administered for the benefit of a few fortunate shareholders. The rural cemetery law, as amended in 1879, allows them to divide among themselves the net profits from the sale of plots. Realizing about twenty thousand dollars for an acre, which hardly cost two thousand, their investments bring large revenues and are esteemed valuable. By assuming the guise of benevolent societies, owners succeeded in evading payment of the taxes which their less fortunate neighbors are obliged to pay. The trustees are never called upon to make reports to the State, and they give but scanty information to their stockholders.

In Portugal and Japan persons dying from cholera must be cremated. In Tokio many thousand bodies are incinerated annually, and the expense rarely exceeds a couple of dollars per body. The city of Paris pays less than sixty cents for burning the remains of a pauper. The cost of a funeral is regulated by that city according to the station and vanity of the survivors, who may choose out of nine classes and pay from 18¾ francs to 7,184 francs—about half going into the treasury of the churches. The average cost of a burial in New York is $100; here are items of a bill which some of the poorest pay for the privilege:

For the grave and plain coffin	$27
" " hearse and coach	16
" " shroud and ice	9
" " undertaker, etc	3
	$55

Persons in distress take no time to consider whether the charge is reasonable, or if they can afford to pay it. It is a grievous

wrong that the ignorant poor are permitted to tax themselves chiefly for the benefit of funeral interests. That it often costs a poor man more to die than to live is exemplified by an incident which recently occurred. The husband of an Irish woman was in the habit of going on periodical sprees. Once when his absence was more prolonged than usual, the poor creature was informed that Mike Murphy had been found in the river and that his body was at the morgue awaiting identification. Although the face was bruised, she recognized him by a scar on the leg and the blouse he wore. She had a woman's heart, and, forgetting the abuse he had heaped upon her, she engaged an undertaker to give him the customary funeral. That careful man of business* accepted the order only when he became secured by a policy on the life of Mr. Murphy for $180. Members of his lodge were invited to the wake and followed the body in six coaches, when he was interred in a gorgeous casket. Mrs. Murphy, having paid the bill of $165, was counting her little change and pondering what she might do to earn a living, when—Mike walked in. He had been drunk in Jersey and had been sobered by the news of his own funeral.

Rather than deny a dear relative, even if he were the vilest of his race, a Christian burial, the destitute deny themselves the necessities of life.

Mr. D. O. Mills and others are investing millions to provide decent lodgings for deserving poor while they live; are there no philanthropists who will erect crematories to relieve their distress when death visits them? It would require comparatively small amounts. Reasonable charges and continued use would make such enterprises self-sustaining. Five dollars for a decent urn burial, including religious service, would be sufficient. Whoever has been bereaved of dear ones, appreciates the craving for the comfort of religion at such a time; and no true belief conflicts with the wishes of man as to the disposition of his body. Why then should clergymen, chosen guardians of our souls, hesitate to minister to the family of the person who prefers the cleansing flame to the decomposing earth?

The history of Potter's Field in New York before it was located at Hart's Island, offers further proof of the mutability of "sub-

*A recent investigation of hospitals in Germany disclosed a practice which throws a peculiar light on devices of some followers of this calling. Nurses who promised to get their patients to become customers when dead, were paid a commission long before death was thought of by their intended victims.

urban" graveyards. First established in 1794 at the junction of Bloomingdale and the old Boston post roads, on the present site of Madison Square, it was removed to Washington Square in 1797, where victims of the yellow fever were interred in 1822. The city bought for a Potter's Field in the following year ten acres of ground bounded by Fifth and Sixth avenues and Fortieth and Forty-second streets, where the reservoir was built in 1837. It was then moved to a square bounded by Third and Fourth avenues and Forty-ninth and Fiftieth streets, where it remained up to 1857, when by resolution of the Common Council of April 27, the 100,000 bodies that had accumulated were ordered to Ward's Island and the old ground transferred to the Woman's Hospital. Finally, the Potter's Field was placed on Hart's Island in 1870. How long it may remain there without creating uneasiness is a question. Hart's Island, fifteen miles from the City Hall, lies in the Long Island Sound, between Westchester and Sand's Point, near Travers Island, the summer home of the New York Athletic Club. Over 100,000 corpses have been interred there. Of 4,500 bodies annually buried, 150 in a trench, in registered and numbered coffins, very few are ever claimed. If the city were to incinerate those bodies instead of burying them it would save expenditure, avoid danger of contagion in times of epidemic and set a worthy example.

Innumerable proofs, furnished by scientific men of all ages, recently by the French doctor, Pasteur, show that earth retains, instead of destroying, the germs of disease contained in a body, and that in some degree it will vitiate its surroundings.

Since Hannibal's army was decimated by effluvia from an ancient graveyard he unwittingly demolished, history has repeated itself. The cholera in London in 1854 was ascribed to the upturning of earth where victims of a previous plague had been buried.

The French Academy of Medicine located the origin of diseases of the lungs and the throat in putrid emanations from the Parisian cemetery, *"Père la Chaise."* Of the older churchyards of Paris, once honeycombed with graves, that of the "Innocents" is remarkable. Established on the present site of the market called *"Halles Centrales,"* it bred pestilence for centuries without hindrance. Finally, it became notorious as a nuisance, so that it had to be abolished. Innumerable skeletons were unceremoniously

carted to the Catacombs on April 7, 1786. Lyon Playfair asserts that Roman fever originates not in the Pontine Marshes, but in decaying bodies of the millions buried in the Eternal City. Doctor Domingo Freire found in cemeteries of Rio de Janeiro myriads of microbes in corpses, identical with those in persons stricken with yellow fever, a year after burial.

Drainage from cemeteries in Philadelphia has polluted water of the Fairmount reservoir. The centennial dysentery of 1876 has been attributed to this cause. A continued prevalence of typhoid fever in this sparsely inhabited city must be ascribed to the same cause.

Mortality by yellow fever was twice as large in portions of New Orleans where large cemeteries are located than elsewhere.

In Cuba this plague rages almost continually. Bodies of the victims of disease and Spanish cruelty, estimated to number 200,000, are inadequately protected against high temperature and moisture; their emanations are a menace to our soldiers more terrible than Spanish guns. American officers should be delegated to destroy these bodies before they do harm. The Austrian Government permits the destruction of those who have fallen on the field of battle by the erection of pyres, a practice which ought to be made obligatory on the military authorities of all civilized nations. Over a hundred thousand bodies of Napoleon's army of invasion were cremated in 1812 by Russians. More men died before Sebastopol by inhaling miasma of putrified bodies than were killed by the enemy. Some 40,000 corpses poisoned the air after the battle of Sedan, until inhabitants of adjacent Belgian villages prevailed on their government to appoint in 1871 an officer to relieve the distress. By saturating them with naphtha, he succeeded in burning 300 bodies in an hour, until all were consumed. Long experience in the East Indies has shown that danger increases with moist heat. Neither burial nor disinfectants can sufficiently protect the health of our army.

Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill said in a report to our Common Council May 30, 1825: "Earth purifies contents of graves on the principle that water, in cleansing clothes, becomes itself foul."

A commission recently appointed to investigate sanitary conditions of all graveyards in Denmark, was obliged to condemn 605 out of a total number of 650. German authorities have forbidden the use of water from any well situated within 300 yards of a

grave. Experience has shown that cemeteries should, by law, be banished far outside the limits of any city; that no grave should be opened before complete decomposition of the body, and that therefore only one body should be permitted in one grave. Graves not less than ten feet deep should be located in dry, porous soil only.

Precautions like these would lessen the danger, but no method, other than cremation, will absolutely destroy all germs of sickness in a cast-off body—none by which, without giving offense, it can swiftly be converted into ashes.

Our veneration for Alexander Hamilton did not originate with his handsome memorial in Trinity churchyard; no statue in Westminster Abbey can express the love Englishmen cherish for Gladstone. Discoverers of the hidden powers of nature, composers of our sweet melodies, teachers of morals and religion need no lettered stones to remind posterity of their existence.

Since thirty years ago, cremation has been reintroduced in civilized communities, many thousand bodies have thus been disposed of, including those of Hans von Bülow, George du Maurier, Jacob Moleschott, F. Gregorovius and Anton Seidl. Instead of condemning their memory, because they refused to allow their corpses to become offensive, let us follow their noble example and help to remove one of the most odious stains on our civilization. Then we may hope some day to enjoy the pleasures of life without fear of the dead.

LOUIS WINDMÜLLER.

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING BROTHERHOOD.

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, PH. D., LATE DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SCHOOL, ATHENS.

THE discussion of an Anglo-Saxon alliance, while evoking almost universal enthusiasm and approval, both in Great Britain and in the United States, has called forth serious criticisms and strictures. These objections have come from those who are either decidedly inimical to such an alliance, or who at least show no friendly attitude toward it, but they have been undoubtedly directed toward the weakest points of this great and all-important scheme. When, however, we find that these vulnerable parts are in no way essential to the main stem and body, and that, by lopping them off, we can ensure the only form of sane and healthy growth, these criticisms ought to be gratefully considered at this early stage.

Mr. Davitt has shown that the American nation cannot be considered as consisting of Anglo-Saxons. He has pointed to the people of Irish birth or descent as a strong component element in the American nation. That this is true as regards the Irish cannot be doubted, and it can be extended to other nationalities within the American people clearly not of Anglo-Saxon origin. Whatever the practical reasons for speaking of such an alliance as an Anglo-Saxon Alliance may be, as a matter of accurate statement these terms can never convey and cover adequately the ideas which they are meant to represent. An alliance between the British Empire and the United States of America cannot rightly be called an Anglo-Saxon alliance; nor do we mean "Anglo-Saxon" when we have in mind the British Empire, or even the English people.

Take the case of the English people. Who can define, with any claim to scientific accuracy, the ethnological elements to be

found in the earliest pre-historic inhabitants who were followed by Celts, Romans, Angles, Jutes, Danes, Saxons and Normans? Who can give accurate value, in the formation of the English people, its government, policy, its intellectual, social and economical life, to the subsequent immigration of Dutch and Flemish, French Huguenot, Italian, Jewish weavers and craftsmen, bankers and traders, thinkers and artists? All these elements combined and intermingled, merged and fused into one another in the social and political unity of the people, have made the Briitsh Empire of to-day. It profits little to disintegrate these component parts and weigh them separately in the scales of abstract science; it mars much, however, to turn this inaccurate abstract thought into action, into practical life and politics. If this be true of the dwellers in England itself, and of the English people of the present, it is still more true when we consider Ireland, not to mention the transfusion of the Anglo-Saxon in Scotland with Celtic and other ethnological elements.

Unfortunately, the misdeeds and blunders of those who governed England in the past, as well as the leading questions of actual politics in our own days, have made the Irish question synonymous with the measure of separateness claimed by, or to be given to, the inhabitants of Ireland. But there is another side to the Irish question which should be recognized as equally interesting and instructive. That is the actual and historical claims which Irish people have to be an integral and important part of the British people, and in the making of the British Empire. If there be glory in the making of such an empire and justified pride in the strength and superiority of such a nation, the Irish people, whether they accept it or not, have an undeniable title to such glory. I am not only thinking of great individuals who made, framed or modified the lasting fabric of the empire. I am not only bearing in mind the huge number of great Englishmen who inherited their personal greatness perhaps more from their Irish mother than from their English father; but I am thinking of the compact army of Irish Britons who have helped to fight British battles, and of the armies of working men who have contributed by their skill and by their labor to the supremacy of British manufacture and trade, and who had so great a share in the early formation of the thriving British colonies.

Can we, even after a hasty consideration of these facts, use the

term Anglo-Saxon in connection with Greater Britain in any way except as a figure of speech, and a very inaccurate one at that? And when such a figure of speech is not only misleading in thought, but may offend the feelings of great masses of people and thus cripple or stultify or misdirect action, what use can there be in using it at all?

If now we turn to the United States, the term Anglo-Saxon is still more inaccurate and misleading. It is true, and will always remain so, that the substructure of American national life is English in language, and in its social and political institutions. But ethnologically the American nation presents a huge and unequalled mixture of different European races.

The term "Anglo-Saxon," accordingly, besides being inaccurately pedantic and fundamentally untrue when used as signifying the uniting element between the two great peoples, is as misleading in America as it is in Great Britain, and comes dangerously near to the natural prejudices of both peoples. These prejudices can be skillfully awakened and intensified, and will be effectively used on the numerous occasions which will present themselves, by those whose interest it is to keep the two nations asunder.

Further, I object to the term "Anglo-Saxon," when used to qualify the amity or alliance between Great Britain and the United States, because it opens the door to that most baneful and pernicious of modern national diseases, namely, Ethnological Chauvinism. The slightest infusion of such a spirit suggested by the term "Anglo-Saxon" will not only stultify the efforts toward closer national amity, but may produce disintegrating disturbances even in the internal national life of these countries.

Chauvinism can in no sense be called an outcome, or even a modification, of patriotism. They are two distinct, if not opposed, ideas, the following of either of which points to characters and temperaments as different as the generous are from the covetous. Patriotism is a positive attitude of the soul, Chauvinism is a negative tendency or passion. Patriotism is the love of and devotion to the fatherland, to the wider or the more restricted home, and to the common interests and aspirations and ideals of these. Chauvinism marks an attitude antagonistic to all persons, interests and ideas, not within this wider or narrower fatherland or home. Patriotism is love, Chauvinism is jealousy. The

loving temperament makes for expansion, the jealous tends toward contraction and restriction. While the patriot who loves his people and his country is therefore likely to be tolerant, even generous and affectionate, toward the stranger, the Chauvinist is likely to direct the burning fire of his animosity even toward special spheres and groupings within his own country. Now, this vice of hatred and envy, which may have existed in all times and places of human history, has in our own times received a peculiar character, a special formulation, with an attempt at justification. I have tried to qualify the general Chauvinism in the form predominant in our time by the attribute, "Ethnological Chauvinism."

The origin of this disease within the nations of Europe may be traced back first to Napoleon, when, with the inner growth of France and its powers and his successes in Italy, he coupled the designed enfeeblement, if not the destruction, of the German Empire by its division into insignificant principalities under his own influence. There is no doubt he conceived the bold idea of the predominance of the Latin race and empire over the Teutonic race and over the world in general. But he found himself wedged in between two forces which checked the advance of this Latin Hegemony and ultimately crushed him. On the one side was the Slav, on the other side the Briton. He succeeded for the time in repressing the Teuton, but he failed both in Russia and in his struggle with Great Britain.

As a reaction against this Latin wave, which submerged the Teuton Empire, the German patriots endeavored to revive the vitality of the sturdy Teutonic oak. But, while the Latin crusade had for its inspiring preacher the great leader and man of action himself, the Germanic revival fell to the lot of the theorist and thinker, and a German philosopher and professor, Fichte, in his "*Reden an die Deutsche Nation*," was the fullest exponent of its views. These again were further formulated and carried into the realms of romantic thought, theory and science by the learned enthusiasts who led the Revolution of 1848 in Germany.

But, again, there turned up a great man of action, who, knowing his countrymen and the trend of the times, utilized all these influences to weld together the separate blocks—smoothly polished marbles of Prince-ridden principalities, and clumsy, unhewn stones and rubble-stones of independent cities and towns—

into the huge edifice of the German Empire. The scientific spirit which was pervading the civilized world of Western Europe was recognized by Bismarck as a useful force which could be turned into practical advantage for the great purpose he had in view. He called upon the German professor—even the ethnologist, philologist and historian—and they obeyed his command with readiness and alacrity. The theoretical and scientific lever with which these huge building blocks were to be raised in order to construct the German Empire was to be the scientific establishment of the unity of the German people, based upon the unity of Germanic races. An historical basis for German unity was not enough, an ethnological, racial unity had to be established. The historical and philological literature of German university professors belonging to the time of Bismarck's ascendancy can almost be recognized and classified by their relation to the problem of establishing, fixing, and distinguishing from other races the laws and customs, literature, languages and religions, the life and thought, the productions and the aspirations of the Germanic races.

This influence went beyond the bounds of Germany; by a sympathy in England, Freeman and those who felt with him thumped the Saxon drum; while, by contrast, in France the *Fustel de Coulanges* played variations in softer strains on the theme of the *Cité Antique*. In course of time Russia, in the growing vigor of its racial and national expansion, formulated and developed its Pan-Slavistic theory and war cry.

The distinctive feature in this modern version of the old story of national lust of power is, that it now assumed a more serious and stately garb of historical justice in the pedantic pretensions of its inaccurate ethnological theories. The absurdity of any application of such ethnological theories to the practical politics of modern nations at once becomes manifest when an attempt is made to classify the inhabitants of any one of these western nations by means of such racial distinctions. What becomes of the racial unity of the present German Empire, if we consider the Slavs of Prussia, the Wends in the north and the tangle of different racial occupations and interminglings during the last thousand years within every portion of the German country? And the same applies to France and England, Italy and Spain.

But the German professor, with his political brief wrapped

round his lecture notes, was forced further afield and deeper down in his "scientific" distinctions. The divisions he established for the purposes of national policy were but minor sub-divisions of broader ethnological distinctions. Here the philologist took the lead and established "beyond all doubt" the difference, nay, the antagonism, between the Aryan and the Semitic, which makes the Hindoo more closely related to the German and Saxon than these are to Spinoza, Mendelssohn and Heine, Carl Marx and Disraeli.

This last named classification could further be turned to practical advantage by those in Germany whose interest it would be to set one part of the German people against another section, and to create a new party or to strengthen the hands of decrepit old ones. And thus there grew up the Anti-semitic parties in Germany and elsewhere, who could give strength and some semblance of sober dignity to their party passions or violent economic theories, by so respectable a scientific justification as a racial distinction fixed thousands of years ago. This step once made, however, has necessarily led into wider and unsafer regions, the exploitation of which may ultimately lead to most disastrous results. For, when once the distinction between Aryan and Semite led to the Anti-semitic movement, religious prejudices, or, at all events, religious distinctions, were necessarily carried in the wake and tended to serious complications. Were it not for the clamorous interests of recent politics in the East and West, as well as in Africa and Asia, which absorb the attention and the passions of the nations of Europe, I believe that the current Ethnological Chauvinism would have drifted more and more into the channels of religious Chauvinism.

There were striking indications within the last few years that the ethnological game was played out. In Russia the Pan-Slavistic cry was growing feebler and feebler and was gradually merging into something like a Pan-Orthodox movement, which carried very practical, if not material, plans and purposes within the religious breast of its spiritual devotion. Feeble echoes of Pan-Anglicanism made themselves heard; while the Catholic Church followed its old tradition, and the national and Germanic ardor of Berlin, if not of the whole of Germany, was diverted from the monster statues on the hills of the Rhine and the Teutoburger forest to the national Protestant churches in the German capitals.

Arminius was, after all, a Pagan! And if this new old cry is silenced for a time by the din of gatling guns, the axes of the colonizer, and the hammer of the colonial prospector, it is not silenced for good and all, and will shortly be raised again.

The result of all this is that old antagonisms have been intensified by the introduction of these ethnological distinctions, and that new ones have been created to swell their nefarious phalanx. No doubt, other passions have been added to them, the greed of gold and the lust of empire.

England is the only country in Europe which has not yet been affected to any harmful extent by this disease of Chauvinism; and there is no fear that, in spite of all the provocation which the attitude of other nations toward her arouses, she will respond to them in the same tone. But, to call an alliance, or the growing amity, between Great Britain and the United States an Anglo-Saxon alliance, and to accept such a term as embodying the essential bond of union between these two great nations, would familiarize us with evil ideas, if it did not create evil passions. What brings us, and will hold us, together is something quite different, and far more potent than the empty words and the unsound theories with regard to our racial origin.

The question, then, arises: What are the essential elements which hold people together? Sir John Seeley maintained that "the chief forces which hold a community together are common nationality, common religion, common interest." I believe that this epitome errs in omitting some elements which are perhaps the most efficient in binding people together, while at least one of the three is not essential to national unity or national amity.

I should prefer to summarize these elements under the following general headings: A common country; a common nationality; a common language; common forms of government; common culture, including customs and institutions; a common history; a common religion, in so far as religion stands for the same basis of morality; and, finally, common interests.

Now, when any group of people have all these eight elements in common, they ought of necessity to form a political unity; and when a group of people have not the first of these factors (the same country) but are essentially akin in the remaining seven, they ought to develop some close form of lasting amity.

In the case of the people of Great Britain and of the United States, seven of these leading features are actively present.

It may even be held that the first condition, a common country, which would make of the two peoples one nation, in some sense exists for them. At all events, a country is sufficiently common to them to supply sentimental unity in this direction. For, as regards England, Seeley has well remarked, referring to a period when steam and electricity had not yet reduced the separating distance of the ocean:

> "There is this fundamental difference between Spain and France on the one side and England on the other, that Spain and France were deeply involved in the struggle of Europe, from which England has always been able to hold herself aloof. In fact, as an island, England is distinctly nearer for practical purposes to the New World and almost belongs to it, or at least has the choice of belonging at her pleasure to the New World or to the Old."

If we turn from the question of mere physical propinquity to the feeling of the American people as regards the country, the actual soil, of the British Islands, we come to a sentiment deep and cogent in its binding power. But a small minority of Americans would not be overcome by a sense of home the moment they arrived on British soil. The monuments on which they gaze in Westminster Abbey commemorate patriots, statesmen and poets whom they can rightly claim as essentially their own ! To all these people, Great Britain is the "Old Country." This does not apply only to the Americans of distinctly British origin, but also to those of German and French and Dutch or other European descent, whose home has been sufficiently long in the United States for them to have become thoroughly nationalized through the language, the customs and institutions which are practically the same in both countries. Such an one has read his Shakespeare, Macaulay and Walter Scott from his childhood upward; and thus Westminster Abbey and Stratford-on-Avon and Kenilworth and Scotland strike an old familiar chord in his mind and his heart.

Leaving the question of a common country, the bond of union becomes closer the further we proceed with the other essential influences which make for unity, when once we drop the misleading and wholly illusory ethnological basis of nationality, and take into account the process of real history. We then must acknowledge that the people of Great Britain and of the United States are of one nationality. I say this in spite of the Revolutionary War,

and, if I did not fear to be too paradoxical, I should almost say because of it. I mean by this, that the establishment of independence in the British Colonies of North America marks a phase in the expansion of international freedom, as the advance of representative government marks the development of national freedom; and that, as the recognition of the separate household of an adult son who has been fretting with growing animosity against the domination of parental authority re-asserts, on a new and more propitious basis, the kinship of the two, so is it in the relation of the two nations since America became free. There is but one real and material fact among many to which I wish to draw attention in view of the claims of common nationality between these two great peoples, and that is, the question of kinship and intermarriage. If statistics could be established concerning the citizens of each country, as to those who have some member of their kith and kin, however remote, residing in the country over the sea, the numbers of these would be found to be astonishingly large—at all events, much larger than such relationship between any other two nations. And in this respect the importance of the continuous process of intermarriage, which promises to grow even more frequent and effective in the future, cannot be overestimated. For intermarriage is the most important factor in welding the diversity of race into the unity of nationality.

But the unity of nationality is expressed in the state, in the laws and the forms of government, which actually hold the people together. Now, though England is a monarchy and the United States a republic, the inhabitants of both countries feel that they belong to the freest nations of the world. This freedom is the outcome of representative government, an idea and a fact born in England, of the development of which the history of the British people is one continuous illustration. It does not diminish the glory of the framers of the American Constitution to say that the central idea of liberty and self-government, which that document embodies and develops, was the natural evolution of political principles sunk deep down in their hearts and minds by their British ancestors. The reality of a common foundation for the government and all political institutions in the case of the United States and of Great Britain impresses itself upon us, not only when we ponder or generalize on things political, but when we are living our ordinary daily lives and follow the natural interests

and needs of our several avocations. It is not merely a question of political theory and speculation, it is eminently one of practical experience and of the action of life, individual as well as collective. At every step while the Englishman or American travels abroad, even in the most civilized countries, he meets with administrative enactments, privileges, restrictions, injunctions and directions, sent from the summits of government into the busy plains of ordinary daily life, which are foreign to him and which evoke a sense of criticism, if not of irritation and revolt. The same feeling of strangeness and of foreignness constantly comes over him, if he attempts to follow their political life, whether the American consider the legislative and administrative proceedings of a European republic, or the Englishman study the laws and enactments of some other constitutional monarchy. On the other hand, every Englishman becomes readily familiar with the political system of the United States and feels at home under its rule, as the American lives happily under the laws of Great Britain and can follow with interest the work of the House of Commons.

Far more potent, however, than the ties of common descent, country and government, is the all-comprising bond of a common language. Language is the chief vehicle of human thought and its communication. No other vehicle covers the whole range of human experiences from the highest to the lowest as does language. And if we compare the more emotional, the artistic, aspect of language, with the other arts, which are all such powerful exponents of the national and historical life of a people, we must assign to the literary art an exceptional position, as conveying the distinct individuality of a nation with more directness and precision than any of the others.

But it is on the more purely linguistic side that language becomes such a force in national life and gives such distinctness and solidarity to the communities which have the same language in common. Great statesmen have ever recognized this; as is clear when we consider the efforts made in Prussia to introduce the German language into Poland, the troubles of the Austrian Empire in dealing with the Czech and German languages in Bohemia, or the power of the mere Italian language in giving substance to the cry of *Italia Irridente* in districts nowise Italian, and with populations of ethnological origin quite distinct from the main bulk of the Italian people.

It is further interesting to watch how delicate and sensitive an instrument a language is in reflecting peculiar, even subtle, national characteristics. A study of the nature, history and significance of the foreign words borrowed or domesticated in a language, will reveal much about the position of language in national life, and about the national life itself. In the literature of Continental nations, besides the whole vocabulary of field sports and pastimes, which they have directly borrowed in their English form, are to be found such words as "self-government," "gentleman," "fair play," "the morning tub." And in our books you will find "esprit" and "chic" and "Chauvinism" and "*homme du monde*" and "roué," as well as "Zeitgeist" and "Sehnsucht," "Gemüthlichkeit"—perhaps even "Bakshish" and "Kismet." If one ponders on such words, and what they stand for, one may learn much about the national life of the different peoples. The ideas of self-government, of fair-play, of gentleman, do not only happen to be expressed in English. The facts which the words embody—the soul of the thing—were born among the English-speaking peoples, and these terms correspond to the essential, most lasting, most prevalent and most characteristic features of the life of the people in Great Britain and in the United States.

But language in this aspect reflects more than thoughts and feelings; it shows the common customs of living as well. People who, besides speaking the same tongue, eat and drink in the same manner, find their pleasure in games and sports, and in contemplating the same plays and pageants, to whom the "morning tub" is an essential instrument of daily life, such people not only live together in peace, but they ought to live together.

I have already referred to the influence derived from the fact that we read the same books. The people of the United States hardly feel that their debit account to England, with regard to poets and writers, is greater than their credit account; because they consider British authors their own, as the Englishman claims Poe and Longfellow and Emerson, and Lowell and Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Howells and Aldrich and James. So with the artists born in America, who are fully domesticated in England, and the actors who divide their performances between the two countries, while chairs in universities and schools in America are, and have been, held by Britons, and the interchange is daily growing more active and frequent. Day by day our life in every sphere

is becoming so thoroughly interwoven and intertwined, that not only the merchant, manufacturer and farmer, but the author and artist, nay, the student in his remote study, must consider the sister country while he is working for his own.

We have, moreover, a common history. Whatever the Revolutionary War may have meant and means to the people of the United States, it can only be regarded as a natural step in the British struggle for self-government and independence. Meanwhile, the whole of American history before 1776 is to be found, not with Red Indians, but with the people of Great Britain. And what Seeley has expressed so vigorously and clearly for the Britons, when they regard Greater Britain, that the British Colonies form an integral part of Greater Britain, and that every English political view which does not include the national life of Australasia and Canada is crippled and distorted—this applies to the attitude which the Britons must hold ever to the United States. The United States have not only formed a central factor in the British history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but they are an essential element in the growth of national life in the present, and will become still more vital in the future.

I have more than once quoted Sir John Seeley's "Expansion of England." There is much in this book with which I heartily agree, still more that I admire unreservedly. But I decidedly disagree with him in the state-making importance he assigns to religion among communities on an advanced scale of political civilization. I mean the power of religion as a fixed Church or Creed in the formation of a State, as an element which binds communities together. Though a common creed may be powerful in bringing or holding together people or races or nations in comparatively early stages of development, this cannot be maintained in the more advanced stages of modern politics.

In Italy, for instance, one Church preponderates among the population, with hardly a dissentient sect that might not be considered a *negligeable* quantity. Yet it can hardly be said that this common creed was an active agent in unifying Italy in the past, or in holding together the Italian monarchy of our own immediate days. Germany, on the other hand, has in our days achieved complete Imperial unity; and yet in Prussia, a Protestant State, more than one-third are Roman Catholics; while in Baden and Bavaria nearly two-thirds are Roman Catholics.

The principle of religious toleration by the state, strangely sinned against by the early Pilgrim Fathers, is one of the fundamental principles in the political constitution of the United States; and, in spite of the existence of an established church in England, this principle is becoming more effective in the political and social life of Great Britain with every day.

While religion, therefore, in the sense of a fixed Church or Creed, may be dismissed from the category of unifying influences, religion as a civilizing power, as creating or modifying the national conscience, the national ethics, as directing national aspirations and ideals, religion passing through the life and history of a people, is one of the most effective elements in political life. It leaves its deep and broad stamp upon national character, and thus creates or strengthens sympathy or antipathy, spiritual relationship or estrangement.

Thus, for instance, the Pilgrim Fathers, from the depths of their religious life, convictions and sufferings, did give a definite character to the national ethics of the United States: a stern sense of duty, of veracity and honesty, which, in spite of all individual instances in which these have been disregarded or contravened, permeate as leading principles the life of the American people in every phase. This is the historical resultant of the Puritan supremacy in America, and the British people passed through the same historical process in Europe. The Puritanism of the Commonwealth, nurtured by the Hebrew sense of abstract duty, derived direct from Moses, the Psalms and the Prophets, however violent, coarse or dry it may often have been, and however much, from an artistic or æsthetic point of view, we may deplore its effect upon the life of "Merry England," was and is a most potent factor in the historical evolution of the national ethics of Great Britain of our day.

This and many other religious elements, which in the course of history have made us think and feel as we do, the two nations have in common, and these bind us together more than could the mere adhesion to the same dogmatic creed. They make us feel at home in a country where, in the smallest dealings of daily life, we at once realize that the established expectations of truthfulness in word and deed, as well as the ultimate ideals of a high and noble life, are the same as in our own home. This common foundation of popular and national ethics and religion,

the American and the Briton who have travelled far afield realize as existing to a greater degree in each of these two countries than in any other land, and this will always act as a real and practically efficient link between the two nations.

Finally, I come to the question of Interests. The state of affairs which in the last few months has brought the question of an effective amity between the two great countries—allies by the fulfillment of all the other conditions we have just examined—within such close range of possible consummation and at least serious discussion, is the best answer to the doubt concerning the commonness of interest. In spite of all the historical, national, social and ethical relationships, the most sanguine of us could not have hoped, a short time ago, to see the discussion taken up seriously for the next fifty years. And now, by one move in the Far East of several Continental powers, bound together for the time being by common interests—and interests only—and by the thrilling and far-reaching events of the immediate present, the realization of these common interests on our part has made us see with the clearness of day the essential kinship between us in every aspect of our national life.

This condition of things is not fortuitous, nor isolated, so that it occurs once now, has never occurred before, and will never occur again! Whoever studies carefully the international history of 1823 will see how strikingly parallel the conditions were then to what they are now. Then as now England, the self-governing country, stood by the United States against the Continental powers forming the Holy Alliance; and, but for England, the united action of these powers would have crushed, not only the independence of the South American states, but would have jeopardized the development of American freedom. The Monroe Doctrine was, in one sense, as much the outcome of Canning's policy, as of the genius and statesmanship of Adams and Monroe.

But the social and economical conditions in the national life of every people have altered since 1823. The increase and facility of intercommunication have made the international organism more sensitive, and with it the commercial interdependence as affecting, not only manufacture, but even agriculture, has made it impossible for a nation to remain absolutely isolated and self-contained, and will in the future, if disregarded in its vital claims, lead to desiccation and ultimate annihilation of prosperity.

All great nations have now (some of them tardily) awakened to this fact. Hence the energetic activity displayed on all sides and the constant rivalry leading to the growth of Chauvinism. Great Britain, by centuries of continuous activity, probably by a natural aptitude of its people for colonization, and certainly by long national training of the government and the people, has stood powerfully in the forefront of the colonial and commercial expansion, and has therefore readily evoked the combined opposition of her several European rivals. But, as the late Austrian Premier, Goluchowski, wisely saw and stated more than a year ago, the Continental powers in this commercial struggle have to count, not only with Great Britain, but with the United States. These two go together as the most formidable rivals of the Continental powers. The United States can co-operate only with Great Britain in pursuing its material interests beyond its borders. For England is the great Free Trader, the champion of Open Ports. As a matter of fact, in South Africa and in all British Colonies, the proportion of citizens of the United States who have introduced American industries and have themselves accumulated great wealth, is much larger than people are wont to imagine. The expansion of England and its opening out of the world's ports to commerce, is *ipso facto* the expansion of American commerce without cost of blood and substance to the United States.

But these interests have to be maintained and safe-guarded against foreign prohibitive encroachment, and herein forces may have to be joined by those who have common interests. What would happen to the China trade of the United States, with its prospective growth in future years from the mere position of its Pacific coast, if Russia, Germany and France were to seize the ports and close them practically to all trade but their own? American statesmen have realized the gravity of the present situation, and have been led to recognize the interests which bind their country to Great Britain.

The trend of national and international life for the last hundred years has been toward the expansion of international trade into regions that formerly did not come actively into the cognizance of the European diplomat; and each state individually, or those with common interests collectively, must be prepared to guard and enforce this expansion. If the United States and any one of the British Colonies disregard this paramount interest

of their future and do not strengthen themselves by firm amity or alliance where such alliance is on every ground natural and imperative, they will some day find their national development and expansion checked. They will then come under the domination or tutelage of one of these great powers or a group of several of them, and the interests of such leading states will be paramount and dictate the course of national life to the one held in tutelage.

All this, however, would be rendered impossible by a great English-speaking Brotherhood. The Continental Powers know this, and the plan of their diplomacy must be to keep Great Britain and the United States asunder by playing them off one against the other. And for this the term "Anglo-Saxon" must yield them an acceptable opportunity.

We must not forget, however, that, after all, commerce is not everything. It is but the forerunner of civilization and receives its moral justification in that fact. Britons and Americans stand in the forefront of civilization; in political, social and economical education they stand as high as any nation, and higher than any group of nations that could be massed against them. In furthering our sphere of influence we are necessarily spreading the most advanced and highest results of man's collective efforts in the history of his civilization. An English-speaking Brotherhood will, after all, only be a step and link in the general alliance of civilized peoples. Its main principles and final objects will be those to which the highest and most cultured members of the French, German and even Russian nation would subscribe, and in so far, they would morally be members of this alliance.

Ideals are the lasting generalizations of past experiences and future aspirations. These will ever govern the world and stimulate men to action in one direction instead of another. These ideals are the same to the people of Great Britain and of the United States, and that is at once the highest and the most lasting bond of union.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

DISTANT POSSESSIONS—THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

TWICE only have the American people been called upon to decide a question of such vital import as that now before them.

Is the Republic, the apostle of Triumphant Democracy, of the rule of the people, to abandon her political creed and endeavor to establish in other lands the rule of the foreigner over the people, Triumphant Despotism?

Is the Republic to remain one homogeneous whole, one united people, or to become a scattered and disjointed aggregate of widely separated and alien races?

Is she to continue the task of developing her vast continent until it holds a population as great as that of Europe, all Americans, or to abandon that destiny to annex, and to attempt to govern, other far distant parts of the world as outlying possessions, which can never be integral parts of the Republic?

Is she to exchange internal growth and advancement for the development of external possessions which can never be really hers in any fuller sense than India is British or Cochin-China French? Such is the portentous question of the day. Two equally important questions the American people have decided wisely, and their flag now waves over the greater portion of the English-speaking race; their country is the richest of all countries, first in manufactures, in mining and in commerce (home and foreign), first this year also in exports. But, better than this, the average condition of its people in education and in living is the best. The luxuries of the masses in other lands are the necessaries of life for ours. The schoolhouse and the church are nowhere so widely distributed. Progress in the arts

and sciences is surprising. In international affairs her influence grows so fast and foreshadows so much, that one of the foremost statesmen has recently warned Europe that it must combine against her if it is to hold its own in the industrial world. The Republic remains one solid whole, its estate enclosed in a ring fence, united, impregnable, triumphant; clearly destined to become the foremost power of the world, if she continue to follow the true path. Such are the fruits of wise judgment in deciding the two great issues of the past, Independence and The Union.

In considering the issue now before us, the agitator, the demagogue, has no part. Not feeling, not passion, but deliberate judgment alone should have place. The question should be calmly weighed; it is not a matter of party, nor of class; for the fundamental interest of every citizen is a common interest, that which is best for the poorest being best for the richest. Let us, therefore, reason together and be well assured, before we change our position, that we are making no plunge into an abyss. Happily, we have the experience of others to guide us, the most instructive being that of our own race in Great Britain.

There are two kinds of national possessions, one colonies, the other dependencies. In the former we establish and reproduce our own race. Thus Britain has peopled Canada and Australia with English-speaking people, who have naturally adopted our ideas of self-government. That the world has benefited thereby goes without saying; that Britain has done a great work as the mother of nations is becoming more and more appreciated the more the student learns of worldwide affairs. No nation that ever existed has done so much for the progress of the world as the little islands in the North Sea, known as Britain.

With "dependencies" it is otherwise. The most grievous burden which Britain has upon her shoulders is that of India, for there it is impossible for our race to grow. The child of English-speaking parents must be removed and reared in Britain. The British Indian official must have long respites in his native land. India means death to our race. The characteristic feature of a "dependency" is that the acquiring power cannot reproduce its own race there.

Inasmuch as the territories outside our own continent which our country may be tempted to annex cannot be "colonies," but only "dependencies," we need not dwell particularly upon the

advantages or disadvantages of the former, although the writer is in thorough accord with Disraeli, who said even of colonies: "Our colonies are millstones round the neck of Britain; they lean upon us while they are weak, and leave us when they become strong." This is just what our Republic did with Britain.

There was something to be said for colonies from the point of view of pecuniary gain in the olden days, when they were treated as the legitimate spoil of the conqueror. It is Spain's fatal mistake that she has never realized that it is impossible to follow this policy in our day. Britain is the only country which has realized this truth. British colonies have complete self-government; they even tax the products of their own motherland. That Britain "possesses" her colonies is a mere figure of speech; that her colonies "possess" her is nearer the truth. "Our Colonial Empire" seems a big phrase, but, as far as material benefits are concerned, the balance is the other way. Thus, even loyal Canada trades more with us than with Britain. She buys her Union Jacks in New York. Trade does not follow the flag in our day; it scents the lowest price current. There is no patriotism in exchanges.

Some of the organs of manufacturing interests, we observe, favor foreign possessions as necessary or helpful markets for our products. But the exports of the United States this year are greater than those of any other nation in the world. Even Britain's exports are less, yet Britain "possesses," it is said, a hundred "colonies" and "dependencies" scattered all over the world. The fact that the United States has none does not prevent her products and manufactures from invading Japan, China, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and all parts of the world in competition with those of Britain. "Possession" of colonies or dependencies is not necessary for trade reasons. What her colonies are valued for, and justly so, by Britain, is the happiness and pride which the mother feels in her children. The instinct of motherhood is gratified, and no one living places a higher estimate upon the sentiment than I do. Britain is the kindest of mothers, and well deserves the devotion of her children.

If we could establish colonies of Americans, and grow Americans in any part of the world now unpopulated and unclaimed by any of the great powers, and thus follow the example of Britain, heart and mind might tell us that we should have to

think twice, yea, thrice, before deciding adversely. Even then our decision should be adverse; but there is at present no such question before us. What we have to face is the question whether we should embark upon the difficult and dangerous policy of undertaking the government of alien races in lands where it is impossible for our own race to be produced.

As long as we remain free from distant possessions we are impregnable against serious attack; yet, it is true, we have to consider what obligations may fall upon us of an international character requiring us to send our forces to points beyond our own territory. Up to this time we have disclaimed all intention to interfere with affairs beyond our own continent, and only claimed the right to watch over American interests according to the Monroe Doctrine, which is now firmly established. This carries with it serious responsibilities, no doubt, which we cannot escape. European nations must consult us upon territorial questions pertaining to our Continent, but this makes no tremendous demand upon our military or naval forces. We are at home, as it were, near our base, and sure of the support of the power in whose behalf and on whose request we may act. If it be found essential to possess a coaling station at Porto Rico for future possible, though not probable, contingencies, there is no insuperable objection. Neither would the control of the West Indies be alarming, if pressed upon us by Britain, since the islands are small and the populations must remain insignificant and without national aspirations. Besides, they are upon our own shores, American in every sense. Their defense by us would be easy. No protest need be entered against such legitimate and peaceful expansion in our own hemisphere, should events work in that direction. I am no "Little" American, afraid of growth, either in population or territory, provided always that the new territory be American and that it will produce Americans, and not foreign races bound in time to be false to the Republic in order to be true to themselves.

As I write, the cable announces the annexation of Hawaii, which is more serious, but the argument for this has been the necessity for holding the only coaling station in the Pacific so situated as to be essential to any power desirous of successfully attacking our Pacific coast. Until the Nicaragua Canal is made, it is impossible to deny the cogency of this contention. We need

not consider it a measure of offense or aggression, but as strictly defensive. The population of the islands is so small that national aspirations are not to be encountered, which is a great matter, nor is it obtained by conquest. It is ours by a vote of its people, which robs its acquisition of many dangers. Let us hope that our far outlying possessions may end with Hawaii.

To reduce it to the concrete, the question is: Shall we attempt to establish ourselves as a power in the Far East and possess the Philippines for glory? The glory we already have, in Dewey's victory overcoming the power of Spain in a manner which adds one more to the many laurels of the American navy, which, from its infancy till now, has divided the laurels with Britain upon the sea. The Philippines have about seven and a half millions of people, composed of races bitterly hostile to one another, alien races, ignorant of our language and institutions. Americans cannot be grown there. The islands have been exploited for the benefit of Spain, against whom they have twice rebelled, like the Cubans; but even Spain has received little pecuniary benefit from them. The estimated revenue of the Philippines in 1894-95 was £2,715,980, the expenditure being £2,656,026, leaving a net result of about $300,000. The United States could obtain even this trifling sum from the inhabitants only by oppressing them as Spain has done. But, if we take the Philippines, we shall be forced to govern them as generously as Britain governs her dependencies, which means that they will yield us nothing, and probably be a source of annual expense. Certainly, they will be a grievous drain upon revenue if we consider the enormous army and navy which we shall be forced to maintain upon their account.

There are many objections to our undertaking the government of dependencies; one I venture to submit as being peculiar to ourselves. We should be placed in a wrong position. Consider Great Britain in India to-day. She has established schools and taught the people our language. In the Philippines, we may assume that we should do the same, and with similar results? To travel through India as an American is a point of great advantage if one wishes to know the people of India and their aspirations. They unfold to Americans their inmost thoughts, which they very naturally withhold from their masters, the British. When in India, I talked with many who had received an English education in the

British schools; and found that they had read and pondered most upon Cromwell and Hampden, Wallace and Bruce, and Tell; upon Washington and Franklin. The Briton is sowing the seed of rebellion with one hand in his schools—for education makes rebels—while with the other he is oppressing patriots who desire the independence of their country. The national patriotism upon which a Briton plumes himself he must repress in India. It is only a matter of time when India, the so-called gem of the British crown, is to glitter red again. British control of India is rendered possible to-day only by the division of races, or rather of religions there. The Hindoos and Mohammedans still mistrust each other more than they do the British, but caste is rapidly passing away, and religious prejudices are softening. Whenever this distrust disappears, Britain is liable to be expelled, at a loss of life and treasure which cannot be computed. The aspirations of a people for independent existence are seldom repressed, nor, according to American ideas hitherto, should they be. If it be a noble aspiration for the Indian or the Cuban, as it was for the citizen of the United States himself, and for the various South American republics once under Spain, to have a country to live and, if necessary, to die for, why is not the revolt noble which the man of the Philippines has been making against Spain? Is it possible that the Republic is to be placed in the position of the suppressor of the Philippine struggle for independence? Surely, that is impossible. With what face shall we hang in the schoolhouses of the Philippines the Declaration of our own Independence, and yet deny independence to them? What response will the heart of the Philippine Islander make, as he reads of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation? Are we to practise independence and preach subordination, to teach rebellion in our books, yet to stamp it out with our swords, to sow the seed of revolt and expect the harvest of loyalty? President McKinley's call for volunteers to fight for Cuban independence against the cruel dominion of Spain meets with prompt response, but who would answer the call of the President of an "imperial" republic for free citizens to fight the Washington and slaughter the patriots of some distant dependency which struggles for independence?

It has hitherto been the glorious mission of the Republic to establish upon secure foundations Trimphant Democracy, and the

world now understands government of the people for the people and by the people. Tires the Republic so soon of its mission that it must, perforce, discard it to undertake the impossible task of establishing Triumphant Despotism, the rule of the foreigner over the people, and must the millions of the Philippines who have been asserting their God-given right to govern themselves, be the first victims of Americans, whose proudest boast is that they conquered independence for themselves?

Let another phase of the question be carefully weighed. Europe is to-day an armed camp, not chiefly because the home territories of its various nations are threatened, but because of fear of aggressive action upon the part of other nations touching outlying "possessions." France resents British control of Egypt and is fearful of its West African possessions; Russia seeks Chinese territory, with a view to expansion to the Pacific; Germany also seeks distant possessions; Britain, who has acquired so many dependencies, is so fearful of an attack upon them that this year she is spending nearly eighty millions of dollars upon additional warships, and Russia, Germany and France follow suit. Japan is a new element of anxiety; and by the end of the year it is computed she will have 67 formidable ships of war. The naval powers of Europe, and Japan also, are apparently determined to be prepared for a terrific struggle for possessions in the Far East, close to the Philippines—and why not for these islands themselves? Into this vortex the Republic is cordially invited to enter by those powers who expect her policy to be of benefit to them, but her action is jealously watched by those who fear that her power might be used against them.

It has never been considered the part of wisdom to thrust one's hand into the hornet's nest, and it does seem as if the United States must lose all claim to ordinary prudence and good sense if she enter this arena, and become involved in the intrigues and threats of war which make Europe an armed camp.

It is the parting of the ways. We have a continent to populate and develop; there are only 23 persons to the square mile in the United States. England has 370, Belgium 571, Germany 250. A tithe of the cost of maintaining our sway over the Philippines would improve our internal waterways; deepen our harbors; build the Nicaraguan Canal; construct a waterway to the ocean from the Great Lakes; an inland canal along the Atlantic seaboard; a

canal across Florida, saving 800 miles distance between New York and New Orleans; connect Lake Michigan with the Mississippi; deepen all the harbors upon the lakes; build a canal from Lake Erie to the Allegheny River; slackwater through movable dams the entire length of the Ohio River to Cairo; thoroughly improve the Lower and Upper Mississippi, and all our seaboard harbors. All these enterprises would be as nothing in cost in comparison to the sums required for the experiment of possessing the Philippine Islands, 7,000 miles from our shores. If the object be to render our Republic powerful among nations, can there be any doubt as to which policy is the better? To be more powerful at home is the surest way to be more powerful abroad. To-day the Republic stands the friend of all nations, the ally of none; she has no ambitious designs upon the territory of any power upon another continent; she crosses none of their ambitious designs, evokes no jealousy of the bitter sort, inspires no fears; she is not one of them, scrambling for "possessions;" she stands apart, pursuing her own great mission, and teaching all nations by example. Let her become a power annexing foreign territory, and all is changed in a moment.

If we are to compete with other nations for foreign possessions we must have a navy like theirs. It should be superior to any other navy, or we play a second part. It is not enough to have a navy equal to that of Russia or of France, for Russia and France may combine against us just as they may against Britain. We at once enter the field as a rival of Britain, the chief possessor of foreign possessions, and who can guarantee that we shall not even have to measure our power against her?

What it means to enter the list of military and naval powers having foreign possessions may be gathered from the following considerations. First, look at our future navy. If it is only to equal that of France it means 51 battleships; if of Russia, 40 battleships. If we cannot play the game without being at least the equal of any of our rivals, then 80 battleships is the number Britain possesses. We now have only 4, with 5 building. Cruisers, armed and unarmed, swell the number threefold, Britain having 273 ships of the line built or ordered, with 308 torpedo boats in addition; France having 134 ships of the line and 269 torpedo boats. All these nations are adding ships rapidly. Every armor and gun making plant in the world is busy night and day. Ships

are indispensable, but recent experience shows that soldiers are equally so. While the immense armies of Europe need not be duplicated, yet we shall certainly be too weak unless our army is at least twenty times what it has been—say 500,000 men. Even then we shall be powerless as against three of our rivals. Germany's army on a peace footing numbers 562,352 men; on a war footing, 3,000,000; France's army on a peace footing, 615,413; on a war footing, 2,500,000; Russia's on a peace footing, 750,944; on a war footing, 2,512,143. Even Spain has an army, as we are discovering in Cuba. It foots up on a peace footing 128,000; on a war footing, 1,083,000 men. All Spaniards, like all Frenchmen, and Germans, over 19 years of age, are subject to military service. They are in fact first soldiers, then citizens.

This drain upon the resources of these countries has become a necessity from their respective positions, largely as graspers for foreign possessions. The United States, happily, to-day has no such necessity, her neighbors being powerless against her, since her possessions are concentrated and her power is one solid mass.

To-day two great powers in the world are compact, developing themselves in peace throughout vast coterminous territories. When war threatens they have no outlying "possessions" which can never be really "possessed," but which they are called upon to defend. They fight upon the exposed edge only of their own soil in case of attack, and are not only invulnerable, but they could not be more than inconvenienced by the world in arms against them. These powers are Russia and the United States. The attempt of Britain to check Russia, if the wild counsels of Mr. Chamberlain were followed, could end in nothing but failure. With the irresistible force of the glacier, Russia moves upon the plains below. Well for Russia, and well for the world, is her advance over pagan China, better even for Britain from the standpoint of business, for every Russian to-day trades as much with Britain as do nine Chinamen. Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, are all vulnerable, having departed from the sagacious policy of keeping possessions and power concentrated. Should the United States depart from this policy, she also must be so weakened in consequence as never to be able to play the commanding part in the world, disjointed, that she can play whenever she desires if she remain compact.

Whether the United States maintain its present unique posi-

tion of safety or forfeit it through acquiring foreign possessions, is to be decided by its action in regard to the Philippines; for, fortunately, the independence of Cuba is assured, for this the Republic has proclaimed to the world that she has drawn the sword. But why should the less than two millions of Cuba receive national existence and the seven and a half millions of the Philippines be denied it? The United States, thus far in their history, have no page reciting self-sacrifice made for others; all their gains have been for themselves. This void is now to be grandly filled. The page which recites the resolve of the Republic to rid her neighbor Cuba from the foreign "possessor" will grow brighter with the passing centuries, which may dim many pages now deemed illustrious. Should the coming American be able to point to Cuba and the Philippines rescued from foreign domination and enjoying independence won for them by his country and given to them without money and without price, he will find no citizen of any other land able to claim for his country services so disinterested and so noble.

We repeat there is no power in the world that could do more than inconvenience the United States by attacking its fringe, which is all that the world combined could do, so long as our country is not compelled to send its forces beyond its own compact shores to defend worthless "possessions." If our country were blockaded by the united powers of the world for years, she would emerge from the embargo richer and stronger, and with her own resources more completely developed. We have little to fear from external attack. No thorough blockade of our enormous seaboard is possible; but even if it were, the few indispensable articles not produced by ourselves (if there were any such) would reach us by way of Mexico or Canada at slightly increased cost.

From every point of view we are forced to the conclusion that the past policy of the Republic is her true policy for the future; for safety, for peace, for happiness, for progress, for wealth, for power—for all that makes a nation blessed.

Not till the war drum is silent and the day of calm peace returns, can the issue be soberly considered.

Twice have the American people met crucial issues wisely, and in the third they are not to fail.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

AN ECONOMIC VIEW OF THE POPULAR LOAN.

It is gratifying to observe the popularity of the new 3 per cent. Government bond and that the $200,000,000 issued by the Government has been so largely over-subscribed. This result is not only complimentary to the patriotism of our people, but significant and auspicious as we look forward to the monetary future of the United States. A consideration, therefore, of the war loan and its economic bearings seems at this time opportune.

In marked contrast to the economic policy of Europe which has permitted, if not encouraged, the creation of great funded national obligations, it has been the historic policy of the United States to submit to almost any sacrifice in the methods of revenue and taxation rather than encourage the establishment of any form of permanent indebtedness. The American horror of a national funded debt, kept within reasonable limits, we do not share; but we are fully persuaded that the Government debt should be held by our own citizenship, and we believe the recent action of the Government should relieve our business interests of all unnecessary burdens. Not that we complain of a war tariff—for the patriotism of our people may be relied on to meet it without a murmur; but, as will more fully appear, it is doubtful economic policy to make this tariff oppressive in its relation to trade and commerce.

A review of the financial experience of the United States during and subsequent to our Civil War will illustrate our meaning. A war tariff was imposed which taxed every article in use from the cradle to the grave. Nothing knowingly escaped. Yet the country met the taxation without protest and as a patriotic duty. There was also imposed an unnecessary burden and spoliation in the issue of the Greenback—a species of fiatism which still haunts us—by which the money of the Government became the sport of gamblers, and the history of which proves it the costliest monetary experiment ever made by our country. But this folly does not belong to the present discussion.

When peace finally dawned and the chaos of war could be measurably estimated, it was found in addition to its cash outlay that the national debt approximated $3,000,000,000. The figures seemed appalling to a nation young in economic history. Still our debt was far less than the debt of Great Britain, and less, by more than half, than the debt of France to-day—while our possibilities as to wealth almost equalled those of combined Europe. More than this, our obligations were incurred in securing a final interpretation to the Constitution and the removal of the last possible difference to a homogeneous and united people. In other words the blessings issuing from the Civil War were easily worth all its cost in blood and treasure to the nation.

Our position then is this: The obligation incurred in saving the life and perpetuating the existence of the Union was a debt, the benefit of which inured to posterity; and it was an unreasonable hardship—as witness the panics of 1873 and 1893—to adopt an economic policy which contemplated the liquidation of this debt in a single generation. The thousands of financial wrecks along the pathway of our history, and the present inequality in the distribution of the national wealth, tell the sad story of the financial legislation of our country for more than thirty-five years. In our judgment, this debt, like the debt of England and France, and Continental Europe, should have been funded in a low rate bond and transmitted to posterity—each decade meeting in part the burden and helping to cancel the obligation represented by the Civil War. This plan, in our opinion, would have avoided the undue congestion of our national wealth; would have left us as free from financial panics as England; would have added to the general wealth and the prosperity of individuals; and left no excuse in this proud civilization for the unrest now represented in Socialism and Populism, or for the spectre of Repudiation, as represented in the demand for fiat money and the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

Let us look more in detail at the advantages of the system from its economic side, and in doing this we may be assisted by analogical reasoning. The British debt at the outbreak of the Napoleonic War was $2,065,000,000; at its conclusion it represented the enormous total of $4,500,000,000. In 1860 it was $4,130,000,000; in 1870, $4,005,000,000, and in 1889, $3,500,000,000. If England in her sovereign capacity had attempted to pay off this debt in a single generation, as was the policy of the United States, it would have bankrupted every business in the British Isles, if it would not have disturbed the business of the world. It almost certainly would have resulted in the ruin of British commerce and would have driven the British merchants and manufacturers to foreign countries.

Instead of this suicidal policy, the statesmen of England wisely determined to make a virtue of necessity, until even economists have pronounced the British debt a blessing in disguise! For the British debt as represented in the British bond is carried in the pockets of the British people; its consol commands a premium in all the markets of the world; can be hypothecated as a collateral anywhere, and hence becomes a credit to the holder, upon which he can conduct any legitimate enterprise with almost the same facility as though he held the actual cash. Thus indirectly the British debt, represented in a negotiable and low rate bond, has become practically and to all intents and purposes, if not a part of, at least a valuable adjunct to the circulating medium of the United Kingdom, and the happy result of this financial policy has made the English people the bankers and lenders of the world.

Politically viewed, there is another reason why England's system is a masterly one. The individual life of the nation under this system becomes directly interested in the national welfare and credit, and each citizen is made aware of his individual responsibility and value in his government. In other words, England's debt has become a negotiable asset, owned and carried by her people, and it would be difficult to imagine a vicissitude of government or a revolution which could lead to repudiation of a debt which represents a loan to the Government by more than 236,000 of its citizens. It is not far to travel to see the advantage to this Government, if the national debt were represented in a popular bond, and held by the traders and wage-earners of the Republic. It is needless to say that Repudiation in its flimsy

disguise would not have so boldly stalked across the country under a party banner as in 1896.

Let us take also a Continental illustration. The public debt of France is more than $6,000,000,000. The funded debt, represented in the French rentes, is largely owned by individual citizens of France. At the end of the Franco-Prussian War the French Government was forced to pay an indemnity of $1,000,000,000. One hundred million dollars in three per cent. rentes were offered to the people and twice the amount subscribed in a single day. Later $150,000,000 of three per cent. rentes were offered, and a subscription of twelve-fold the amount was the immediate result. What a splendid tribute to the patriotism of France! The French rentes, like the British consol, is an important collateral asset in the business of the Republic. In fact, but for the bond system of the world, represented in negotiable securities, the claim of the Populist– that there is too little money—might find substantiation.

Economically viewed, we incline strongly to the opinion that it would prove a wise policy, not only to meet the expenses of the Spanish War by a popular loan, but also to convert the entire national debt at future renewals into a low rate bond of small denomination, and offered in installments from time to time as the citizens would invest. We venture to say that it would not be long before the wage-earners and the farmers would prefer an interest bearing bond—which works while they sleep—to idle bank accounts, and they would soon learn commercially that the bond was an asset which possessed many of the advantages of a circulating medium. And then, politically, what a bulwark it would prove to the public credit! Lombard Street and Wall Street would no longer be hobgoblins even to the Populists; the public faith would no longer be assailed by careless talk of scaling the obligations of the Government, or by threats of repudiation and liquidation in a fifty cent dollar.

We would esteem the Spanish War a reasonably cheap investment, if it will only introduce to our people the economic advantages of Popular Bonds (*i.e.*, bonds in small denominations in which all our citizens can invest), and if it will hasten the day when the American interest-bearing debt, under future renewals, is taken from syndicates and placed in the pockets of wage-earners of the United States. This will be accomplished when the bond in small denominations, from time to time, is offered to our people as an investment, and when that time comes it will be the knell of fiat money and the surest guarantee of the public credit.

S. D. McCormick.

THE EFFICACY OF PRAYER IN THE LIGHT OF EVOLUTION.

Intelligent men of to-day will probably agree that the fundamental question of religion and the vital issue between science and theology is the Efficacy of Prayer. Now, what exactly do we mean by the Efficacy of Prayer? Upon what accepted idea or fact does our belief in the Efficacy of Prayer depend?

It is evident that the consideration of these two questions does not involve the Biblical warrant or the religious duty of prayer. These can hardly be considered open questions. That which is more germane to the thought of the day, is a rational philosophy of things which justifies prayer. We have fallen upon an age which delights in what it calls "the scientific method." Scientific facts and points of view are slowly but surely modifying our

theological interpretations. With all the apprehensions that obtain in certain quarters, we believe that science or criticism or any form of demonstrated fact can do nothing to theology—to the genuine theology of the Bible and the Church—except to vindicate it, clarify it and enrich it. A fact wherever found is a divine thing. All that we have to do is to recognize it, define its relations and, as far as we can, determine its place in the universal system. Is there any place in that system for a rational belief in the Efficacy of Prayer?

But, first, what do we mean by the Efficacy of Prayer? Let us fall into no confusion or illusion touching this matter. Do we mean simply the subjective or reflex value of prayer? I concede that this is no mean value. Unquestionably, it is one of God's methods in the answering of our prayers. If the subjective effect upon him who prays were all that could be accomplished through his prayer, this alone would justify prayer. And in claiming for prayer this measure of efficacy, we occupy this tremendous coign of vantage; we do not go beyond the domain of observed and certified fact. We keep our feet on scientific ground. Prayer, in short, becomes a scientific duty. The man who refuses to pray fervently and believingly is not simply irreligious, he is unscientific.

This strange but real aspect of the matter is the result of the recent expansions of science. It dislikes the word "Metaphysics," but it finds that it cannot exhaust or explain nature by its crucibles and scalpels. There is an elusive remainder which it must take into account. Physiology, in explaining one-fourth of man, has left three-fourths to be explained by psychology. In fact, science is just beginning its serious work. This work lies in the mysterious borderland between mind and matter. Whatever our theories of mind and matter, the borderland is as real as a geographical frontier or a sea-coast. The difficulty is that this borderland is a fathomless abyss in which mind and matter interact across inappreciable distances. There our science is confronted with facts which it has only recently recognized and has not yet fully classified. The facts are the most intimate, significant, subtle, deep-rooted facts in our being. Our science is groping and fumbling among the facts; but for the most part this broad frontier-belt, where the forces of mind and body interplay, is marked in our scientific charts as "unexplored territory." Our explorations, as far as they have gone, bring out this point more and more clearly. The mind works on the body. The mental condition modifies the nervous and chemic interactions. We are lifted into unknown energies and heroisms by stimulants and reinforcements to our will. This is the grain of truth in "Faith Cures" and kindred combinations of fact and delusion. The subjective function of prayer, however, is not a delusion. Our beliefs and imaginations and desires are positive forces, and they are reinforced by infinite multiples by leaning on an Omnipotent Arm. God's answers to our prayers are no less real because they come to us on the lines of the forces by which He has made us what we are.

But the question remains, and this, we all agree, is the crucial question: Do our prayers work other than reflex result? Do they blend with and affect the play of physical law outside of ourselves? Shall a man pray for success in business? Shall a soldier pray amid the thundering guns of battle? Shall a mother pray for her sick child? She will pray at any rate. No theories can stifle her prayer. The soul in its love and agony cries to God as instinctively as the root underground thrusts its heart up to the sunlight. This is the stem on which all the religions of the world have flung out their flower

and fruitage. The human heart, in the exigencies of life, with its changeless needs and sharpened hungers, has given hostages to the permanence of religion amid all the marches of the world's knowledge and the shifting fronts of the world's thought. Our needs and desires league themselves with the heavens. The deep within cries to the deep without. But can we hope for answer, an answer that shall slide into our lives along grooves of law and by thrust of forces which lie beyond ourselves?

This is what we mean by the Efficacy of Prayer. Now, is there any rational interpretation of the universe which makes this possible and probable? Any interpretation of the universe, of course, involves the question of God. It must either deny God or assert His being and relationships. I feel quite sure of my ground, when I say that the trend of recent scientific thought is toward a conception of the universe which furnishes new suggestions and arguments for the justification of prayer. On the other hand, I think that I am fair when I say that the science of a hundred years ago had a conception of the universe, and the religion of a hundred years ago had a conception of God, which made the Christian doctrine of prayer impossible. The religion of the day in the long run always locks hands with the science of the day. This is true of the Deism of the eighteenth century, against which the great Bishop Butler fought, and which treated the universe as a watch manufactured and wound up by God. The cosmic watch was Paley's great proof of divine intelligence and purpose in nature.

This watch is still found in some belated treatises on theology. The Deism which it represented was simply the religious side of the materialism which dominated the science of the period. The world was figured as a machine. Of course, God was figured as a machinist, who, having fashioned the wheels, sat on high and watched them revolve according to the structural laws of the machine.

But materialism is now a cast-off garment in the world's intellectual wardrobe. The science of the day has discovered that it utterly fails to cover the facts of life. Its theological analogue, Deism, has shared the same fate. It was a shallow theology which materialized the spiritual life, and was a degeneration from the theology of the great fathers and geniuses of the fourth century, like Athanasius, who argued against the pagans that God was a creator, not a carpenter. The pendulum has swung toward a new science and the older theology.

We no longer conceive the universe as a machine, but as an organism. It is a living thing. There is within it a force which makes it unfold, as a flower unfolds. Our modern science, in its doctrine of Evolution, tells us this much. Even where the mechanical conception of the universe lingers in its phraseology, our science has caught, as in the vision of the old Hebrew prophet, some glimpse of "the spirit of the living creature in the wheels." This all-pervasive, creative force in nature we call God. Science asserts His being, although it does not pronounce His name. He is immanent in nature and yet He transcends nature. The idea of His transcendence, as well as the idea of His immanence, is scientifically legitimate and necessary.

We find in ourselves something that we call "personality." This is the bottommost fact in our being and it is the highest reach of life that we know. We are part of the universe and we cannot leave out ourselves in searching for its key. God cannot be less than ourselves. We must read His nature from our own nature. He is all that we are and infinitely more. He is the cosmic force, and besides this, He is the summit and the fountain

of the sentimental, intellectual and moral energy, of which we find in ourselves broken gleams and potencies.

We discover this conception of God in the Psalmists and Prophets of the Old Testament. It comes out in the progressive revelations by slowly uplifted veils. But we must go to Christ for the full delineation of the idea. What was the great word that was always on His lips, that He made the invocation of His world-prayer? "Our father who art in Heaven." As we look closely into nature, we find there a force as strong as the force of gravitation. This force is the love in the heart of fatherhood and motherhood. It knits the web of life, as the force of gravitation knits the web of matter. It is found in the lowest as well as the highest ranges of life. This force Christ put on the throne of the heavens. Nay, that does not express it! This sweetest, tenderest, strongest force that we know, Christ put in the height and depth and inmost recess and minutest process of nature. Christ shows us a Father's heart in the bosom of things, and the throbbings of that heart are the origin and motion and life and evolutional thrust and upward climbing force of the universe.

The Fatherhood of God—this is the root of the religion of Christ. The way in which He pressed it and reiterated it shows that He held it to be the root. All the facts in His religion cluster around, or rather are born of, this fact. All the doctrines must be interpreted by this doctrine. It is the measuring-rod of all Christian theology. And it is the justification of our belief in the Efficacy of Prayer. Christ has taught us, once for all, the logic of prayer. Here it is: "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in Heaven give good things to them that ask Him." It is a philosophy which we can all understand. Prayer is the heart of a child throbbing against the heart of a father. We can measure the instincts and laws of the divine Fatherhood by the instincts and laws of our human fatherhood.

Against all this there is only one argument—the reign of law, its universality and inflexibility. But this argument no more prevails against the efficacy of prayer than it prevails against the freedom of the will and our moral responsibility. Our will, moment by moment, utilizes the laws of nature. Shall not the Divine Will make the laws of nature its ministers? We cannot measure the possibilities that lie within the lines of God's laws. His great, pitiful Fatherhood throbs behind those laws, and somehow along their grooves He can send us the answer to our prayers. No need can come to us too small for His care, too great for His omnipotence. He is well pleased that we should lay hold of His divine arm with importunate cries. But our cries must be upborne and sanctified by that prayer of Christ in the shadows of Gethsemane, that prayer oftimes wrung from such recoils of soul: "Thy will be done." This is the limitation of every prayer that is inspired by His spirit and winged with His name. We know not how God will accomplish His will, but we do know that our prayers lodge in His bosom, and, lodging there, become a force in the sum of things, and are blended with the forces that outflow from His bosom and make the conditions and events of our life.

WALTON W. BATTERSHALL.

ABOUT BOYS AND BOYS' CLUBS.

THE poor boys of large cities have three salient defects which render work among them highly perplexing and difficult.

These are untruthfulness, irresponsibility (except in the "gang" relation), and inapplication.

Untruthfulness is quite as much a matter of ignorant habit as of perversity with them, and sensible exhortation may do something toward correcting it. Example will do more. If all philanthropic workers among boys should set the example of truthfulness, an appreciable improvement would result. It is no uncommon thing for these workers to vent threats they never intend to execute, and to make promises they never intend to keep. Nor is it rare for a man who drinks and smokes in his own *monde*, to simulate horror over smoking and drinking in this other *monde*. Now, it matters little to his street boys what his practices are in these respects, if only he avows them; but it matters much to them what they are, when, by accident, they discover they are not what he tried to make them believe.

One way, a good way, and, perhaps, the only way to develop a proper feeling of responsibility, is to take the *esprit de corps* of the street gang, and gradually force it into a larger field of action. Properly handled, the "gang" conscience of the boy may become the civic conscience of the man.

As the absence of a feeling of responsibility eventuates in bad citizenship, so a lack of application results in shiftless dependence, if not in absolute pauperism. It is this lack of application that I wish especially to illustrate.

For several winters, seven or eight boys came to see me in my room, regularly, once a week. Though without club organization, they were pleased to call themselves a club. I had books, papers and games for them, and, at first, I let them do very much as they liked, just to see what they would do. They would not apply themselves to anything. They shifted rapidly from games to papers, papers to books and from books back to games. They even made demands, amounting to insolence, for new games, new papers and new books, before any real good had been obtained from those they had. The evenings thus spent were bad for the boys, bad for me, bad every way.

So I told the boys plainly that I could not afford to give them my time unless they would try to do something really worth while—something they could not do equally well by themselves. If they wanted to keep on coming, they must work with me a part, at least, of each evening. If they did not care to come to me with that understanding they were quite free to stay away. They were quick enough to see and admit the justice of what I said. They continued to come, and tried, in their own fitful way, to do their duty. At the end of several weeks, full of discouragements to both of us, they had learned to listen attentively to consecutive readings and talks. So much was encouraging. But, strangely enough, when they were allowed to take up the games at the close of the reading or talk they were unable to apply themselves thereto. A doubtful point, a bit of bad luck, a boast, a flash of envy, the sight of another game, a sudden whim, a nothing, was enough to break up a game. It was not until I had refused, night after night, to allow the beginning of a new game before an old game was finished, bearing down hard every time on the fact that such capricious conduct was absolutely unsportsmanlike, that I got the idea of honest sport into their heads. Finally, instead of playing different games by groups, we came to prefer sitting about a large table and playing the same game together. This game was chosen by vote. Everybody voted and everybody abided by the vote. Without realizing how much such a course meant, they were thus accepting to the full the consequence of their own act.

One night before this happy state of things was consummated, the club

united in demanding the use of a game I had not put into their hands because it was quite unsuited to them. I told them that the game was long, hard, and stupid, that they would be sorry if they took it; still, they might take it if they would play it through. The game was brought on. At the end of fifteen minutes, the boys were all wishing it well out of sight, but I relentlessly held them at it till the end—over an hour. It was a capital lesson. Not only did they never ask for that game again, but they did not ask for others without first inquiring how long they were and what they were like.

To bring a group of boys to apply themselves properly one evening a week to study and sport was no great achievement. Such occasional application is not a habit of application, and habit is the thing that counts in the long run. Still, it must have some influence in the development of character. That is why I have thought it worth speaking of.

"If you want to get up a boys' club," said a Boston philanthropist, not long ago, "all you need to do is to open the doors and let the boys boom in." I have had something to do with these "boom in" clubs, and they remind me more of herds of wild horses than of anything else in the world. It is of little account that boys are "kept off the street," if their doings within doors are worse than their doings without doors, and if the better boys are demoralized by closer association with evil than they have in the street.

The number of boys' clubs in Boston and vicinity is legion. And yet it is doubtful if more than half a dozen are successes in the sense of assisting real development of character, and this half dozen (almost without exception) have been made what they are by years of the thoughtful, earnest, tactful influence of the same men and women over the same boys. In our club, for instance, purposely kept small, boys have grown from boyhood to manhood (from twelve to twenty-one and even older) under such influence, with results that cannot be mistaken. In another, that has lately been allowed numerical expansion, there were several years of anxiety, study of boy nature and experiment, before large numbers were so much as considered. That they are now possible is due mainly to the splendid loyalty of the well-trained older boys.

The boys' club is not *per se* a good thing. It were even better, perhaps, to leave the boys to the natural impulses of their by no means altogether vicious street life than to coop them (bad and good together) within four walls, unless somehow—by force of rigid discipline, persuasion or affection, it matters not how—they are trained in the essential qualities of right living.

ALVAN F. SANBORN.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE PHILIPPINES.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M. P.; THE HON. JOHN BARRETT, LATE UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM; AND HUGH H. LUSK.

I.

THE editor has asked me to write, even if I can only write briefly, on the probable outcome of the war, and calls my attention to the fact that influential opinions are being expressed by leading men in the United States against a departure from the traditional policy of the country, or that recommended by Washington, and against any annexation of territory or acquisition of protectorates. This is an American question, in which the advice of an Englishman is an impertinence, even if he has a clear view and, consequently, advice to give. There are, however, some considerations of a general nature which affect the matter, and which, although secondary, are worth taking into account.

It seems to me impossible for the United States to hand back to such a colonial rule as that of Spain populations who have been emancipated from that rule by the action of the great Republic, or by the chances of war. It seems to me almost as impossible for the United States to sell people like sheep, and to be a party to

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arrangements which, for example, would hand over the Philippines to another power against the wish of their inhabitants. It is probable that the inhabitants of the Philippines would prefer the rule of the United States, or a United States protectorate, to British or German rule; and, further, the handing over of the Philippines to any other country would be attended with immense risk of general war.

I understand that the leader of the Philippine insurrection has already arranged with the United States Admiral to set up a republic, which could not, without American protection, have any chance of permanence, but which might, in the opinion of those who know the islands best, if aided by a strong officer, succeed in maintaining authority and order. To restore the Philippines to Spain, to hand them over to another power, or to govern them as an integral part of the United States, seem to me, I confess, to be policies equally certain of rejection upon sound consideration; and the system of protectorate is, in my opinion, the inevitable outcome of the existing situation. All endeavors ought to be directed toward making it a success.

One of the reasons which, I understand, are given for the proposals to avoid responsibility in the Philippines, for example, if not also in the West Indies, is that the United States do not possess a trained Colonial service. That difficulty is probably exaggerated. The British Colonial service, and the British Foreign Office service—and it must be remembered that the Foreign Office here administers vast territories, such as the British East African protectorate and the Central African protectorate (which is, in fact, a colony where there is nothing to protect)—are partly filled with trained men, but they also contain among their public servants gentlemen who have been brought from other professions into their posts abroad, and they have to deal with some most unhealthy climates, to which it is not easy to get anybody at all to go. Then, the Foreign Office has had to take over from chartered companies men who have themselves, in some cases, been put into their service without training or preparation. The personal difficulties caused by the rapid extension of our rule in Africa have been very great, and we are far, indeed, from possessing there, in great portions of our territory, a Civil Service similar to, or at all comparable with, that which in India forms one of the greatest glories of our rule. One administrator of Uganda was

forced by the paucity of his staff to give a province to his valet; and yet, on the whole, our men have shown themselves worthy of the confidence which has been reposed in them almost by chance. Young guardsmen and other soldiers have conducted civil administrations, in some cases with remarkable success, under the accumulation of every possible circumstance of difficulty; and I cannot but think that there must be plenty of men in the United States of a similar type.

There is some democratic dislike, I think, of the idea of selecting men from your navy, which, like the navy of the French Republic, is an aristocratic service. Why are navies always aristocratic? Even in this country, while the non-commissioned officer of the army often rises to commissioned rank, in the navy this never happens; and I believe that in the case of the United States the quarter-deck is as completely free from the presence of promoted warrant officers, or men from the lower deck, as is the case in the navy of France or the United Kingdom. Still, if any democratic prejudice on this score could be got over, what admirable administrators for the Philippines would American naval officers make!

CHARLES W. DILKE.

II.*

IN the capture and occupation of the Philippines the United States will be confronted by one of the gravest and yet most interesting problems in the history of our foreign relations. The President, Congress—and the people who develop the sentiment that guides the executive and legislative branches of our Government in their acts—have before them, in the determination of what shall be done with the Philippines, a question second only in importance to that of the fate of Cuba, and possibly involving equally serious issues and international complications.

The great European powers and Japan are deeply concerned in the future of the Philippines. They recognize that the nation holding them—if one of the first magnitude—will have a vantage

* This article—which reached the REVIEW only in time for publication now—is unique in its interest because of the fact that it was written before the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and the United States. It addresses itself, nevertheless, to the situation in Eastern waters which has actually resulted from the war, the author having anticipated the question which the brilliant victory of Admiral Dewey suddenly thrust upon public consideration. As is well known, Mr. Barrett has made, for many years, a special study of the countries of the Far East in their relations to the development of American commerce.—Ed. N. A. R.

ground of inestimable strategical and commercial value; and they will watch with a more jealous attitude the disposition of these islands, matchless in wealth and location, than they will the fate of Cuba.

The Philippines are the southern key to the Far East; they hold a position in the South not much less important than that of Japan in the North; the South China Sea, the pathway of the numberless steamers and ships that come to the Far East by the Suez and Cape Town routes, is under the eye, as it were, of Manila; a fleet of warships could sail from Manila Bay, scour this Mediterranean of the East, and return to signal Corregidor island in four days; all this, I mean, if some first-class power, like America, England, France, Germany or Japan controlled the islands.

The American people, I fear, do not appreciate the actual importance of the Philippines, their wealth and resources, their location and possibilities, their area and population. I will intimate no reflection whatever on our distinguished Executive, for whom I have profound admiration, nor on Congress, whose splendid support of the President at the critical moment I have with pride described to my friends of other nationalities in the Far East; but I draw my conclusions from the apparent unpreparedness of our Government to support Commodore Dewey with supply and troopships, as well as with more war vessels, if he intends to descend on Manila, and the Spanish Government shall reinforce their present naval and military strength in the East Indies with battleships and troops before the United States can reinforce its Asiatic fleet; from the ignorance of the conditions, customs, and wants of the inhabitants displayed in numerous letters received from representative business houses; from the flippant and satirical tone of many writers and newspaper contributors who have apparently never visited the islands; and from a critical survey of most of the matter printed in America about the cities of Manila, Iloilo, Cebú, and their commerce and trade, as well as general descriptions of Luzon, Mindanao, Samar, Panay, Mindoro, Leyte, Negros and other islands of the group.

If anyone doubts the strategical and commercial importance of the Philippines, he should obtain a map of the Far East and study carefully that splendid coast line of Eastern Asia that reaches from Singapore and Bangkok to Tientsin and Vladivostock, with its many ports, its mighty rivers, its general greatness and its

sheltered seas guarded by such island lands or groups as Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, Borneo, Java and Sumatra. It has no equal in the wide world. And along this coast and among all these islands none stands out more prominently than the Philippines, over which the American flag may yet float. There are those who will call me a dreamer, an enthusiast, and a framer of fantasies, but my conclusions are based on accurate information of the Philippines, their cities, their open ports and their distant inland country. I have summarized the opinions of those who know the people and have studied their natures and capabilities. I have myself carefully investigated their resources—forest, agricultural, mineral and animal.

The purpose of this article does not include a description of the Philippines, and of Manila, their famous capital. In the REVIEW for February, 1897, under the caption, "The Cuba of the Far East," I endeavored in brief terms to execute that commission. Nor shall I discuss the unhappy features of government, so often the subject of comment. The main point of my argument—with due regard for the views of others, but with the confidence and earnestness born of many years' experience and travel in the Far East, and continued association with those who have mastered the field—is that the United States Government, if it seizes the Philippines, should consider deliberately and thoroughly all phases of the question: What shall be the ultimate disposition of the islands in the light of their great strategical and commercial importance?

These four propositions can be outlined as representing the different policies that can be followed by the United States in determining the future of the Philippines:

1. They can be held as a permanent possession, colony, territory, or State of the United States.

2. They can be returned to Spain on the payment of a war indemnity.

3. They can be given their independence.

4. They can be sold to some nation (other than Spain) under favorable conditions, or exchanged for certain of its possessions or for reciprocal advantages.

Of these eventualities it would now seem that the first or fourth is more likely of realization than the second or third. It is a grave question whether Spain would be able to pay such war

indemnity as the United States would demand, if a conflict is prolonged and its cost runs into the hundreds of millions. It is true that assistance might be offered from Rome, in view of the vast Church interests in the Philippines; or that some friendly power might act as security, itself holding the islands as a hostage until the debt was liquidated. But both these possibilities are doubtful. The United States might, even then, hesitate to deliver the Philippines until the indemnity was fully paid; and, under the influence of American occupation for a number of years, conditions of freedom of life, worship, administration and trade would develop that would completely change the status of affairs, and make it impossible for Spain to hold and govern them, even were they turned over to her.

The independence of the islands may sound well, but the reasons for it are far outweighed by those against it. A cardinal point is that the natives themselves are not equal to it. The masses of population are totally unprepared for such a change, and the leaders who are both able and honest are so very few that, were independence granted, the islands would descend into constant civil wars and develop conditions that would either compel the United States to exercise a costly supervision over them, or cause another power, like England, France, Japan or Germany, to take them for the protection of their own interests there. What is more, the natives, including the insurgent leaders, do not themselves expect nor ask for independence. If they are sincere in what they have said to me, and to others who have mingled with them, the chief desideratum they seek is actual and lasting reform of the present abuses, especially the grinding taxation that keeps the majority of them in comparative poverty. Had Spain executed the reforms promised time and time again, or had she deliberately undertaken a system of colonial government such as exists in the British possessions of India or in those of Holland in Java, it is altogether probable that there would be no insurgent party of strength in the Philippines. If the United States occupies the islands, the object of the insurgents will be to show such strength in co-operating with the United States forces, and such a general demand for reforms, that they will at once be recognized by the United States as a power in the Philippines, and hence that they will receive immediately the reforms sought; or that they will be made such a party to any treaty embodying the

delivery of the islands to another nation that their rights will be forever assured. Were the United States to signify the intention of holding the Philippines as a colony, the natives would be content and drop all agitation for independence and for reforms, knowing that the latter would surely come with the organization of a provisional government.

The proposition to make the Philippines a permanent possession of the United States will no doubt seem at first impracticable and be strongly opposed as against precedent, traditional policy, and the best interests of the American people. It will be argued that we could never grant actual citizenship to 7,000,000 Philippinos, and that, unless the islands are made a State or an integral part of the Union, we would have no adequate system of government for them, and that the experience would be a sad one. The contention would also be advanced that the expense of fortifying and garrisoning Manila and other points, and of protecting them with an ample naval force, would be a burden we should not undertake to carry. Perhaps the strongest adverse argument will be that the permanent occupation will place us on the same basis with European nations as a foreign colonial power, and make us a party to all international entanglements in either Asia or Europe, and destroy the splendid New World isolation that gives the Monroe doctrine its breath of life. If we do not even intend to annex Cuba at our very doors, it may seem foolish to consider the permanent possession of the Philippines, which are nearly 7,000 miles distant from our Pacific shores.

On the other hand, there are grave reasons why we should not surrender this group of islands—more resourceful and greater in area, population and opportunities than Cuba, and so situated as to command the commerce and trade of the Far East and the routes thereof—without careful consideration of the advantages that might follow ownership. I would not intimate that I actually favor permanent possession, because then I would be defeating the chief point of my argument, that the United States should consider all sides of the question deliberately before taking final action, by myself jumping to a conclusion before it is definitely known what is best.

If conditions, precedents, law, the Constitution, and traditional policy are against colonization, is it not possible, after a great war that has no respect for precedents and traditions and

evolves entirely new conditions, that our Constitution or laws shall be so modified as to permit a system of colonial or dependent government? If the American people will undertake a mighty war with all its dangers, horrors, and cost, can they be too conservative to permit the passage of such enactments as will provide a safe government for the Philippines, without granting that degree of citizenship in such a colony as will permit actual voting powers in the United States. Other nations, particularly Great Britain, have so perfectly developed this system that we have abundant data and precedent in determining what is the best method.

But what have we to gain by taking possession of the Philippines and holding them as a colony or dependent State?

(1.) We would have an unsurpassed point in the Far East from which to extend our commerce and trade and gain our share in the immense distribution of material prizes that must follow the opening of China, operating from Manila as a base, as does England from Hong Kong.

(2.) As England has Hong Kong and Singapore, France Saigon, Germany Kiaochow, Russia Port Arthur, the United States would have the great city of Manila as an American capital in the Far East, from which to extend both our material and moral influence where vast interests are at stake, and through which the United States could keep in closest touch with all developments.

(3.) We would have, in the Philippines themselves, one of the greatest undeveloped opportunities in all the world—a group of islands with numberless riches and resources awaiting exploitation, and capable of providing a market for a large quantity of our manufactured products.

(4.) We would have in Manila a large and wealthy city and commercial *entrepot*, located on one of the finest harbors in the world, and backed up by a country that outranks Japan in variety of resources, but which is not much more developed in the interior than Borneo.

(5.) The steamers and ships that now ply between San Francisco, Portland, Tacoma and Seattle in the United States, and Yokohama, Shanghai and Hong Kong in the Far East, would either make Manila their ultimate destination or have adequate connections with it, thus placing the ports, merchants, and manufacturers in closer relations with all Asia than ever before.

(6.) The Islands would easily be self-supporting in the matter of government after they were once placed in running order, and they should provide an abundant revenue for improvements of all kinds, even to harbor defences and other fortifications, thus removing the great danger of proving a financial burden to ourselves. This is apart from the profits resulting to America and American interests in trade exchange, and in exploiting the resources of this wonderful group, which includes over 1,500 islands, and has a combined area equal to that of New York and New England together.

(7.) The present situation demonstrates the vital necessity of having a naval (as well as a commercial) base in Asiatic waters. The moment neutrality is declared our fleet has no place in which to rendezvous, to coal, or to repair, and is 7,000 miles from the nearest home port! We hope, and are confident, that our ships will be more than a match for the Spanish fleet at Manila, but, supposing they are unsuccessful, where can they go to recoup and recoal? Assuming that they defeat the Spanish squadron and a more powerful one comes out from Spain to meet them, where can they put in for protection or preparation if they are not equally matched, or if some of the ships are unfit for action?

(8.) The growing importance of the Pacific, of Pacific commerce, Pacific politics, Pacific lands, and the responsibilities resting on the United States in connection with that growth, together with the impending opening of China and the wide reaching effect thereof upon the United States as well as upon Europe, demand that we do not shirk the duty of governing the Philippines, which must play a leading part in all this development. What with the cutting of the Nicaragua Canal, the annexation of Hawaii, the laying of a Pacific cable, the rapid progress of our Pacific Coast interests, the increase in our trade with the Far East, and the necessity of finding wider foreign markets for our surplus products, is it too much to expect that we shall endeavor to hold the Philippines as a permanent possession if we succeed in taking them from Spain?

The other alternative and fourth proposition of ultimate disposal—that of selling to another power or exchanging for reciprocal advantages—is assuredly worthy of practical investigation, but there are two very serious obstacles in the way. One is that few if any powers would pay our price, or give us in exchange

what we would ask. Another is the probable objection of other European powers to one of their number obtaining such an overwhelming advantage in the East as would plainly result from the possession of the Philippines, and the vigorous protests that would be aroused, which in time might lead to most serious diplomatic differences with countries whose good will we would otherwise keep. If we would sell or exchange, we would naturally turn first to Great Britain, because her commercial policy would be favorable to our interests, and she is the only important nation that has possessions which we would want in exchange. If Great Britain would give us her outposts off our Atlantic Coast, like Bermuda and the Bahamas, together with Jamaica or some of the Windward Islands, in exchange for the Philippines, we should not be losers in the end, but England might not think as favorably of the bargain as we, while France might interpose objections that her coast of Annam and Cambodia should be flanked by British Philippines. Neither France nor Germany has colonies that we would accept in exchange, and in view of their alleged kindly feelings towards Spain it is doubtful if they would endeavor to buy of us, while England would probably object strenuously to France's absolutely controlling the China Sea, as would be the case if she owned the Philippines. Japan is undoubtedly a power that would be only too glad to possess them, and she is even now gazing upon them with anxious eyes; but Japan could hardly afford to pay the price and she has nothing to give us in exchange. After Great Britain, American sentiment would presumably favor Japan, provided she would vouchsafe full commercial rights for America. I would not intimate that we have any antipathy for French or German possession as French or German, but the commercial methods and policies of those lands do not seem to favor us as do those of England.

My observations on this point of disposal to another power are purely speculative; for no one can tell what war may bring forth and what new turn our foreign relations may take in consequence. But they may serve in a slight degree to awaken interest in a vital issue, if the fortunes of war shall give the Philippines to the United States.

In conclusion, it behooves me to state that these opinions and arguments are written before war is declared between Spain and the United States, but when the announcement is momentarily

expected. If, therefore, there are certain propositions and inferences not in accord with what shall have developed between the day of preparation and that of publication, I ask the forbearance of those who might otherwise deem my conclusions strange and incompatible with existing conditions.

Whether we capture and hold the Philippines, or Spain shall successfully resist our efforts, on the one hand, or war shall not bring us face to face with the specific problems outlined, the truth remains, beyond question or quibble, that now is the critical time when the United States should strain every nerve and bend all her energies to keep well to the front in the mighty struggle that has begun for the supremacy of the Pacific Seas. If we seize the opportunity we may become leaders forever, but if we are laggards now we will remain laggards until the crack of doom. The rule of the survival of the fittest applies to nations as well as to the animal kingdom. It is a cruel, relentless principle being exercised in a cruel, relentless competition of mighty forces; and these will trample over us without sympathy or remorse unless we are trained to endure and strong enough to stand the pace.

JOHN BARRETT.

III.

THE fortunes of war have placed the Philippine Islands at the disposal of this country. In doing so, they have prepared for America a problem perhaps the most difficult of all which the war will be responsible for, and probably the one which is the least understood. It is not too much to say that very few persons in the United States know anything of the Philippines, their present condition, or their inhabitants. Most of us know, indeed, where the islands lie, and that the group contains many islands, certainly numbering more than a thousand, of which ten are of considerable size; that the islands are rich in soil, and highly tropical in climate; that their area is considerably greater than that of the British islands; and finally that they contain six or seven millions of native inhabitants.

But the present position of this country in its relations to these islands and to Spain imperatively demands that both the Government and the people of the United States should know a good deal more than this. Admiral Dewey's victory at Manila was not

merely a brilliant naval action. It was one of those events that mould history. For the time at least Spain's empire in the Pacific was destroyed along with her fleet, and, unless by the action of this country, it cannot possibly be restored. Nor is this all. The victory served the purpose of encouraging, consolidating, and rendering successful the native revolt against Spanish authority in the island of Luzon, which was otherwise hardly possible. Both these results—neither of which was or could have been foreseen—have rendered the victory of Manila a turning point in the history of this country also. Nations, like individuals, never escape the consequences of their own actions, and in the present case the working of this universal law is likely to be more than ordinarily self-evident.

The islands, practically at our disposal to-day, have been possessed—it would be a perversion of language to say that they had been either occupied or governed—for nearly three centuries by Spain, and our victory has put an end to that possession. The natives have been claimed as subjects of the Spanish crown; many of them—though almost entirely in one island of the group—have been the victims of Spanish oppression and misgovernment during most of the period; to a very limited extent they have learned the Spanish language, and a considerable number of them have been, nominally at least, converted to Christianity by Spanish missionaries; and, finally, it may be said that with very few exceptions they have conceived a very hearty dislike for their Spanish taskmasters. This dislike, rendered effective by the defeat at Manila, has enabled the insurgents of the island of Luzon to defy Spain and set up at least a nominal government of their own. It represents only a part of the people of Luzon, and can hardly be said to control even those whom it represents, but undoubtedly it stands for the fact that the sympathies of the inhabitants of Luzon—the only island intimately acquainted with Spanish methods of government—are with anybody who opposes Spain.

The problem of the Philippines is not a simple one, indeed it is not even a single one, but consists of two very distinct parts which may demand somewhat different solutions before any justice can be done to either. To make this clear, it becomes necessary to state more fully the actual situation as it is to-day, and also as it has been under the so-called Spanish dominion of the islands.

For nearly three centuries past Spain has professed not only to own but also to occupy the Philippine islands, and in a certain very limited sense she has done so, with the exception of a short time early in this century, when they were taken from her by Great Britain, as this country has taken them now. This is only correct, however, so far as the outside world is concerned. Spain has never in fact either owned or occupied the islands as a whole. What she has really owned, and to some extent occupied, is the island of Luzon, the largest of the group, where she founded the city of Manila and several smaller towns. In this island she established a government, which, if neither just nor enlightened, was largely operative, and here she made serious efforts to Christianize and civilize the natives. Luzon, however, is only one of ten large islands in the group, the united areas of the others greatly exceeding its own, and it is believed to be far from the richest of the group in natural resources. Like the others, it is mountainous, but, unlike some of them, it has not been proved to contain any minerals of value for purposes of trade or commerce. Parts of the island are unquestionably productive, and, in better hands than either the natives or their Spanish masters, it might long before this time have been nearly as rich a possession for Spain as Java has long been for Holland. But there is no reason to believe that it is nearly so rich, or could be made nearly so productive, in any hands, as some of the more southerly islands of the group, which contain richer soil and are situated nearer to the equator.

Luzon is the most temperate in climate of the Philippine group. By far the larger part of the island lies to the north of Manila, between the fifteenth and nineteenth parallels of latitude, and that section of the island contains the only districts likely to prove very largely productive, even if they are made the most of by the application of energy and capital. It is not to be forgotten that a great difference exists between islands lying within the tropics near a continent like our own or Asia, and those that lie in the midst of the ocean, like the Philippine group. In their case ten or fifteen degrees of latitude make a very appreciable difference in climate, especially in the matter of rainfall, which is in tropical climates the great factor in production. For this reason, the southern Philippines will be found to be the richest islands for the production of nearly every kind of crop which

has the special value attaching to tropical vegetation in the markets of the world.

It is these southern islands of the group over which Spain has at no time exercised more than the most nominal authority. As a matter of fact, they are almost unexplored, and unknown even to Spanish travellers; their inhabitants have never dreamed of acknowledging any practical authority over them on the part of Spanish officials, except at a few points on the sea coast; they do not speak the language, obey the laws, or profess the religion of the Europeans who have nominally ruled the country for two centuries and a half. The chief of the islands are Mindanao, the most southerly and, next to Luzon, the largest and most populous of the group; Leyte and Samar, lying directly to the north and continuing the chain of more recent and active volcanic forces which begin with the lofty volcanic mountain at the very southernmost point of the group; and the islands of Bohol, Sebu, Negros and Panay, which lie to the west out of the main line of volcanic disturbance, and are the only parts of the group that are known to contain minerals of extent and value. In these islands and their future, there lies to-day the most difficult part of the problem which is involved in our new acquisition.

It cannot be too emphatically insisted upon that the Philippines are, for all practical purposes, a country of possibilities rather than of any considerable present value. The soil is for the most part of that rich volcanic character which seems, in conjunction with tropical heat and rains, to produce the richest vegetation of the most valued kinds; the natives, while entirely uncivilized, and practically independent, which really means without government of any kind, are not as a rule hard to deal with, nor are they usually unfriendly to strangers, or averse to Europeans; and the influence of Christianity, so far as it has gone, has prepared the way for that intercourse with superior races which lays the foundation of civilization. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the native races of these islands have all the vices of their condition. Less even than those of Luzon are they at all inclined to exert themselves to do any useful work. At present they have no idea either of self-government or of permitting anyone else to govern them. Accustomed to the domestic tyranny of their chiefs as their normal condition, and to small tribal wars as their common employment, they present by no means a

very hopeful field for the operations which are to develop their resources or to elevate their condition.

The people of Luzon, it must always be remembered, are not only not in the same condition as those of the southern islands—they are not the same people at all. The race is different; the language—or rather the languages, for there are many, more distinct than French and English—is in no way similar; the manners, customs and habits of the tribes differ widely from those of the northern island, and also from one another. It might be possible, though it is probable that the experiment would be attended with much risk and trouble, to proclaim a protectorate over Luzon and to allow the natives to try for themselves the experience of self-government. Possibly, it might not be a more disastrous failure than similar experiments have been in some of our own Central American Republics. It could not, and would not in any case, extend to the southern islands. By no possible stretch of imagination could it be supposed that the Presidency or Dictatorship of Aguinaldo or any other leader of Luzon extended to the independent, and more than equally warlike and populous, islands lying nearer the equator, and it would be impossible to expect European nations to respect the transparent fiction to the disregard of their own interests, as soon as the troops of this country were withdrawn from the islands.

It does not rest with America to say whether or not the islands of the southern Philippines shall be self-governing, for in their present condition nothing can make them so. If the islands were returned to Spain, indeed, they might remain in something like the condition they have been in so long, which is one of non-government, but certainly not of anything which can by any stretch of courtesy be called self-government. Spain, in her exhausted condition, would be less able than ever either to control or to civilize the natives; less likely, if possible, than ever to do anything toward developing the resources of the group. In such a case it would only be a question of time until it dawned on Spanish statesmen, and even on the Spanish people, that they had nothing to gain by keeping this feeble ghost of their departed foreign empire, but much to gain by selling it to some other European power. The new departure might well be for the better—indeed, it could hardly be for the worse, whether France, Germany, or even Russia, became the buyer—but it could not in that

case be said that this country had faced the problem which her own actions had produced. It might on the contrary be said with truth that, having entered upon a war in the great cause of humanity and advancing civilization, she had used its favorable results as far as they served her own purposes, and fell in with her own most direct interests, by freeing Cuba and taking charge of Porto Rico, but that she had cast away the future of considerably more than double as large a population, when she found that the problem of their civilization was not an easy one, and might not, at any rate for many years, be a directly profitable one.

To return the island of Luzon to Spain is, indeed, hardly possible for America. A restoration which would be possible of acceptance by a proud nation like the Spaniards must be an untrammelled restoration. Such a restoration was made by Great Britain after the Napoleonic wars more than eighty years ago, with the result that the lapse of nearly a century has seen no real improvement in the condition of the islands or their people. In that case, however, there was practically no choice. Britain could have done little or nothing with or for the country, and Spain had not really been the enemy of England except upon Napoleon's compulsion. The position to-day is, in all respects, a different one. Spain has had her opportunity for three-quarters of a century or more, in the light of modern sentiment and modern example, to govern and civilize the Philippines, and her failure is complete. She has applied the methods of two centuries ago to the country and people, with the result that her government is less beneficial and more impossible now than it was then. Should Spain now be restored to what she unquestionably regards as her rights of sovereignty in the Philippines, her first step must be a renewal of the atrocities of her war in Cuba. The soldiers deported from Cuba and Porto Rico at the expense of this country, would be employed—nay, they must be employed—in reducing to subjection the rebels of Luzon, who have acted in concert with ourselves, and have gone far to render our operations successful—to such a subjection as was proposed for Cuba. Such a position only needs to be faced to be recognized for what it is—impossible.

And to return the southern Philippines to Spain is to return them to the condition of hopeless stagnation and barbarism in which two centuries and a half of nominal occupation and control by that country have left them. Spain would assuredly be in no

better condition to civilize her distant dependency when war had exhausted her treasury and demoralized her government. She would be no more likely to engage with energy and enterprise in the task of developing the resources and elevating the inhabitants of the Philippines than during all the years of comparative prosperity at home. If there was a change at all, it would inevitably be a change for the worse—though indeed, to those who know by personal observation what she has done, or rather what she has left undone, in her dominions of the southern Philippines, such a change seems hardly possible.

But, it may be said, there is still the expedient of a protectorate, jointly with Spain herself, if she will, but in any case an American protectorate, under which the people of these neglected islands may learn to govern themselves and develop their own resources. It may be said with confidence that the idea of a joint protectorate is an impossible dream. Spain could gain nothing by such an arrangement, and her pride would prompt her rather to abandon the last shreds of her colonial empire than to submit to the constant control of this country in dealing with her emancipated subjects. If it were possible, moreover, it would prove a hopeless failure. Of all protectorates, a joint one is under any circumstances the very worst, as experience has shown conclusively in the case of Samoa; and where the powers which it gave were to be exercised by a victorious and a defeated nation jointly, it would either be a farce, or it would shortly develop into a tragedy.

Nor would America's sole protectorate in any degree meet the difficulties of the case. A protectorate supposes a government which is to be protected and maintained, and no such government either does or can exist, at any rate in the greater part of the Philippine group. A republic of Luzon would probably prove a failure so complete as to make Spanish domination appear beneficent by comparison, but a republic of Mindanao, Sebu, or Negros would at present be a simple impossibility. The natives could neither understand its methods nor its objects even in the smallest degree, and no one tribe out of the eight or ten, now totally distinct, could hope to work in concert with another. If indeed it were conceivable that a small body of American or European adventurers should settle in these islands, they might in the course of time repeat—though under circumstances of far greater diffi-

culty and danger—the process which has, perhaps happily, ended in the annexation of Hawaii by this country. The one condition which renders this impossible, even if it were in any sense desirable, is that no time would be allowed for the development of the project. Whatever America proposes to do in the Philippines she must do quickly, and she must do it decisively. It is something worse than idle to suppose that she could by any possibility extend a Monroe doctrine to the islands of the Oriental Archipelago, and, having authorized the institution of a native anarchy under the name of self-government, call upon the nations of Europe to respect its excesses on the ground that they were perpetrated under the shadow of her protecting flag. Such an assumption of power would inevitably defeat its own purpose, and its only logical result would be to launch this nation upon a long and disastrous career of warfare, if not of conquest.

As matters stand, our choice is a limited one. We may, if we are prepared to do so, abandon the Philippine islands to Spain at the end of the war. We may, if a feeling of shame does not prevent, declare in effect that, having secured the freedom of Cuba, which we regarded as essential to our own comfort, and the well-being of our own people who had invested money there, and having taken possession of Porto Rico, which we regarded as of special value to us for strategic and other reasons, we are satisfied. In that case we have only to abandon all claims upon the Philippines which the war may have given us, and to hand over the Philippine insurgents in Luzon to their inevitable fate at the hands of Spain. By this course it may as well be admitted we shall save money, and we shall also wash our hands of not a few embarrassing questions and anxious responsibilities. It may be as well to remind ourselves, however, as a nation, that the process of hand-washing does not always serve as a satisfactory solution of a difficult problem. The Nemesis of national responsibilities declined is as real and as relentless in its vengeance as that of national wrongs committed, and no easy-going assumption of indifference can save any nation from its retribution. It is true that nothing was farther from the mind of the Government and people of America, when they entered upon a war with Spain, than burdening themselves with distant dependencies, but it is no new experience that nations, like individuals, are to a large extent at the mercy of the events unexpectedly following on their own

actions. The question which will demand an answer is not what we intended when we began the war with Spain; it is not even altogether what we professed at that time as our intentions and wishes; it is only to a limited extent what we desire and would prefer now; it is rather what we must do if we would meet the obligations we have incurred to the cause of humanity and civilization. To do this will involve dealing in some way with the problem of the Philippines.

In dealing with this problem it is necessary to remember that it is not one but two-fold. There is the problem of that part of the group which has been to some extent occupied, in a certain limited sense governed, and in a very small degree civilized, by Spain; and there is the larger problem of the disposal of the greater part of the islands, of which none of these things can be said. With regard to Luzon, with its partial civilization, and its largely successful body of insurgents, it is impossible that we should simply abandon our position, for such a course would mean treachery to men whom we have treated as practically our allies, and equal treachery to the cause of humanity, for which we have undertaken the war. Whatever happens, it is evident that the position of the insurgents in Luzon must be provided for, at least to the extent of rescuing them from the vengeance of the Spanish government and people. It may well be argued that if we consider ourselves bound by the dictates of ordinary humanity to assure liberty to the insurgents and people of Cuba, we are not less bound to do as much for those of Luzon, where the power is even more completely in our hands. This might be done by recognizing a Republic of Luzon, and handing over the island, freed from Spanish control, to its own people, under a treaty by which Spain would agree not to attempt its reconquest. Unless we did more than this, indeed, the experiment would almost certainly prove a failure, and after a short period of anarchy and bloodshed our republican offspring would merge into the dominions of Japan, Germany, or France. If we went further and declared a protectorate, we should to all intents and purposes have to annex the island ourselves, or at least to submit to being saddled with the expenses and international complications incident to annexation, with a good deal less than its advantages and profits.

And even this would not be a possible solution of the difficulty

respecting two-thirds of the group. There cannot even be a nominal republic of the southern Philippines. Divided as they are among tribes, wholly uncivilized and wholly independent of one another, any possible bond of union must be a bond imposed from the outside for generations yet to come. The Spaniards have not, and never have had, more than small trading stations on these islands, and they have never even attempted to govern or to civilize them. The position is almost identical with that of the islands of New Zealand at the time when Britain annexed them to her empire nearly sixty years ago. The wonderful success which has attended that experiment affords the highest encouragement to any nation that will apply the methods which in that country have preserved and civilized the native race, but it proclaims emphatically that it can only be attained by a firm hand and a consistent policy. If this country should desire to preserve the southern Philippines on the one hand from native barbarism, and on the other from absorption by some foreign nation, whose policy would almost certainly be unfriendly to our commercial expansion, it can be done by treating them as an outlying territory of the United States, and practically in no other way. If left in Spanish hands, with one or more coaling and trading ports secured, they would be little better than a useless anxiety; if made the subject of another make-believe popular government, as was the case with Hawaii, they would eventually become territories after a period of comparative stagnation and anxiety.

It is, of course, for the Government and people of this country to say whether they will deal with the Philippines at all or not. It is for them to decide whether they desire that commercial expansion on the other side of the Pacific which can only be effectively secured by the possession of some territory nearer than our own Pacific coast; nearer, too, than our little rocky outpost of Hawaii. If we do not, then a treaty with Spain which shall at any rate nominally assure pardon for her Philippine rebels may possibly serve our turn. Should that not appear to us sufficient, we may demand that Luzon shall be set free to govern itself as best it can. In either case the result will almost certainly be the same; we shall have taken possession of the islands only to hand them back to a period of bloodshed and anarchy, to be followed by their annexation by some European or Asiatic power, which will give them something at least of peace and security, and in

return will probably receive wealth from their developed resources. If, on the other hand, this country should decide that she will accept the responsibility cast upon her by events, it is hardly too much to say that there is but one way in which she can do it effectively. She can discard the illusion of a self-governing republic, which could only mean the tyranny of a few half-castes over a large population, confessedly incapable of self-government, and treat the whole of the islands as a territory until she has developed their resources and civilized their people. The undertaking will be a serious one, but its success is more than a possibility, and its rewards would be substantial.

HUGH H. LUSK.

LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN.

BY RICHARD BURTON.

THE keynote of modern education is found in the right instruction of children. The acceptance and spread of the kindergarten idea may be said to have revolutionized our notions in respect of this problem, and from this as a central principle and efficient cause all betterment of pedagogic methods in the higher grades of school and college and university life have come. Touching these subsequent periods, the most important and significant change in the conception of the proper grading and relative value of studies, is the recognition of English, in the broad sense, as a natural centre of culture for an English-speaking person. It is coming to be felt that education in the English language, literature and life, for purposes of vital broadening and enrichment, is of pronounced importance for those who speak the tongue. As a result, in our manifold institutions of learning, the English course is accorded more time, more attention and more dignity as a branch of work. All who keep abreast of modern pedagogic thought are aware of this.

Along with the changed attitude toward English goes a wiser appreciation of the use of literature in this study: a tendency to make literary instruction more dominant and to introduce it at an earlier period of the school life, postponing the purely analytic studies—of which grammar is a type—to a later time. The banner cry of those leaders who have at heart the interests of the primary and intermediate grades now seems to be: "Not facts, ideals"—a phrase the sentiment of which is revolutionary to the older notions. Psychology has taught us that the intuitive emotional impressions can be received best at a comparatively tender age: and such are the very impressions imparted by the early contact with noble literature. The plastic sensibilities are ready

for the effect of poetry and imaginative prose; all that stands for the heart-side and the soul-side of literature may to the best advantage be inculcated during that receptive hour of childhood, when the good can be appreciated, though mayhap it cannot be explained. It is a splendid victory that has been won in the grasping and engrossing of this idea; instead of the three R's of the old-time educational dispensation, we have substituted the three H's, the hand, the head and the heart, each to be trained, all to be interrelated—the manual, mental and emotional evoked in the organic unity which is properly theirs.

This shift and broadening of ideals is a cause for rejoicing. The thesis, then, that the best literature is not too good for young children in the school or in the home, that to stimulate the imagination and awaken the soul, through the gracious ministries of song and story and soul revelation, is of more importance than the memorizing of dates or the utilities of the multiplication table, is pretty well established. One who undertakes to argue for the making of early instruction in literature ethical and inspirational rather than analytic and knowing, has his audience with him as it never would have been a generation ago. We now regard education, not so much as an attempt to fill up a scholar with facts and figures or to prepare him for money-getting; and more as the drawing forth of the powers in such symmetry that the moral and spiritual faculties shall have precedence over those intellectual. Hence the emphasis put upon the efficacy of early ideals and the fruitful influence of great literature, which, by the very condition of its greatness, is a power that makes for spiritual quickening.

But what are the best methods in bringing about this precious nurture of children through contact with the word-work and soul-work of poets, orators, dramatists and weavers of story? What literature shall be given them, and how and when?

At the outset we must contradistinguish between boys and girls. Boys like action, adventure: they run to the sensational, even truculent, in reading; girls, *per contra*, like the domestic, that which centres about the family affections and the sweet ministries of home. This is a broad generalization. Girls there be who have a fondness for "Tom Brown at Rugby"; boys, who admire "Little Women." But the distinction holds, and it suggests at once the disadvantage of a public school where sex in

literary or other education must be ignored, more or less. Of course, there are to-day those who see no sex in the thought-processes and emotions of young people of opposite sexes, who, indeed, go further and regard mind-stuff as sexless throughout life. Such will pooh-pooh our notion. But to the present writer the willingness to overlook, or the practical inability to recognize, such claims, show shallow thinking. Great laws of nature arraign themselves against puny man here.

But, waiving this point, it may be remarked that the fast-growing inclination to give children pieces of literature in the whole, instead of by scraps in excerpts, as in earlier days, is an excellent thing. A piece of literature is an organism and should, therefore, be put before the scholar, no matter how young, with its head on and standing on both feet. This idea is now generally acted upon. Witness the enormous growth of text-books presenting literary masterpieces in their entirety—or, if this is not done, at least in substance, keeping to the organic structure. Certain critics of the inner circle affect to sneer at this tendency: Andrew Lang, for example, laments what he deems the Bowdlerization and cheapening of the classics, an objection whimsical enough. Nor must the moral aspect of the editing of literature be overlooked—this, too, provocative of cultured sneers. Mr. Howells has written true and noble words on this:

"I hope the time will come," says he, "when the beast-man will be so far subdued and tamed in us that the memory of him in literature shall be left to perish; that what is lewd and ribald in the great poets shall be kept out of such editions as are meant for general reading, and that the pedant-pride which now perpetuates it as an essential part of those poets shall no longer have its way. At the end of the ends such things do defile, they do corrupt."

It is well to get such testimony from a captain of letters.

In view of all this preparation of standard writings for the young, there is little excuse for putting children off with the second-best and the well-enough. The choicest is not too good. In the dominant division, fiction, the pabulum furnished us children of a larger growth by Optic and Alger, and Mayne Reid, has been superseded by more heavenly food. And the older aristocracy of child literature still makes its appeal in books like "Robinson Crusoe" and Kingsley's "Water Babies," to mention two that stand for many. Inasmuch as the spiritually beautiful, as we have said, is the most desirable of all, books of this sort should

come first in favor—beginning with the Bible. Not the didactic, goody-goody stuff which made the old-time Sunday School library too often a place of tears and penance for healthy-minded young folk. The day is clean gone by for the tales wherein the bad boy who goes a-fishing on the Sabbath gets, not fish, but a flogging, to be triumphed over in a most un-Christian way by the good little boy who didn't go—probably because he daren't. No; I mean that which is lovely, inspirational; literature where the artistic and the ethical are recognized for the kinsmen they are, linked by the subtlest, sweetest, strongest of ties. And at the very head and forefront of such books the Bible must be placed. The Bible, in judicious selections, not gulped down whole, is pre-eminently a book for literary and ethical stimulation. We hear much of the Bible as literature nowadays, and Professor Moulton's most suggestive volume is symptomatic, summarizing well a changed attitude, a truer philosophy. A new interest in, a deeper love toward, the Scriptures is thus born. Once concede this use of the Book and the question of its function in the school is settled. It should have its place there, along with other great literature, as a quickener of the sense of beauty and the sense of right. To make it a theological text-book is monstrous, and if its daily presence among the pupils meant denominational teaching or propagandism, we would have none of it. But regard the Bible as a composite, a wonderful repository of history, prophecy, song, story, drama and naïve people-science, matchless in expression and surcharged with the ethical temper, and its exclusion were suicidal. Better for many of us had we been made in the school, yes, and in the nursery, to commit to memory long passages and chosen parts of the Old and New Testaments—as did the young John Ruskin, it will be remembered, that great man's testimony to the potent influence upon him of the Book being worth repeating always:

"Walter Scott and Pope's Homer were reading of my own selection, but my mother forced me, by steady daily toil, to learn long chapters of the Bible by heart, as well as to read every syllable through aloud, hard names and all, from Genesis to the Apocalypse, about once a year; and to that discipline—patient, accurate and resolute—I owe, not only a knowledge of the Book, which I find occasionally serviceable, but much of my general power of taking pains and the best part of my taste in literature. From Walter Scott's novels I might easily, as I grew older, have fallen to other people's novels; and Pope might perhaps have led me to take Johnson's English or Gibbon's as types of language, but once knowing the 32d of Deuteronomy,

the 119th Psalm, the 15th of 1st Corinthians, the Sermon on the Mount, and the most of the Apocalypse, every syllable by heart, and having always a way of thinking with myself what words meant, it was not possible for me, even in the foolishest times of youth, to write entirely superficial or formal English."

And again he declares of this experience that he counts it "very confidently the most precious and, on the whole, the one essential part of all my education."

This mention of the memorizing of Scripture by one of the masters of pure style leads on to the remark that, in bringing children into contact with the great literature of the world, the habit of committing to memory is most fruitful. The storing of the mind with choice passages will prove a godsend in after years—will yield good, I incline to think, even if it be done parrot-like at the time. The pedagogic tendency now is in all branches to teach independence of speech, rather than the mechanically memorized lesson. In the literature of knowledge (science), no doubt the danger lies in the latter; but, in the literature of power, which we are here considering, the memory is a trusty and valued servant who guards us from the loss of veritable treasure. How many of us in mature life can testify to the comfort and help and uplift that have come from stray fragments of poem, or essay, or oration learned years before, perhaps in childhood? Often, when we are separated from books, listless, distraught, sick, they have been evangels bringing pure, sweet and noble images, and a quickened spirit.

But now, lumping boys and girls together—which, though bad psychology, seems, so far as the school goes, to be necessary—and admitting the major premise that great literature should be given them and given them early, a few more specific remarks may be made. There is considerable choice, within the category of great literature, of what is wisest to use. Divers kind of fish come into this drag-net. I apprehend that, in the intellectual and spiritual gradation from youth to maturity, the objective literature, the literature of action and character and picturesqueness, rather than that which is subjective, will be best adapted to the purpose. Hence, fiction of the Walter Scott and Stevenson kind will have preference over that of Thackeray and George Eliot. In poetry, the epic, the ballad and the lyric of simple song will prove better than reflective or purely descriptive verse. History on the personal graphic side—treating it as Carlyle conceived it to be, the

story of great men—is good for the little ones and most affected by them. Dickens' "Child's History of England," whatever its faults, has the shining merit of grasping this fact. So, of course, biography will attract more than the essay proper, for example (and still more the essay improper), that form being food for the adult digestion. I should conclude that a child who liked Charles Lamb's papers or, to mention a latter-day author, Agnes Repplier's, needed to be sent out into the open, with orders to ride a wheel or play golf or tennis. Certainly, the preference would seem alarmingly priggish, though such children may exist, as do three-headed pigs, and other abnormalities. Speaking broadly, it is amazing how children of the healthy, normal, matter-of-fact sort like literature that is alive, wholesome, having sentiment, not sentimentality, and some narrative human interest. As a rule, they relish it. I once experimented with a boy who hated the very word "literature," and whose soul was completely absorbed in football and track athletics. I read to him, in course, Homer's "Odyssey," in Palmer's fine prose translation, a canto a night. The result was he imitated Oliver Twist, calling for more in case I flagged. And yet this was a lad of the unliterary age of fifteen, who could not abide the mere mention of poetry. But, naturally enough, he fell in love with the wanderings of that fine old buccaneer, Ulysses; naturally enough, he liked to hear about the Cyclops and the Sirens and all the rest of it. The smell of the sea was in it all, and the smack of adventure and the magic of marvel. Be assured that the reader did not damage his case by telling the boy beforehand that here was a master poem. That had been a stupid letting of the cat out of the bag. Get the story going, and all is well; the world of children loves a story as the grown-up world is said to love a lover.

Then, if we come to discriminate between prose and poetry, the former must have the preference with young folk in mind and the latter administered only in homeopathic doses. Here again the sexes differ; girls, as a class, care more for poetry than boys, as, indeed, do women more than men. Poetry, broadly speaking, is more subjective and elusive than prose, hence it is less adapted to the immature comprehension. Yet verse, on its musical side, with its alliteration and rhyme, its rhythm and picture-making, has often a great fascination for children, as mothers many will testify, and an acquaintance with this, the

highest form of literature, should be inculcated at a tender age, as likely to be of paramount service in creating ideals and developing the sense of beauty. The slow gradations by which this may be effected is a test of the nicest skill of the educator. The road from the "Mother Goose" jingles to the dramatic monologues of a Browning, is a long, but not necessarily weary, one. Professor William J. Rolfe, in his recent excellent little work, "The Elementary Study of English," advocates the use of poetry in the grammar school grade:

> **"Let me suggest," he says, "that the critical study of some masterpiece of literature, especially poetry, is one of the best possible exercises for the teacher in this department. It may or may not be something that one has to teach in school—it is well, in my opinion, that it should be something above the range of one's daily work—but the manner of study is of more importance than the matter."**

The work will prove, he thinks, for the pupil of this age, "at once a delightful recreation and valuable self culture."

Some principle in choosing out of the whole *corpus literarium* the literature which can be grasped and enjoyed by the young is important, in order to avoid a false sentimentality which too often plays about this subject. I refer to that misconception which sees the child, not as it really is, but as it appears through the illusion of our mature sentiment. Perhaps the finest expression in poetry of this view is found in Wordsworth's peerless ode on the "Intimations of Immortality in Early Childhood." That this is a superlative piece of English poetry, we all know; fewer, I fear, have realized that its psychology is very dubious. If the poet had presented the child as caught up in and by his affection, transmuted into something which had all the beauty and innocence of youth with the high thought that comes with years, he had been impeccable. But to impute to the child, *per se*, a kind of angelhood is essentially untrue. Boys and girls do not have those shadowy intimations, nor do they come trailing clouds of glory from on high. These little ones' helplessness and loveliness and trusting lack of guile constitute the most winsome appeal on earth to older folk. It is right and seemly to overflow with feeling about children. But Wordsworth goes further: he says practically that the child is nearer high, pure and wondrous things than the man, which contradicts all science and common sense. The brutal fact is that your normal child, sound of mind and limb, is, in comparison with what he may come to be, a healthy little ani-

mal; more selfish in a naïve way, more absorbed in practical and carnal matters, and not a bit interested in supernal affairs.

Our child literature, therefore, must be chosen with this truth—palatable or otherwise—in mind; if it is not so chosen, we shall get into a fog. We must, on the contrary, work gradually from the concrete toward the abstract ideal, always seeing to it that the lesson in the most objective bit of literature is wholesome and holy. The ethical quality may be as strong, be it remembered, in the straightforward story of narration as in the pious preachment; the sermon may be there, though hidden in the envelopment of art, the reader being all unwittingly influenced by what George Eliot calls the "slow contagion of good." I knew a teacher in a Sunday School who was looked at askance by some of the members because, after the more serious matters were successfully dispatched, he read to his class of urchins Aldrich's little masterpiece, "The Story of a Bad Boy." But I am sure it did them good (the attendance showed it interested them), and that the Sunday School library is impoverished, ethically and otherwise, which does not include that particular volume.

The difficulty of discrimination in schools in the matter of literature for boys and girls, has been spoken of; all other discriminations—that between backward and forward pupils, for example—are also difficult wherever children are taught and studied *en masse*. This suggests the noble function, the superlative importance, of the home in purveying literature to the little ones. There the child can get that individual attention, that loving study, as a detached personal problem, which from its very nature is beyond the province of the school. Those schools which are famous the world over for their fruitful methods—one thinks of Froebel and Pestalozzi—have taken their cue from the home. The Kindergarten, in sooth, is an adaptation of the playground and nursery. No wonder it is being emphasized that mothers are the first teachers—that is, teachers not by rôle, but from the nature of their inherent relation to the child; amateurs, not in the sense of ignorant workers, but as lovers of the task. What may not parents in the environment of the home accomplish for the cause of higher education! Says Professor James P. Munroe, in his stimulating work on "The Educational Ideal:"

"With the mothers, and fathers too, aroused to the fact that they are teachers, and that the home is a schoolhouse; with the study which they

must increasingly give, under this new light, to that complex organism, the child ; with the psychological and psychical sciences resting upon data which shall be thus collected, the day for a rapid growth in educational methods is not far distant. . . . Having, after centuries of wandering, brought the child back to his proper atmosphere—the home—having determined who shall be responsible for his teaching, and what shall be the final aim of that teaching, we have, indeed, put the educational question upon a sound and healthy basis. We have at last learned how to follow nature, and we are beginning to understand that the best education, indeed the only right education, is a natural one."

So, in this matter of literature for the young, the influence of the home teaching is enormous; all the school can do pales before it. Let the mother add to the poet's rhyme the music of her soft and beloved voice; let great fiction be read to the breathless group of curly heads about the fire; and the wonders of science be unrolled, the thrilling scenes and splendid personalities of history displayed. Children thus inspired may be trusted to become sensitive to literature long before they know what the word means, or have reasoned at all upon their mental experiences. It is comforting to reflect that a mother, a parent, wishing in our day to do this for the nearest and dearest, is helped as never before—by enlightened librarians and libraries of generous habits; by child literature from the best authors of our time; by plenty of good criticism, furnishing a lamp to the seeker's feet. Children are lucky to be children nowadays, for the idea is pretty well disseminated that the very choicest from all the garnered riches of the great world of literature should be given them, that they may early be possessed of thoughts and feelings that are true and large, sweet and beautiful.

RICHARD BURTON.

THE LATEST REFORM IN IRELAND.

BY JOHN J. CLANCY, M. P.

To use a seeming paradox, reforms come slowly, yet quickly, too, in Ireland. For more than half a century, the great majority of the Irish people had been calling out in vain for a change in the system of administering their local affairs. Within my own time in Parliament—that is, during the last thirteen or fourteen years—efforts were annually made, up to last year, to alter that system even in part; but they all failed; and it is safe to say that, twelve months ago, no one in Ireland expected a different result, in respect of this matter, in the near future. Since then, however, not merely a change, but a complete revolution has been virtually accomplished in the Irish system of local government. By the time these lines are published the royal assent will, in all probability, have been given to an act which will take the administration of most Irish affairs of a local character out of the hands of a class, and place them for the first time in modern history in the hands of the people.

It would be an error to suppose that this Unionist measure of local government for Ireland is in any degree a satisfaction of the Irish National demand for legislative independence. It is not Home Rule. Home Rule means a National Parliament and a National Executive for all affairs distinctively Irish. Local self-government merely means the administration by the Irish people, through elected local bodies, of the laws passed by the British Parliament for the management of Irish local affairs. The Government offer it, avowedly, indeed, as a rival to and a substitute for Home Rule; Ireland, on the other hand, receives it merely as an installment of justice, and warns its authors that it can never satisfy the aspirations of the Irish Nation after National liberty. Yet, it may well be doubted whether the Irish minority at whose

powers and privileges it strikes a final and fatal blow would not be well advised if they, at last, acted on the assumption that there is now scarcely anything left to them for the sake of which they ought to continue to oppose Home Rule.

A quarter of a century ago, the establishment of the system of secret voting at Parliamentary elections marked the commencement of the decline of the political power of the Irish aristocracy and gentry, who mainly constitute the minority in three and a half of the four provinces of Ireland. In 1884 that power was extinguished by the establishment of household suffrage, by which the occupier of the poorest cabin was placed, in the matter of a vote, on an equality with the owner of the richest mansion. The various Land Acts have stripped them of the right of capricious eviction and of raising rents at will, which they had so long exercised without mercy. There remained to them the management of county affairs, and this privilege is now about to pass out of their grasp, with the result that the new possessors of power can, if they please, keep them ostracised for all time from all share in the transaction of business which has been in their control ever since the English upset the Irish tribal system and introduced English law into Ireland.

To understand the extent of the change which is now determined on, and which will be in working order throughout Ireland in less than a year, it is necessary first to describe the system of Irish Local Government which is about to pass away forever. Broadly speaking, that system consisted of three parts, viz.: the Grand Jury, the Poor Law Boards, and various forms of Municipal Government in towns and cities. Let me deal with each in turn as briefly as possible.

The Grand Jury was about the most anomalous and indefensible institution which can be conceived. It consisted, usually, of a couple of dozen persons chosen from a larger number selected by the High Sheriff for the county or the city, as the case might be, the High Sheriff himself being the nominee of the Lord Lieutenant, who acted on the recommendation of the Superior Court Judges, who, in their turn, always recommended some leading landlord and magistrate. The only limit to the Sheriff's freedom of choice was the obligation to summon to the Grand Jury a representative of each division of the area over which he presided; that requirement fulfilled—and he could and did fulfill it often by

summoning persons who to his knowledge could not or would not attend—he could make up his jury as he liked; and, in fact, the Grand Jury in every Irish county, down even to the present year, has always consisted almost entirely of members of the landlord class, and mainly of Protestants also. To bodies thus constituted was entrusted the control of all public roads and other public works of the county, the contracts therefor, the management of the prisons, the care of the public buildings, the power to contribute to infirmaries, lunatic asylums and fever hospitals, the appointment of all the paid officials of the county, and the right to levy a tax called the county cess, which, of late years, has produced considerably more than a million pounds sterling annually. Associated with the Grand Juries were smaller bodies, the members of which met at "Presentment Sessions" once or twice a year to initiate county works. Those bodies also were non-elective, and represented mainly the landlords and magistrates of the respective counties.

In the old days, these Grand Juries became—not unnaturally—not merely nests of jobbery and corruption, but an agency of social and political oppression. They devised sinecures for the friends and relatives of their constituent members. They spent the public money on roads and bridges for their own private convenience and advantage. Accepted by the Government as the mouthpieces of public opinion in Ireland, they seized every possible opportunity to bring down coercion on the masses of the people, who periodically showed, not merely by words but by deeds, their discontent with the Grand Jury system and the working of the land laws. For many years past, indeed, the Grand Juries have not been open to all those charges. They have not, as a rule, been the corrupt jobbers they were forty or fifty years ago. Their administration of the business entrusted to them has been fairly honest and efficient. But in their constitution they have, on the whole, continued to be what they were; they have, broadly speaking, confined the appointments in their gift to hangers-on of their own class, and they have continued to show a bitter anti-Irish spirit.

When the Irish Poor Law system was established, it was no longer felt to be possible to create another set of public institutions, supported by the taxes of the people, on a purely non-elective and non-representative basis. But the Eng-

lish rulers of Ireland at that time had neither the courage, nor the justice, nor the wisdom, to abandon the old policy of hatred and distrust of the Irish people. They went only a little way in practically recognizing the representative principle in the constitution of the bodies appointed to give relief to the destitute poor. They gave votes, indeed, for members of the Poor Law Boards to every rate-payer; but they took care that the landlords should be at the same time predominant in those bodies, and this end they secured by two devices. First, the multiple vote was introduced, whereby a landlord might in some conceivable cases have as many as thirty-six votes, while the average tenant could have no more than one. In the second place, it was boldly decided that a full half of every Board should consist of magistrates as *ex-officio* members. Yet the Boards of Poor Law Guardians have in the course of time become more or less popular bodies, and, besides their original function of dispensing relief out of the rates to the destitute poor, have been invested with the management of so many other matters in recent years that their title is now really a misnomer. They are, for instance, the sanitary authorities in all rural and in some urban districts; they have to do with the registration of births, deaths, and marriages, and—not to go through the whole list of their powers and duties—they have had the administration of the Laborers' Acts, under which a good deal has been done, since the year 1883, to improve the homes of agricultural laborers.

It remains to notice the system of Government in the towns and cities. In this case there has been some degree of reality in the phrase, "local self-government"—at least, for the last forty or fifty years. Down to 1840 there was no really representative system of government in any Irish town or city. The corporations, in the few places which possessed corporations, were representative only of a small minority professing the Protestant religion, although in almost every one of those places the overwhelming majority of the citizens were Catholics; and right gaily did the men in possession of power plunder and squander the municipal revenues. In Dublin, for instance, the city possessed a splendid freehold estate, which might now produce such a revenue as would suffice to meet at least half the city expenditure, but that estate was given away, sometimes in after-dinner orgies, to distinguished personages for barleycorns a year, the private

considerations, of course, to the corrupt corporators not appearing in the deeds. In this way certain families have been in possession of whole streets of houses in Dublin for generations, and it is only of recent years that their long leases have begun to fall in and that the city has begun to get hold of its own again. In 1840, when the first great Municipal Reform Act was passed, the state of the Dublin City finances was such that Daniel O'Connell, the first Catholic Lord Mayor, and the other Catholic corporators, elected in that year, had to put their hands into their own pockets, and with their own money redeem the very furniture of the Dublin Mansion House, which had been seized by the Sheriff for debt. Since the year mentioned the corporations have been more or less representative, and since 1854 the smaller towns in Ireland have been allowed the right to possess municipal institutions of a less important, but still representative, character. In respect, however, of both the corporations of the cities and of the town boards of the smaller civic communities, the franchise for municipal purposes has been ridiculously restricted. In Dublin, the population exceeds 300,000; the Parliamentary electorate is upwards of 40,000; but the municipal electorate amounts to only about 8,000 or 9,000; and the same story is true of all the other municipalities, except a few which, like Belfast, have by special acts of Parliament obtained extensions of the suffrage peculiar to themselves.

Here, then, was a state of things which, assuredly, required mending, and, as I have said, innumerable efforts to mend it had been made up to last year with no result. Last summer, however, the reform now virtually accomplished was announced to the House of Commons one afternoon by Mr. Arthur Balfour, without anyone having asked for it and without any warning whatever.

The chief features of the measure may be briefly described.

In the first place, the ground is cleared by absolutely sweeping away the Grand Juries for fiscal purposes. Those bodies are still retained for their original purpose—that, namely, of dealing with indictments. Whether they will long continue even for that purpose remains to be seen, for the gentry will hardly care to give themselves the trouble of assembling together twice every year to determine whether or not they will send a few prisoners forward for trial by a judge and petty jury. The probability is that they will not do so, and that in a few years' time the Grand Juries

will be relieved of their criminal business also, and will thus cease to exist for all purposes. With them go the Boards of Guardians as they are at present constituted. Bodies will still continue to exist under that name, but they will be no longer constituted as they are now. The only existing Local Government institutions which are left untouched are the City Corporations and the Town Boards. It may be said at once that this work of demolition was the one necessary preliminary to any really satisfactory scheme of Irish Local Government reform. Any attempt to patch up the Grand Juries, for instance, or to rear a new edifice of local administration on such a foundation, would have inevitably ended in failure. Nor would any attempt to reconstruct the Boards of Guardians have been in the least successful if the *ex-officio* element had been left in existence. The Government were, therefore, wise in laying the axe to the very roots of the old system of local administration.

In the place of the Grand Juries and the Boards of Guardians there has been set up a rather complicated system of County Councils and District Councils, these latter being sub-divided into two classes—Urban District Councils and Rural District Councils; and at this point one provision applicable to all those bodies, and also to every Corporation and Town Board in the country, may be conveniently mentioned. It is that which enacts that the electorate in each case shall be the Parliamentary electorate, in addition to peers and to such women as would, if they were men, be qualified for the Parliamentary franchise. Here is manifestly a great reform in itself. For, what is the Parliamentary electorate? If the registration system did not throw obstacles in the way, it would embrace, broadly speaking, every head of a household in the land, in addition to other classes of persons; and even as it is, it actually does contain the greater number of the householders in town and country. The objection has been made that a large number of those electors will thus have the power of saying who shall spend the public rates and, to some extent, how those rates shall be spent, and may even be elected to spend them, although they need not pay rates themselves at all. The allusion is to lodgers and the occupiers of tenement houses in towns; and it is, no doubt, true that those and one or two other smaller classes of voters are not directly responsible for the payment of rates. But everyone who pays rent may be said to pay rates also.

If he does not pay them directly, he pays them indirectly. At any rate, all will now vote, whether they pay rates or not, and every one will have only one vote. The change is a vast one, in view of the narrow foundation on which even the most popular Irish local institutions have hitherto rested. It means the transfer of power from a class to the people. It means the ousting of what used to be the English garrison in Ireland from what it had come to regard as its inalienable heritage. It marks the entry of the Irish Nation, after ages of weary waiting, into at least a considerable portion of its birthright.

To the County Councils, which will thus repose on a thoroughly popular basis, and one of which will be established in every county, will be entrusted all the fiscal business of the Grand Juries, with one exception. The excepted business is that of assessing compensation for malicious injuries. Here a few words of explanation are, perhaps, necessary. One of the laws peculiar to Ireland is that under which, when an outrage is perpetrated on a human being or on certain sorts of property, the whole community in the midst of which it occurs may be mulcted in a fine. It is a barbarous relic of a barbarous past, and in the hands of the Grand Juries it has been made, from time to time, an instrument of gross and vindictive injustice. No one expected that the present Government would take occasion of this reform to repeal that law; and very few, indeed, expected that they would transfer the administration of it to the new elective bodies. But it was equally impossible, under the circumstances, to leave it to the Grand Juries, and what has been done is to entrust it to the County Courts with a right of appeal to the judges on circuit at Assizes. Whether this particular change will work satisfactorily remains to be seen. In addition to the fiscal business of the Grand Juries (with the single exception mentioned) the County Councils will also have the control of the lunatic asylums; a participation in the control of other public bodies, such as Boards of Inland Navigation and County Infirmaries, to the cost of which they contribute; the power of making, assessing, and levying all rates within rural areas and of dispensing the proceeds; the conduct of the preparation of the voters' lists; and other less important rights and duties which it would be too tedious to set forth in full detail. It may be added that the County Councils will each consist of, on the average, about forty members returned

by single-membered constituencies; they must meet at least four times a year, but, of course, may meet as much oftener as they like, or delegate their work to committees, whose acts, however, to be valid, must receive their sanction; they will be elected triennially, all the members being chosen together; and the Chairman will be a Justice of the Peace for the County—the first instance, by the way, of a person in Ireland owing his position as a Justice to popular election.

The area over which the County Councils will have jurisdiction for certain purposes is sub-divided for the purposes of the Rural District Councils and—where the conditions for them exist—of Urban District Councils. The latter will be constituted only where there are towns of over 6,000 population, unless towns of a smaller population, but above 1,500, petition with practical unanimity to be constituted urban districts. Except in the latter event, many counties in Ireland will have no Urban District Councils, and in those counties, accordingly, the County Councils and the Rural District Councils will divide between them the administration of local affairs. The electoral districts will be the same in all cases as those for the County Councils, and the elections, as in the case also of the elections for the County Councils, will be triennial, all the members being elected together.

The Urban District Councils, where they exist, will be almost as important in respect of the business entrusted to them as the County Councils themselves. They will have, within the area of their jurisdiction, some of the Grand Jury business which the County Councils will possess in the rural districts—such, for instance, as the management of the roads and other public works, and the collection and expenditure of their own rates; and they will, besides, have the business of the Boards of Poor Law Guardians as "sanitary authorities"—a multifarious collection of duties, the due discharge of which embraces, in many cases, the provision of an adequate water supply for a large civic community as well as that of a proper system of sewerage. Except, in fact, in the matter of business affecting the whole county, including the urban area, the Urban District Councils will be of equal importance with the County Councils, and will, perhaps, have even more to do than the latter. They will, of course, from the nature of the case, meet oftener and, by reason of that fact, attract greater attention.

The Rural District Councils, as such, will have all the business of the Boards of Poor Law Guardians except that of dispensing relief to the destitute poor and that of assessing and raising the poor's rate; and they will have the former part of this latter business also when they sit, not as Rural District Councils, but as Boards of Guardians. From what I have said as to the constitution of the present Boards of Guardians it will be easily understood that the establishment of these Rural District Councils, elected entirely, as they will be, by the Parliamentary electorate, will mean in practical effect a radical change. The exclusion of the *ex-officio* element from all power in the administration of the business of the Poor Law Boards is in itself a serious change. For the history of the action of this *ex-officio* element in Irish Boards of Guardians is the history of one of the greatest scandals of the time. Appointed because they were supposed to be persons who could always be relied upon to do what was right—or, at least, what was right in the eyes of the Government—the *ex-officio* members of the Boards of Guardians habitually neglected their duties and attended the meetings of the bodies to which they belonged only when a job was to be perpetrated; and hence it has come to pass that the overwhelming majority of the Poor Law Guardians in regular attendance at the meetings of their respective Boards, have in only a few cases been able to determine, for instance, who should occupy a paid office in the Guardians' service. All this, of course, will now come to an end, and only persons elected by the votes of the householders of the country will have anything to do with any part of the Guardians' business.

I now come to the provisions in the new Irish Local Government scheme regarding the cities and towns of Ireland. In mentioning that the franchise has been extended in these municipalities, I have indicated the greatest change made in the case of these municipalities. Doubtless, the results of the extension of the suffrage will not, generally speaking, have a material effect on the political situation in any place. Nationalists and Orangemen are in such an overwhelming majority in their respective districts that it does not really matter to either party, as a party, whether the suffrage is extended or not. But, otherwise, the result cannot but be important. It will give the workingmen, for instance, in the cities and towns, a power which they have never hitherto possessed in the selection of their municipal representatives. But

there is another point of importance. In accordance with the scheme adopted in England and Scotland, certain large civic communities—namely, Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Derry, and Waterford—have been constituted "county boroughs," and their governing bodies, without a change of name, have been made County Councils for their respective areas. By this means the six cities mentioned have been made practically self-governing in respect of all local affairs, except the distribution of relief to the destitute poor, which they will share in conjunction with the adjoining rural districts. But it will be very different with the other cities and towns which have hitherto ruled themselves by means of Corporations or Town Boards. These latter will, if they qualify as the urban districts for Urban District Councils, have the powers and advantages of urban districts which I have already described; but, as to all other matters, they will be merged in the counties to which they respectively belong; and how all this will affect some of them, at least, may be imagined from one example. Take the case of Galway. Here is a very ancient and historic town. Two hundred years ago it had a commercial connection with Spain which rendered it one of the most important commercial centres of Western Europe, and has left its impress on the place to the present day. In 1840 it was deprived of its Mayor and Corporation, but it still retains its separate existence as "a county of a city," with the attendant accompaniments of a Sheriff of its own, a city magistracy, and other incidents of a similar kind. Galway will now lose its position as "a county of a city," and, with it, all the other distinctive marks of a separate civic community which it has possessed for hundreds of years. The circumstance will not mean much pecuniary loss for Galway; but one can easily understand how it will otherwise affect it adversely. The case of Galway is that of at least ten or twelve other towns and cities.

Such, then, in broad outline, is the new scheme of local government reform for Ireland; and, no doubt, the reader will have already grasped its chief feature. It does not enlarge the scope of the powers of local authorities in Ireland except in a few unimportant particulars. What it mainly does is to transfer that power as it exists from local bodies, which were either not representative at all or were so little representative as to be practically non-representative, to bodies elected on a popular franchise.

It has been pointed out that this measure of local government

reform is not Home Rule. So much must be evident from the explanation given of its principal details. It deals, in the first place, with the question of administration, and not with the subject of law-making; in the second place, the matters of administration with which it is concerned are all of a strictly local, not of a national, character. But it remains to be pointed out that it does not amount even to the local self-government which one of its chief authors has for years been recommending for Ireland and without which, he used to contend, Ireland ought not to be content. Mr. Chamberlain, in the days when he was supposed to be a Home Ruler, denounced the system under which an Irishman "could not stir a foot, nor lift a finger, without being confronted, interfered with, controlled by alien boards of foreign officials," and advocated the substitution for that system of "a system of genuine Irish administration of Irish affairs." So far as the present local government scheme goes, it unquestionably tends in that direction; but every one of "the alien boards of foreign officials" of which Mr. Chamberlain spoke will continue to exist and will exercise every one of its old powers of control concurrently with the establishment of the new elective local bodies. In some respects, indeed, one of those central boards—the Local Government Board—will have, under the new scheme, if anything, a greater power of control than it has ever hitherto possessed. The new scheme, therefore, does not mean even what may be called Chamberlain Home Rule. But, in truth, Mr. Chamberlain cannot very well have known very much of his subject when he advocated the abolition of the central boards referred to and the replacing of them by representative Irish boards, if he thought that he could carry out such a programme without taking a pretty considerable step in the direction of real Home Rule. To make the additional change which he contemplated would be to go a long way towards setting up an Irish National Executive, and to have an Irish National Executive dependent on a foreign Parliament would be both an absurdity and an impossibility. The next inevitable step would be to set up an Irish Legislature.

A word or two now about the financial provisions of the new system of Irish local government. The grant of a sum of between £700,000 and £800,000 to be appropriated to the payment of half the local rates in the agricultural districts of Ireland, is to be disposed of by paying the landlords' half of "the poor rate" and half

of "the county cess" for the tenant—the poor rate and the county cess being the two chief rates levied in Ireland and the only rates levied in the agricultural districts. As the poor rate is the only one to which landlords are liable, that class, therefore, will be entirely free from local rates for the future. It is on this ground that the Government and the Unionist party justify their change of attitude on this whole question of Irish local self-government, and even propose a measure dealing with that subject which goes beyond anything to which they have been hitherto willing to agree. But one notable change in the incidence of rating follows. Henceforth, not only the whole of the existing local rates will be borne by the occupiers or tenants and none of them by the landlords, but all future rates also will be borne by the occupiers or tenants, for there is an express provision to that effect in the Government measure. Now, this liberation of the landlords, as such, from all local burdens, may seem to some advocates of the interests of the tenants to be unjust. Personally, I do not think that it is a matter of much practical consequence. In the first place, in the case of agricultural tenancies, in respect of which rents may be fixed by the courts under the Land Acts, a higher rent has always hitherto been allowed to the landlords than they would have got if they had paid none of the local rates, and in other cases the landlords have always taken care to exact in rent what they paid in rates. In the second place, as regards existing rents, express provision is made for an adjustment of rent to meet the change in the incidence of rating. In other words, although the proposal of the Government is a novel one, and at first sight favorable to the landlords, in practical effect it will scarcely make any change at all.

As to what will be its consequences, much might be written. If it works well—that is to say, if the Nationalist majority, who will have a majority everywhere outside two or three counties in Ulster, do not utterly boycott the minority from the new bodies, but allow them to have a fair representation upon them; and, if the new boards administer well and honestly the business entrusted to them—at least half of the whole case against Home Rule in the larger and proper sense will have disappeared. It will be no longer possible to allege that the Irish people are unfit to govern themselves or manage their own affairs; at least, it will be rather difficult to get many persons to believe such an allega-

tion. On the other hand, of course, if the reverse takes place in the actual working of the new system, one may expect to hear more frequently than ever the old cry that the Irish Nation is incapable of managing its own business justly or wisely, though even under such circumstances it might and, indeed, would have no justification. This being so, it is to be hoped that the electorate, and the bodies which it will call into existence by its votes, will remember the responsibilities cast upon them and act accordingly; and there is, I may add, a fair prospect that this hope will be realized. But a more important point remains to be noticed. It is that it will be impossible long to maintain a system under which bodies elected on a household franchise to administer local affairs are controlled by other bodies responsible only to a British Ministry. The thing will be an anomaly from the start, and after a while will seem, as well as be, intolerable. But only one remedy for such a state of things can be found. It is Home Rule—the very thing which this concession of local self-government was intended to avert; and it is a conviction that such is the case, which has already led some English, as well as Irish, opponents of Home Rule seriously to reconsider their whole position on that question.

J. J. CLANCY.

LEPROSY AND THE HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION.

BY BURNSIDE FOSTER, M. D.

Now that the annexation of Hawaii has become history and Hawaii has become a territory of the United States, among the many important problems with which we are confronted, by no means the least difficult is the leprosy question. It is a fact well known to medical science that a race hitherto free from a certain specific infection, when once infected, presents an ideal soil for the development of that disease. The history of smallpox, measles and leprosy, as well as other diseases, demonstrates that fact. Up to 1849, leprosy had been unknown in the Sandwich Islands. In that year, according to tradition, there landed in Hawaii two Chinese sailors, both lepers. In a few years the disease had spread with a rapidity hitherto unknown, until to-day it has been estimated that nearly 10 per cent. of the Hawaiian natives are lepers, and many thousands have died of the disease during the last fifty years.

During the last twenty-five years the attention of many able and painstaking scientific men has been directed to the study of leprosy in Hawaii, but in spite of their efforts the disease continues to spread; and, unless checked, it undoubtedly threatens the ultimate extinction of the race. The responsibility of this matter has now been assumed by the United States, and as we already have undertaken to free Cuba from the curse of Spanish rule, so must we undertake the far more difficult task of freeing Hawaii from the curse of leprosy.

Of all human maladies, leprosy is believed to be the most ancient. We find from a medical papyrus discovered in Memphis an account of this disease as having existed in Egypt at least 4,000 years before Christ, and there is also documentary evidence that it

was known in India and China from the most remote antiquity. During the Middle Ages it was very generally diffused throughout Europe, and was prevalent during the twelfth century to an extent far greater than ever known either before or since. There were at that time nearly 2,000 leper hospitals or "Lazar houses" in Europe. It seemed to decline gradually during the next two or three centuries, and by the end of the seventeenth century it had become a very rare disease. During the present century there has been a decided increase in the prevalence of this disease in various parts of the world, and a considerable number of cases have been imported from Europe into this country.

Clinically, two varieties of the disease are recognized—the tuberous or tubercular, where the lesions are chiefly confined to the skin and mucous membranes, and the anæsthetic form, where the lesions are chiefly confined to the peripheral nerves. Very frequently the two forms are combined, and we have the mixed type of leprosy. Although there probably is from the nature of the disease an initial lesion of leprosy, it has only been possible to determine this in a few isolated cases. The bacillus probably gains entrance through some slight abrasion of the skin or mucous membrane, and its immediate action is so slight as to pass unnoticed. The period of incubation varies from a few weeks to many years.

In forming an opinion from ancient medical literature concerning the prevalence of leprosy, it must be constantly borne in mind that many other diseases were confounded with it, and that lupus, psoriasis, elephantiasis, morphœa, vitiligo and other affections of the skin were, probably for a long time, all considered to be leprosy.

The earliest visible symptoms of tuberous leprosy consist of irregular brownish or mahogany colored spots, appearing usually at first on the face, over the eyebrows and on the cheeks. At first these spots are not infiltrated, but later they become nodular and form the characteristic "tubers;" these pigmented infiltrations of the skin soon appear upon the arms, around the wrists, on the back of the hands and about the feet and ankles. The hair usually falls wherever the skin is affected. These spots and tubers are often anæsthetic. The disease thus slowly progresses, the exposed parts of the body being chiefly affected. Often the bodily health is but little interfered with, the chief complaints being of

general debility and drowsiness, and of some itching of the skin and various neuralgic pains. The tubers may soften and break, producing indolent ulcers; or they may soften without breaking, and be gradually absorbed and disappear. Early in the disease, the mucous membrane of the mouth, throat and nose becomes similarly affected; and when the disease reaches the larynx it produces a peculiar and characteristic alteration of the voice, as well as obstructive symptoms. Some of the infiltrated swellings, both on the skin and mucous membranes, are slow and chronic in their development, while others appear acutely with inflammatory symptoms. These latter often undergo a sort of resolution and disappear, leaving pigmented spots. The more slowly developing ones remain and often reach a large size and become confluent. Occasionally, as the result of some acute intercurrent disease, all the tumors disappear for a time and afterward return. Late in the disease, when many of the tumors have begun to break down and ulcerate, and when there is evidence that some of the internal organs are affected, the patient becomes cachectic, and there is often a daily fever of intermittent character. In places where bone and cartilage lie near the skin, these tissues are commonly affected, and peculiar deformities result. The disease almost invariably ends fatally, but the end may not come for many years.

The earlier symptoms of anæsthetic leprosy consist of localized areas of cutaneous anæsthesia, with or without alterations of pigment. The spots that appear are irregular brownish or bluish flat patches, which develop slowly and spread at the edges, coalescing with other spots and often forming large, irregular patches. The color of these patches usually fades in the centre and persists around the edges. A favorite seat of the peculiar eruption of this form of leprosy is the back. The diminished sensibility of the skin and the localized interference with its nutrition render it susceptible to injury from the slightest cause; and from the rupture of a small blister or from slight exposure to either heat or cold, extensive and very destructive ulcerative processes may result. In this manner, connective tissue, muscle and even bone may be destroyed, and it is thus that the spontaneous amputations so common in this form of leprosy occur. Muscular wasting is a common symptom, beginning usually in the hand and gradually extending to the muscles of the arm. Motor as well as sensory paralysis occurs, and one true motor nerve, the

facial, is almost always attacked. Most of the muscles of expression are later paralyzed. Later, the leprous process extends to the larger nerve trunks, the ulnar, radial and median especially. At the elbow, the ulnar nerve can be plainly felt as a tense, swollen cord, rolling beneath the finger.

The progress of this form of leprosy, like that of the tuberous form, is very slow, and the symptoms vary according to the localization of the disease. Occasionally, there is a spontaneous cessation of the disease and the visible symptoms may disappear entirely, leaving only the deformities which have been produced by the ulcerations and destructive processes. Many patients live to an advanced age or die of some intervening acute disease. More usually, however, they develop a cachectic condition, associated with disease of the internal organs, and, after a long period of progressive emaciation, die of exhaustion.

Concerning the etiology of leprosy, much has been written but little has been accurately determined. Since Hansen discovered the *lepra bacillus* in 1874, our knowledge of the real cause of leprosy has advanced but little. It is established that the bacillus is always found in the leprous tumors, and it seems only natural to believe that it constitutes the "*contagium vivum;*" but all attempts to inoculate the disease, with perhaps a single exception, either upon human beings or animals, have failed; nor has it been possible to cultivate the bacillus outside of the body.

That leprosy is a contagious disease is unanimously admitted by the best authorities; but the exact manner of its contagion is certainly difficult to understand. There are many examples of persons living for years in the most intimate family relations with lepers and remaining uninfected. And often but one member of the family will acquire the disease. On the other hand, the history of the disease, in different parts of the world, shows that it never originates spontaneously, but that its origin can always be traced to human importation. There are also a very large number of recorded cases where leprosy has resulted from a single contact of an abraded surface with some lesion or secretion of an infected individual. These apparently contradictory facts must be explained on the theory that some peculiar, inherent predisposition, which exists only in a limited number of individuals, is necessary for the development of this strange disease. There is no reason to believe that leprosy is an hereditary disease. No instance of

congenital leprosy has ever been reported, and, although a very considerable number of lepers have emigrated from Scandinavian countries to the Northwestern States of this country, many of whom have married, no leprosy has developed among their children or remote descendants. Climate, social conditions and personal habits, doubtless, are important etiological factors, but only when the infection is present. The *lepra bacillus* probably gains entrance into the system through some abrasion of a mucous membrane, as the nose or throat, or of the skin. If the individual presents a suitable soil for its development, the disease, after a long period of incubation, manifests itself first at the point of entrance.

Such being the nature of this horrible disease, which afflicts probably not less than 6,000 of the inhabitants of the new territory which we have just acquired, what are we going to do about it? The first thing which is emphasized, to the writer's mind, is the necessity of adding another department to the machinery of our Government; a department of public health, with a minister in the President's Cabinet. For some years, the medical profession of this country has insisted upon the necessity of this step, and the present emergency is but another of the many arguments in its favor. The next appropriate step would seem to be the appointment of a leprosy commission to investigate the subject on the spot; to make, so far as possible, an accurate census of the lepers of Hawaii, and to see that all infected persons are completely segregated. There is already a leper colony at Molokai* where between fourteen hundred and fifteen hundred lepers are restrained; but there are probably three times that number at large among the islands, and the extinction of the disease can only be accomplished by completely isolating every infected individual. Another important function of the Government lies in the education of the people who are likely to be brought into contact with lepers, in regard to the dangers of infection and the precautions necessary to be taken. Soldiers temporarily garrisoned at Hawaii, clerks, Government and other employees in their social, domestic and other intimate relations with the natives, will all be liable to exposure to this infection; a danger, to be sure, which intelligent precautions will render slight, but which certainly

* For an excellent account of the Leper Colony at Molokai, see an article by Dr. Prince A. Morrow in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for November, 1897

should not be lost sight of. It must be remembered that the contagion of leprosy is not in the air, and that proximity alone is probably not dangerous; nor is the mere touching of a leper, ordinarily, sufficient to convey the disease. The *lepra bacillus* resides in the blood, in the secretions and certain of the tissues of the infected person, and it is necessary for the bacillus to gain entrance through some abraded surface to produce the disease. It will, therefore, be readily understood that a person may reside for years in a colony of lepers without contracting the disease, if he understands the precautions necessary to avoid the dangers of contagion. The laws at present in force in Hawaii authorize the segregation by the health authorities of all known lepers, and it seems probable that the laws are strictly enforced, although it is known that for various reasons many lepers escape detection. The number of those with pronounced leprosy who remain at large is probably small, but there are undoubtedly several thousand individuals who have already become infected, but in whom the disease has not yet developed symptoms which enable it to be recognized. It is among such cases that the great danger of disseminating the disease lies.

Among the early results of annexation will undoubtedly be a largely increased immigration to as well as emigration from the islands. Many of those who either know or suspect that they have the disease will undoubtedly attempt to escape to this country, while those from this country who settle in Hawaii will be thrown into more or less intimate relations with the already infected but unrecognized lepers. The extinction of leprosy in Hawaii can only be effected by complete segregation, which cannot be accomplished until our methods of making an early diagnosis of the disease are more accurate than at present.

It would certainly seem worth while for the United States to take this question immediately in hand, and to appoint a commission of bacteriologists properly equipped and with every facility for the study of the leprosy problem. England has gained the eternal gratitude of humanity for her Jenner and her Lister, France for her Pasteur, Germany for her Robert Koch. Shall not America, which has already given to the world the priceless blessing of anæsthesia, gain further glory by striking leprosy from the calendar of human afflictions?

BURNSIDE FOSTER.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN *VERSUS* A EUROPEAN COMBINATION.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART., G. C. S. I.

I PROPOSE to present the leading facts relative to the strength of an Anglo-American combination as compared with a European combination. To present fully the facts, mainly statistical, bearing on such a mighty subject as this in two hemispheres, would require more space than could be afforded in this REVIEW. But some summary of them may be comprised in the space of an article like the present. I have heard American friends say that an Anglo-American combination would be equal, even superior, in strength to any other combination of nations and powers that could be imagined. British people, perhaps, would not be quite so sanguine as that. Still, those Britons who may be of an imperial and specially patriotic disposition believe in their hearts that such must be the case. This belief, however, would rest not so much on statistical facts as on a confidence in the qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race on both sides of the Atlantic. It may be well, however, to consider briefly how the leading facts would be found to stand.

I must, however, at the outset specify the terms of the supposed combinations. On the one side, of course, there is no doubt. The United States with their belongings, the British Empire with its belongings, constitute two very intelligible units. On the other side would be a European combination of, at least, three great Powers, France, Germany, Russia—three units also very intelligible. Other countries might be added, but the addition of them would confuse. If Austria were added on the European side, then Italy would have to be added on the British side. Some complication, too, would arise in the estimate if the lesser coun-

tries of Europe were added. So I propose to confine the comparison to the great practical question: What would be the combined national strength of France, Germany and Russia, in comparison with the combined strength of the United States and the British Empire? This comparison will be made without a hostile thought against any one of these three European Powers. For, although Britain is threatened sometimes with a combination of France and Russia, she is on very good terms with Germany, and she tries to keep the Germans aloof from any anti-British Russian combination. But we may well estimate what our combined Anglo-American strength really is relatively to the rest of the world, while praying to Providence that we may ever be spared the necessity of making a trial of such strength. And though my American readers must be prepared to find a formidable array of figures on the other side, yet they will see a brave show of similar facts and figures on our side. Distance and areas will be expressed in English miles and English square miles.

It is to be remembered that on many points the figures are approximate only, inasmuch as they could not be rendered quite complete without a considerable discussion.

The first and greatest factor in such a comparison is that of population. In that, again, a principal element is that of white people as compared with colored. Now, for the European combination, the population of France may be set down approximately at 39 millions; that of Germany, or the German Empire, at 53 millions; that of Russia (in Europe and Asia) at 130 millions, of whom 110 millions are white and the rest are colored, with a grand total of 221 millions of white people for the most part—truly a tremendous figure. The Asiatic, African and colored people may be taken at 53 millions for France, 11 millions for Germany, or 64 millions in all. The summary then would be for the three Powers 221 millions, mostly white, 64 millions colored; in all 285 millions. What, then, would the Anglo-American combination have to present in competition with this? In the first place, the population of the United States may be set down at 70 millions, mainly white. The population of the United Kingdom may be taken at 40 millions, that of the self-governing colonies at 15 millions, entirely white, or 55 millions in all. The total, then, would amount to 125 millions, mostly white, on our side, being considerably less than that of the European side. On the other

hand, the British Empire has an enormous total of colored people, not less than 350 millions, in all parts of the world, of whom about 290 millions belong to India. There is nothing like this to be shown on the European side. And, although the colored millions are in no wise comparable in power to white millions, still from the positions they occupy, the trade they produce, the wealth they contribute, the soldiers they could furnish—they constitute an element of strength to our side, or our combination. Our grand total, then, would amount to 475 millions, more than one-third of the population of the globe. Thus, it will be for the discriminating reader to judge which of the two combinations has the best of it in respect of population-statistics.

But the comparison does not end here. For the Anglo-American population has far greater room for growth than the European. France and Germany can hardly contain more people than they have now. The Russian people may yet further increase, for Russia is not densely peopled. So much is this the case that many suppose the Sclavonic people to be the coming race in the future of the world. Such a forecast, however, can hardly be maintained in the presence of the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-American race. The United States could support more than a hundred millions; and Canada might have a score or more of millions. Who shall say how many scores of millions Australia, with the adjacent islands, and South Africa may count hereafter? It may be said that all the regions where white people can multiply are in the possession of the Anglo-American race. Thus the power of expansion augments enormously the status of the Anglo-American population.

Politically, however, the material strength of population depends largely on the situation of its area and on its distribution with reference to the ocean; or, in other words, on the accessibility of its seaboard. The area on both sides is enormous. The French Empire at home and abroad may be taken at $3\frac{3}{4}$ million square miles; similarly, that of the German Empire at $1\frac{1}{4}$ million square miles, and that of Russia at $8\frac{3}{4}$ million square miles; the total for the three mounts up to $13\frac{3}{4}$ millions of square miles. On the other side, the United States, with their belongings, show an area of $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of square miles; while the British Empire, with all its colonies and dependencies, has $11\frac{3}{4}$ millions of square miles; the total for the two being $15\frac{1}{4}$ millions of square miles. Cer-

tainly the amount of desert, or otherwise impracticable land on the other side, is considerable. The French have much of the Great African Desert, and they were understood to be displeased when an English statesman spoke of their acquisition as "light land." So also Siberia, though vastly improvable, contains large tracts as yet unimproved. Something of the same sort must be admitted on our side also. The area of the United States, indeed, barring, perhaps, the zone of territory known as the Rocky Mountains, is more or less excellent. But the British Empire has some impracticable tracts bordering on the Arctic Ocean and a central desert in the Australian Continent. On the whole the Anglo-American combination loses nothing by the comparison of area.

But then comes the all important point of the distribution of population upon area. In other words, what is the length of coast line on the two sides, and what are the harbors? For the exercise of world-wide influence, a population on the sea-coast is worth infinitely more than a population residing inland. This is an axiom ever to be remembered in any estimate of international forces.

Now, the coast line of France is considerable, being about 1,500 miles in length, with three commercial harbors, Havre, Bordeaux with its estuary, and Marseilles—irrespective of naval harbors, to be considered separately. Germany has also about 1,500 miles, but that includes Hamburg, the best and largest harbor on the continent of Europe; also Wilhelmshaven, a commercial as well as a naval station. The Russian lines on the Baltic and the Black Sea may be reckoned at about 2,500 miles, with commercial harbors, such as those near the mouth of the Neva and Odessa, of not more than ordinary importance. There is the navigable part of the Arctic Ocean with Archangel, indeed, some 1,500 miles; but it is of no use reckoning the frozen coast of Siberia; and at the eastern end, on the Pacific, the harbors are so defective that Russia felt herself obliged to seek a port in Chinese waters. Further, both France and Germany have coast lines in Asia and Africa. The German coast line in Africa and elsewhere may be about 1,500 miles in length. The French coast in Western Africa, from Tunis southward, may be taken at about 3,500 miles, without any important harbor; in Southeastern Asia, called Indo-China, about 1,500 miles, with two commercial positions of first-rate capabilities, but as yet imperfectly developed—namely,

Saigon (in the delta of the Mekhong) and Tonkin. There is also the large island of Madagascar, with a coast line of 2,500 miles.

On the whole, the total coast line of the European combination as indicated above would hardly exceed 17,000 miles, with only one harbor of the very first rank—namely, Hamburg. In this combination, the population in Russia is mainly inland, very far inland, too. More than half the population of Germany and of France is far inland also; and, with both nations, the coast probably plays but a secondary part in the national life.

Let us compare all this with the coast lines and harbors of an Anglo-American combination. Here will be found the very strongest point in the comparison for our side. The United States have 3,000 miles on the Atlantic, with the harbors of Boston, New York, Baltimore and New Orleans, and 2,000 miles on the Pacific, with the harbors of San Francisco and Portland, together with 3,000 miles for Alaska and its islands. A portion of the population is, indeed, inland; but more than half, perhaps nearly two-thirds, is on or within reach of the coast. The United Kingdom, or the British Isles, has a coast line of about 6,000 miles in all, with the harbors of London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast and others. In the British Isles the whole population is either on, or within easy reach of, the coast. The Indian Empire has about 6,500 miles of coast, with the harbors of Calcutta, Bombay, Kurrachi and Rangoon. Borneo, New Guinea and other islands have 6,500 miles. The Australian Continent, with Tasmania and New Zealand, has not less than 16,000 miles of coast, with the harbors of Sydney and Melbourne; the population being mostly near the coast. The British sphere and dominion in Africa has fully 7,000 miles, with the harbors of Capetown, Port Elizabeth, Zanzibar, Lagos and Alexandria. In the Far East, there are two detached harbors of much consequence, namely, Hong Kong and Singapore. On the Atlantic, Canada has 2,500 miles of coast, and on the Pacific 2,000 miles, with the harbor of Vancouver. There are other British possessions in North and South America, with a total coast line of 7,500 miles.

It is, moreover, noteworthy that the Anglo-American coast lines are full of indentations. Political geographers have always observed that such indentations, forming bays and arms of the sea, facilitate intercourse, give shelter to enterprise, and establish commercial power.

Thus on our side there is seen the enormous total of 62,000 miles of coast and 19 first-rate harbors, against 17,000 miles and 5 harbors on the other side. The superiority here shown for the Anglo-American combination is of the highest importance. For undoubtedly here, *here*, is the basis of national resourcefulness and the seat of empire.

On the whole, it may be considered that the Anglo-American population of 125 millions, by reason of its situation, equals in effective power the 221 millions on the European side, as shown above; while the British Empire contributes to the Anglo-American side a colored population vastly exceeding any element of that kind to be found in the European combination.

Much, of course, has been done on both sides for communication by railway from the coast lines far inland. The length of railways in France may be set down at 23,500 miles, of Germany at 29,000 miles, of Russia at 27,000 miles, or 79,500 miles in all. For the Anglo-American combination the mileage would be somewhat as follows: For the United States 182,000 miles—by far the largest mileage shown by any dominion in the world; for the British Isles, 21,000 miles; for India and the colonies, 55,000 miles—a grand total of 258,000 miles. In this respect there is a great advantage on the Anglo-American side.

As regards inland navigation, that has so far been superseded by railways that the statistics need not be given. But manifestly the rivers and canals of France, Germany and Russia, together with the North Russian lakes, are hardly comparable with those of the North American Continent, the North American lakes, the Nile, the Niger, and the Zambesi, in Africa, and the rivers and canals of India and Burma—all on the Anglo-American side.

It is difficult to present a true statement of international trade, owing to the relative value of gold and silver, and to the unavoidable reckoning of the same classes of articles two or three times over. Still, on the face of the statistics, the following results would appear on the two sides, as measured in value by gold or the pound sterling. The total annual trade of the British Empire amounts to 1,200 millions sterling, in value. The annual trade of the United States may be taken at 1,900 millions of dollars, or 400 millions sterling. The total on the Anglo-American side amounts thus to the amazing sum of 1,600 millions annually. On the other side, the trade of the French Empire may be taken

at 450 millions sterling, annually; that of the German Empire at 475 millions; that of Russia at 200 millions, the francs, the marks and the silver roubles being reckoned in gold, the total on their side being thus 1,120 millions; distinctly less than that of the Anglo-American combination.

So with the tonnage of shipping; that may be estimated at ten millions of tons for the British Isles, to which may be added one million for the United States; in all, eleven millions for the Anglo-American side. On the other side, there will be one million tons for France, one and a half millions for Germany, and three-quarters of a million for Russia; in all three and a quarter millions. If to this, say, another half million of tons were added by reason of the efforts being made by Germany to develop her steam navigation, there would still remain a mighty advantage in this respect on the Anglo-American side.

In connection with this subject the number of men engaged in oceanic fishing is an element in national strength. The number of such men in the British Empire can hardly be less than 150,000, and in the United States 170,000; in all 320,000 for the Anglo-American side. In France the number of such men does not seem to exceed 85,000, and that for Germany 15,000; in all 100,000 on the European side.

In so far as the production of the precious metals may be an element in national strength, that is so conclusively to the advantage of the Anglo-American side that statistics need hardly be produced. There are few mines on the European side. The Russian mines can hardly bear comparison with the remains of the mines of Australia, the new mines of South Africa, the mines of the Rocky Mountains.

The production of coal and iron is of manifest importance in a comparison like the present.

On the Anglo-American side the annual output of coal is about 205 millions of tons for the British Empire and about 200 millions for the United States; in all 405 millions of tons. On the European side there appear 30 millions for France, 100 millions for Germany and 8 millions for Russia; in all 138 millions. Again, on the Anglo-American side the raising of iron ore amounts to 15 millions of tons for the British Empire and 10 millions for the United States; in all 25 millions of tons. The corresponding figures on the European side would be 4 millions

for France, 14 millions for Germany and 2 millions for Russia; in all 20 millions of tons.

Manifestly the power of a population partly depends on the extent to which manual strength is supplemented by that of machinery; or, in other words, the amount of mechanical force which is set in motion or directed by human hands. It is difficult to set forth this subject by statistics for either of the two sides. But the strength of the machinery in the British Isles has been reckoned at three millions of horse power, and there must be some considerable amount of the same power in India. The same power in the United States must be as much or more. There can be nothing at all like this on the Continent of Europe.

There is no space for attempting any estimate of the annual income and the accumulated wealth of the two sides, but the roughest of such estimates would show a preponderance on the Anglo-American side. An imperfect idea only could be formed by a consideration of the state receipts or the governmental revenues of the two sides. But it must be remembered that the Anglo-American peoples are, in comparison with their resources, more lightly taxed than the European peoples. Undoubtedly the taxable resources are greater on the Anglo-American than on the European side. The total revenue as above defined has been fully made out for the British Empire, and it stands at 255 millions sterling, annually. That of the United States appears to amount to 355 millions of dollars, Federal, and 270 millions for the various States, or 625 millions of dollars, reckoned at 122 millions sterling. Thus there would be a total of 377 millions sterling, annually on the Anglo-American side. Then on the European side the revenue of France would amount to about 130 millions sterling; that of Germany to 100 millions; that of Russia to 175 millions—in all 405 millions. It would seem accordingly that, although the Anglo-American revenues are mighty indeed, still they are exceeded by the revenues in the European combination. On the other hand, any exact comparison in this respect is hardly to be made. It is difficult to measure by a gold standard in pounds sterling the revenues of foreign countries which are stated in other denominations. In some of the foreign countries receipts like those of State railways are included, which appear but slightly if at all in the Anglo-American returns.

In general terms, in the financial power arising from bank-

ing facilities, from credit in the money market, from accumulation of capital from national savings, the superiority is great on the Anglo-American over the European side. But to set this forth statistically would be beyond the scope of this paper. This undoubted superiority is, however, a decisive element in national strength.

These several considerations, as set forth above, relating to population, area, sea-coast and harbors, railway communication, commerce and shipping, precious metals, mechanical power, industry and production, public revenues, certainly show a superiority on the Anglo-American as compared with the European side—not only under existing circumstances, but still more in the possibility of development. Abatements and reservations might be made by advocates on the European side. But after the utmost allowance had been made for all this, the balance of superiority on our side would be manifest. The dread question would, however, remain: Could this superiority be defended by force of arms?

Now, the numerical superiority of land forces on the European side is too manifest to need any statistical analysis. The peace establishments of the French, German and Russian armies are at least 1,850,000 men and, perhaps, may be two millions, all highly organized. Their possible war establishments might amount to totals from 6 to 8 millions of men. On the other hand, the peace establishment of the British Empire amounts to one million of men—a part of which is equally well, and another part not equally well, organized with the European armies. The possible war establishment of the Empire has never been seriously estimated. The peace establishment of the United States is under 30,000 men, doubtless well organized. Like the British people, the Americans have never reckoned their possible war establishment, but evidently they could, if so minded, raise it to a mighty strength. But neither British nor American leaders will, under the existing circumstances, consider land force as a dominant factor in any world-wide problem. Their thoughts will mainly be turned to sea force. They will anxiously inquire whether the sea force of an Anglo-American combination would or would not compare favorably with that of an European combination. It were needless to stop and show that all the European land forces would be of no avail against an Anglo-American combination, if that combination really possessed the mastery of the sea.

Now, of all statistical calculations which can be presented, the most fallacious are those which relate to naval strength. The mere enumeration of iron clads is little better than futile. The real point relates to the condition and quality of the ships. Last year, 1897, Americans as well as Britons saw the review at Spithead. Surely it was then seen that the display, with four lines of warships all ready for sea—each line five miles long—and representing only the Channel Squadron and the home reserves, was much more than a match for all the forces of the European Powers in northern waters. Yet, at the same moment, apart from all this, there was a British fleet in the Mediterranean more than equal to the French fleet there; similarly, there was a British squadron in Chinese waters superior to the other European squadrons; there were also British squadrons in the Indian Ocean, in the South African waters and in the Pacific. Moreover, there was a special squadron belonging to Australia. The United States too, had a navy, not large in numbers, but, as events have proved, high in efficiency. It was probably equal to the German navy, and was doubtless, in fighting capacity, superior to the Russian navy. Since 1897 European Powers have been building ships, but so has Britain. If a fresh review were held at Spithead now, it would be found that to the four lines of ships a fifth line had been added, the most terrible line of all. The American power for increasing the navy is indefinitely large.

Nevertheless, I give what appear to be the figures for what they may be worth. Last year in a book (named "Sixty Years of the Queen's Reign"), after due inquiry, I stated the British force, including battleships, cruisers, sloops and gunboats, at 350, excluding torpedo craft. To this may be added the American strength in the same categories, of 60 vessels. The Anglo-American total would stand at 410 ships. Similarly, I stated the combined strength of France and Russia in the same categories (excluding torpedo craft), at 327 vessels. To that must be added for Germany 54 ships, making up a total of 381. Numerically, then, though there is, of course, a superiority on the Anglo-American side over the European, the difference apparently is not so very great. Yet we may frankly say that it were idle to suppose that the Russian ships, which have been practised mainly if not entirely in the Baltic and Black Sea, would be fitted to contend with British or American ships that have been practised in the breezy

and wavy Atlantic. This much must be openly said. For the rest, which relates to the quality of the men and the ships in each combination, respectively, both the British and the Americans will forbear to make a comparison, whatever they may think, except that in nautical capacity the Teutonic German sailors must be much the same as the British. For the development and, if necessary, the enlargement of naval force, the Anglo-American side possesses maritime resources so enormous that a statistical analysis would be beyond our scope. Against such resources a European combination has nothing comparable to produce.

In naval operations of any world-wide character, the arrangement of coaling stations is an essential factor. In this respect the British Empire is well provided. Quite a chain of fortified coaling stations is provided by Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Colombo, Trincomalee, Singapore, Wei-Hai-Wei, Thursday Island (New Guinea), St. George's Sound (Western Australia), the Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, Sierra Leone, St. Lucia (West Indies), Halifax, Vancouver. The United States will probably be establishing two or three coaling stations also. Against such array on the Anglo-American side—comprising the best strategic points on the globe —a European combination would have but little to present.

Here, then, I must leave the comparison between the Anglo-American side and the European side. For myself, from these and other facts or considerations, I believe entirely in the superiority, material, physical, naval, of the Anglo-American side. We may pray the Almighty that the necessity for testing force may never arrive. If it did, however, the question would be one of sea force rather than of land force. In any conceivable attempt to invade England, the matter would be one wholly of sea force. In any attempt to invade India or China, the matter would be one of land force primarily in the front, but fundamentally one of sea force. On neither ocean could the American coast be even approached. For Britain, the great advantages would be the keeping open of the Atlantic for her food supply by the co-operation she would have from the eastern side of the United States, and the aid she would receive from the western side of the United States in the protection of their common interests in China and the Far East. For the European combination the question would be how they could maintain their colonial possessions in Africa, or Asia, or Australasia in the face of an Anglo-American combination.

To us who believe in the superior power of the two English speaking nations in comparison with other races taken together, the question may be put whether such a condition is morally and intellectually beneficial to us. I am not concerned, however, here to attempt any answer to such a question, which is wholly a matter of opinion. This article relates not at all to opinion, but only to facts.

I will conclude the Anglo-American case with a metaphor. Britain is like a Grand Old Dame, well preserved and still maintaining the vigor and activity of her youth. Her eye is not dimmed by age; her strong hand is not weakened by the lapse of centuries. She has been the mother of many children, and has sometimes had troubles in her family. But in recent times she has been on good terms with all her offspring, all over the world. She would not suffer them to be beaten in the race of nations. If any of them were to fall into danger, she would bring out her stores, collected through many generations, in their support. If, on the other hand, she were to be hard pressed by any hostile combination, then her stalwart sons would gather round her.

RICHARD TEMPLE.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH CUBA?

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

We may take for granted that, whatever may be the terms of peace ultimately accepted by Spain, they will include an evacuation of Cuba and a recognition of the fact that the destinies of the island are to be shaped by the United States. How are we to discharge the duty thus imposed upon us? The question could be easily answered but for a certain resolution, not suggested by the President's message, but adopted by Congress with a view of obtaining unanimous approval of the contemplated intervention. But for the existence of that resolution, there would be, indeed, no problem to be solved. We should deal with Cuba precisely as we have dealt with other foreign territory which, from time to time, we have annexed. Florida was sold to us by Spain in 1821, and, for twenty-four years, remained under a territorial government, but, in 1845, after the expulsion of the warlike Seminole Indians, it was admitted to the Union. California and New Mexico were annexed in 1848; two years later, the former became a State, but the latter is, to this day, a Territory. Exactly similar was our treatment of the vast Louisiana region acquired by purchase from France; out of this many a State and Territory was, successively, carved, in proportion to the growth of population in particular localities.

Even under what we term Territorial government, the inhabitants of these extensive tracts were incomparably better off than they had been under Spain, Mexico or France, as regards the enjoyment of peace, order and civil liberty. When one of these tracts, or a part of one, entered the Union, it acquired, of course, all of the privileges which are possessed by any of the members of our confederation. Higher political privileges no people can possibly acquire—for our federal system combines the

maximum of safeguard against foreign aggression which is compatible with the exercise of self-government in State, county and municipal affairs. The thousands of Cuban exiles who, for years, have been employed in the manufacture of cigars at Key West, at Tampa and in many northern cities, know by experience what these privileges are, and they will testify that, at any time during the Ten Years' War, or during the present insurrection up to four months ago, their oppressed countrymen would have welcomed with enthusiasm the concession of such large political rights as are enjoyed by the citizens of Florida, or of New York, or of New Mexico, provided, of course, the concession were guaranteed by the substitution of American for Spanish sovereignty. They are keenly alive to the magnitude of the change that would be involved in such a substitution of sovereignty, and they could have been trusted to make it fully comprehended by their countrymen.

I.

The fact remains that we shall acquire Cuba under conditions different from those under which we acquired Florida, or under which Porto Rico will be ceded. The difference is not imposed by Spain; it is entirely self-assumed. When the message of President McKinley that led to the war was presented to Congress, that body adopted an amendment to the responsive resolutions, an amendment declaring that we entered upon the contest with no other motive than to assure complete political independence to Cuba. It is important for us to determine as promptly and precisely as possible what was meant by that declaration, assuming that those who made it had, at the time, any distinct comprehension of its significance. If we consider the spirit, instead of the letter, of the declaration, it is plain enough that we are estopped even from annexing Porto Rico or demanding coaling stations in the Ladrones and the Philippines. The acceptance, however, of this logical deduction would be a *reductio ad absurdum*. There is not one American citizen in a hundred, probably there is not one in a thousand, who believes that, because we entered upon the war with a philanthropic purpose, we are precluded from exacting some compensation for the outlay which the stiff-necked refusal of Spain to treat her colonists with justice has compelled us to make. Moreover, the logic of philanthropy would itself point to a different conclusion. The inhabitants of Porto Rico have little

more reason to be satisfied with Spanish rule than have the Cubans, and the inhabitants of the Philippines have even stronger reasons for detesting it. Having once opened the prospect of freedom to Porto Rico and Luzon, the same motives which impelled us to the liberation of Cuba should prompt us to shield the two former islands from a ghastly disappointment. So much for the absurdity of allowing ourselves to be guided, in the negotiations of terms of peace, by the widest possible application of the self-denying spirit of the somewhat hasty and gratuitous resolution passed by Congress.

Let us look now at the letter of the self-denying ordinance, and inquire to what it binds us. Here let us observe that the American republic is not the only power which, in recent times, has made a similar declaration at the outset of military operations. When France took possession of Tunis, and when England assumed control of Egypt, the act was coupled, in each instance, with the promise that the occupation should cease when the country occupied should be fully pacified, and the conditions requisite for the establishment of a stable native government should be forthcoming. Many years have passed, yet France continues to retain the Tunisian Regency, and England the valley of the Lower Nile: with good reason, also, for it is acknowledged by all unprejudiced observers that the evacuation of either region by its European custodian would be followed by anarchy and devastation. In the interest of the populations concerned, both England and France have proceeded on the assumption that the time for the fulfillment of their optimistic promise has not arrived, nor is yet even in sight; meanwhile, they have proceeded on the principle expressed by Pope:

> **"For forms of government let fools contest;**
> **What's best administered is best."**

We admit, however, that the lessons derivable from English experience in Egypt and from French experience in Tunis, although instructive, are not mandatory. We must solve the Cuban problem for ourselves, without more than a cursory glance at foreign precedents, but with a steadfast eye to the welfare of the inhabitants of Cuba, whereof, in the eyes of the world, we are the trustees and conservators. What do we mean by the inhabitants of Cuba? Do we mean the few thousand men who have fought under Gomez, Garcia and other commanders, claiming to derive

their commissions from a so-called provisional government? That government, it should be remembered, has never been recognized by President McKinley, even as a belligerent; no reference was made to it in the message which brought about the declaration of war. Not a few people in this country believed a year ago that the insurgents ought to be acknowledged as belligerents; but, in the light of the fuller knowledge obtainable since our invasion of the province of Santiago, the wisdom of withholding such acknowledgement has received a certain amount of confirmation. Have we any reason to believe that the insurgents and their sympathizers constitute a majority, or even a strong minority, of the inhabitants of the island? Where is the proof of such numerical preponderance? No conclusive proof can be forthcoming until a plebiscite shall be taken under conditions which assure a perfectly free expression of opinion. It may be that, if the purity of the ballot box were assured through American control, a large majority of the inhabitants of Cuba would invoke the guarantees against foreign interference and intestine disorder which would be afforded through the acceptance of the status of a State or Territory in our Union. If such should be the outcome of a plebiscite, it is obvious that the very spirit of the declaration made by Congress, no matter how narrowly construed, would forbid our adherence to the letter. We could not impose on the inhabitants of Cuba complete political independence, that is to say political isolation and economical paralysis, together with the grim necessity of coping with dangerous racial problems, against the consent of the majority; for, if the result of such an act upon our part were the eventual experience by Cuba of the fate of Hayti, we should be held responsible in history for a crime against civilization. Having delivered Cuba from the Spanish yoke, we are accountable for her tranquillity and prosperity; should she be ruined through our abandonment, we cannot absolve ourselves hereafter by the plea, "Was I my brother's keeper?"

II.

It is clear that thorough pacification is the condition precedent to an entirely free expression of opinion and aspiration on the part of a majority of the inhabitants of Cuba. By inhabitants we mean, and ought to mean, all those persons, whether insurgents, autonomists or ex-loyalists, whether born in the island or else-

where, who signify a wish to maintain a domicile in the Pearl of the Antilles. We cannot drive into exile those native Cubans who have supported Blanco's autonomist government; or those resident civilian Spaniards who follow vocations and own property in the cities and large towns, and who are said to number much more than one hundred and fifty thousand. If even the members of the latter category elect to abide in Cuba and to accept the change of régime, we cannot, without repudiating our philanthropic professions, withhold from them the privilege. We have entered Cuba in the name of even-handed justice, and not in that of revenge. If a sweeping expulsion of all Spanish-speaking residents who did not happen to be born in the island is ever to take place, we must leave the merciless proscription to be carried out by the Cubans when, if ever, they are invested with complete political independence. We suggest, however, that the cynical avowal or the circumstantial proof of an intention to execute vindictive reprisals ought to figure among the considerations that may lead Congress to modify its former declaration; or, at least, to hesitate to concede absolute independence, if we would keep ourselves clear from the charge of complicity in an act of gross barbarity, which, to judge by the Haytian precedent, would be the first fatal step toward social convulsion and catastrophe. The white element in Cuba, if it is to remain preponderant, cannot bear any marked depletion, for the mixture of races in the island differs materially from that which prevails among the Spanish-speaking commonwealths on the American mainland. In the latter communities, a large proportion of the inhabitants are descendants of the aborigines or the outcome of sexual relations between these and the Spaniards. In Cuba, on the other hand, there survives no trace of the aboriginal element; the racial struggle is exclusively between the white man and the black, and experience has shown that the black man is, on the whole, somewhat better suited than the white to the climatic conditions. The island, therefore, needs all the white men now sojourning there who are willing to remain as law-abiding citizens under the new order of things, for the fact must not be overlooked that no considerable emigration of white men from the United States or Northern Europe can be looked for unless the island is annexed to our Union, or until an independent Cuban government shall have demonstrated its ability to assure tran-

quillity and prosperity. Nor will there be any inflow of American enterprise or of American capital into Cuba until that island is known to be permanently safeguarded from the fate, we will not say of Hayti, but of the Central American republics.

What do Cubans want which they would be unable to obtain if their island were admitted to our Union as a Territory or as a State? Under the régime of absolute political independence, they would have to devote a large part of their public revenues to self-protection against foreign aggression. We could not be expected to bear the whole brunt of protecting them if we were suffered to take no part in the shaping of their attitude toward foreign nations. It is scarcely credible that any Cubans can be so infatuated as to attach more dignity and honor to the title of citizenship under a weak, insular republic, than to that name of American citizen which recent events have tended to exalt throughout the earth. If every native Cuban, indeed, could look forward to holding a government office and to following therein the same dishonest practices with which he has reproached the Spaniards, we could understand why he should insist upon retaining absolute control of the Cuban custom-houses, the revenue of which, if the island should become a State or Territory in our Union, would be collected by our Federal Government and, with similar revenue elsewhere collected, be employed for the defense of the whole confederation, whereof Cuba would constitute an outlying and important strategical part.

We will not calumniate the Cuban people by imputing to them a hankering after opportunities for peculation. We assume that, in the desire expressed by some of them for absolute political independence, they are swayed by sentimental motives alone. There is, however, in the character of the Cubans a good deal of shrewdness as well as sentiment. If the alternative were once presented to them distinctly, the mass of them would much prefer to be prosperous as American citizens, than to live from hand to mouth under the flag of a Cuban republic. They deceive themselves if they imagine that, for them, prosperity is compatible with political aloofness. They will soon receive an object lesson from Porto Rico on this subject, which will gather force with every month during which our soldiers remain in the island for pacifying purposes, and which will receive extraordinary emphasis when Cuba is left, unpropped, to solve the problem of self-government. It

must be remembered that the sister island of Porto Rico is to be annexed to the United States; that is the avowed and irreversible intention of our Government. The instant, however, that Porto Rico enters our Union as a Territory, not only will American enterprise and capital pour thither in a fertilizing flood, but all its natural products, its sugar, its coffee, its tobacco, its timber and its tropical fruits, will be admitted to the vast American market free of duty. How can the products of Cuba compete with those of Porto Rico in the markets of the United States, if the former island remains a foreign country? What about reciprocity? we may be asked. It might not be for our interest to grant a reciprocity treaty to independent Cuba, if, thereby, we should run the risk of cutting short or impairing the progress of Porto Rico and Hawaii, which would have become integral parts of the national soil.

There is one way, and one way only, in which the Cubans can acquire, now and forever, perfect freedom of access to American markets for their natural products, and that is by the admission of their island to the Union. There would be no end to the development of Cuba's natural resources under such stimulating conditions. Nature has done more for her than it has done for Java, which is of almost exactly the same size; yet, in the short space of a century, the population of the latter island has increased from two to more than twenty millions. Cuba is standing, in this crisis, at the parting of the ways. If she chooses, a destiny more splendid than Java's may be hers, for she may unite the dignity and freedom of American citizenship with a more than Javanese prosperity. If, on the other hand, the Cubans shall cling to the barren honor of complete political independence, they will find that it means for them commercial backwardness and economic isolation; that American capital, emigration and enterprise will go elsewhere, and that, soon or late, American tariffs will foster the agricultural industries, not of self-centred and self-dependent Cuba, but of our own tropical domains.

III.

We return to the point from which we started. The Constitution of the United States has undoubtedly confided to Congress the power of making war, and, therefore, by implication, the power of defining the purpose for which a war is undertaken. In

the exercise of that power, Congress declared that we entered upon war with Spain from no motive of self-aggrandizement, but with the single-hearted resolve to give independence to Cuba. We will not quibble and allege that what many, or, perhaps, most of those who voted for the resolution really had at heart was the desire to give Cuba peace and civil liberty; as good a government and as large a measure of local autonomy as we, ourselves, enjoy under our mixed system of Federal and State administration. The question for us to keep in view is not what Congress might have said, or should have said, but what it did say. Congress pledged itself to give the Cubans political independence, and, until Congress itself shall have seen fit to retract or modify the pledge, it must be carried out.

As regards, nevertheless, the time and method of fulfillment, some reasonable precautions must be taken. The island must be thoroughly pacified, and the conflicting elements of its population must be brought into at least transient harmony before they are invited to discharge the high and difficult function of framing a constitution for an independent republic. In the interest of all the constituents which make up the mixed Cuban people, whether insurgents, or native-born autonomists, or resident Spaniards, it will be the duty of our Government, as their trustee before the world, to examine the proposed constitution and see whether, on its face at all events, it is calculated to administer the even-handed justice which we shall have dealt out during the period of pacification to all the inhabitants of Cuba, without distinction of color or descent. If the projected organic law shall be found ostensibly to answer all the requirements of good sense and equity, then, unless the resolution of Congress shall have been, in the meanwhile, modified, we shall be bound to allow the Cubans to institute their new régime, if they, not by that time enlightened by the happy experience of Porto Rico under the Stars and Stripes, shall still insist on the political independence which, for them, will mean economic isolation and relative commercial inactivity.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF "IMPERIALISM."

BY CHARLES A. CONANT.

THE instinctive tendency of a race or civilization often outruns the wisdom of its leaders. Whether for good or ill, the inborn tendencies of race—whether for the highest achievement in art, like the Ionian; the military conquest of the world, like the Roman; the penetration of distant and barbarous countries for the purposes of trade, like the Tyrian or the Venetian; the command of the empire of the sea, like the English—these tendencies prevail by a sort of instinct. Other races in seeking to pursue the same paths by imitation have stumbled and gone astray. But when the current of race or national tendencies runs strongly in a given channel it is apt to override alike the misgivings of its sympathizers and the protests and resistance of those who would obstruct it. The United States to-day seem about to enter upon a path marked out for them as the children of the Anglo-Saxon race, not yet traversed because there has been so much to do at home. Almost as if by magic, the importance of naval power as the advance agent of commercial supremacy has flashed upon the mind of the country. The irresistible tendency to expansion, which leads the growing tree to burst every barrier, which drove the Goths, the Vandals, and finally our Saxon ancestors in successive and irresistible waves over the decadent provinces of Rome, seems again in operation, demanding new outlets for American capital and new opportunities for American enterprise.

This new movement is not a matter of sentiment. It is the result of a natural law of economic and race development. The great civilized peoples have to-day at their command the means of developing the decadent nations of the world. This means, in its material aspects, is the great excess of saved capital which is the result of machine production. It is proposed to point out in this

article how great this excess is at the present time, how profoundly it is disturbing economic conditions in the older countries, and how necessary to the salvation of these countries is an outlet for their surplus savings, if the entire fabric of the present economic order is not to be shaken by a social revolution. The law of self preservation, as well as that of the survival of the fittest, is urging our people on in a path which is undoubtedly a departure from the policy of the past, but which is inevitably marked out by the new conditions and requirements of the present.

The dominant note of modern economic life, since the beginning of the epoch of machinery and of negotiable securities, has been saving for investment. Saving against the risks of loss and the weakness of old age has existed from the beginning of civilization and has been accompanied by a limited amount of saving for increasing the means of production. But saving for the sake of an income without the impairment of the principal is, in its present extension, a modern phenomenon. Savings had to be made, before the period of negotiable securities, in consumable commodities, in land and its improvements, or in metal, the great store of value. The creation of corporations and the issue of their shares in negotiable securities afforded an outlet, toward the close of the last century and early in the present century, for savings which were becoming congested, because they could not be put to ready use. The change in the form of the investment was only an evolution from the great demands for capital which arose with the application of machinery to production upon a large scale and the discovery of methods of communication on land and sea by the use of steam. The necessity for carrying on such large enterprises as cotton mills, iron foundries, and canal, railway and steamship building by great aggregate sums of capital led to the division of the cost of the enterprise into divisible parts, which might absorb the capital of great numbers of men. For many years there was an outlet at a high rate of return for all the savings of all the frugal persons in the great civilized countries. Frightful miscalculations were made and great losses occurred, because experience had not gauged the value or the need of new works under all conditions, but there was room for the legitimate use of all savings without loss and in enterprises affording an adequate return.

The conditions of the early part of the century have changed.

Capital is no longer needed in excess of the supply, but it is becoming congested. The benefits of saving have been inculcated with such effect for many decades that savings accumulate beyond the development of new demands for capital which are legitimate, and are becoming a menace to the economic future of the great industrial countries. Jean Baptiste Say, the French economist, demonstrated by plausible reasoning that there could not be a general overproduction of commodities, because the increased product of one man or set of men would be exchanged against the increased product of the other producing classes of the community. But there was one flaw in this argument. M. Say based his reasoning upon the premise that the man who produced consumed in equal ratio with his production. He did not allow for saving. Saving is the setting aside from the products of one's labor or services of a portion of the proceeds for some other purpose than consumption. If every man in the community spent his entire income upon consumable goods there would be no overproduction except as a result of mistaken adjustments. There could not be universal overproduction until every human being had more than he could consume or enjoy. But if every man should undertake to set aside a fixed proportion of the products of his labor for some other purpose than consumption, he would necessarily diminish the demand for the other classes of commodities which he had formerly obtained in exchange for his own products.

The answer of the economist to this proposition may be that savings, in their turn, are applied to furnishing the means of consumption to laborers. This is true so long as these laborers can be employed upon productive work. But, by the hypothesis, they must be employed upon some permanent work, like increasing the machinery of production or the means of communication. If these improvements are necessary they pay an adequate return, and the point of congestion of capital has not been reached. If they are needless duplications of existing machinery they may either fail to pay dividends, or they may divide the work and earnings of existing machinery and laborers, making their creation barren of benefits to the community. In either case the person making the savings would have profited as much if he applied his surplus to the purchase of consumable goods and luxuries, and the community would not have suffered by the employment of labor-

ers in the production of such goods, instead of the needless duplication of existing plant, destined to increase the inconveniences of overproduction, lock-outs, strikes and commercial convulsions.

The famous proposition of John Stuart Mill that "Demand for commodities is not demand for labor" is true in a restricted sense, but, in the language of Prof. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, "has, in modern societies as they are constituted to-day, and with the enormous resources at their disposal, only a theoretical value." In fact, M. Leroy-Beaulieu goes on to declare, "Circulating and available capital is exorbitantly abundant in all the old and rich societies." Mill's argument in its last analysis comes to this—that time is required between the consumption of saved commodities by laborers and the production by them of finished goods, and that consumption of commodities does not add to existing capital. These two propositions are theoretically true, but the element of time for preliminary saving has been substantially eliminated by modern conditions, and the evil of consuming commodities without saving has long ceased to be a threatening one. That a continuous demand for consumable commodities does constantly provide the capital for continuing their production is practically admitted by Mill when he says, in referring to a sudden cessation of demand for velvets, that the true test of his principle is "to suppose that the change is gradual and foreseen *and is attended with no waste of capital.*"

If saving in any community no more than kept pace with new demands for capital which proved legitimate and profitable, the happy situation of a constantly progressive industrial condition would be realized. Saving is applied in too many cases, however, to the needless duplication of existing manufacturing plant and the creation of enterprises which do not prove productive. A few of these enterprises may do good to the community in the long run, by that process of friction which finally brings sound adjustments, but it can only be at the sacrifice of the savings of the first investors. It is the rude process of these readjustments which lies beneath the intensity of economic crises during the present century. Some of these crises have been accompanied by delusions growing out of the novelty of the principle of limited liability and negotiable securities, which have added to their intensity, but they have been due in an increasing degree in recent years to the vain seeking for safe investments which could not be

found. The duplication of needless plant, the multiplication of unprofitable enterprises, has flooded the market with products which could hardly be consumed if all the means of the community were applied to consumption, and which have resulted, under the existing system of abstinence from consumption for the sake of saving, in a glut of goods which has destroyed profits, bankrupted great corporations, and ruined investors.

It is the excess of saving, with the resulting accumulation of unconsumed goods, in the great industrial countries, which is one of the world maladies of the economic situation of to-day. It lies at the root of a large share of industrial discontent, and explains more logically than changes in the mere mechanism of exchange the conditions which set in about 1870, when the great civilized countries first appear to have become fully capitalized to meet all demands which consumers were willing to make out of their earnings. The world's economic history since that time—the intense industrial activity in machine production and railroad building up to 1873; the long period of stagnation which followed, broken only by brief periods of activity after surplus goods had been consumed; the great accumulations of both capital and metallic money; the convulsions attacking the great capitalistic countries, without respect for their differences in tariff policies and money standards; and the steady fall in the earning power of capital—all these tendencies point to excess of saved capital beyond the effective demand of the community as their underlying cause. There must always be savings in a progressive industrial society to repair the wear of existing equipment and to meet new demands, but under the present social order it is becoming impossible to find at home in the great capitalistic countries employment for all the capital saved which is at once safe and remunerative.

The rapidity of savings and the extent of the congestion of capital in Europe may be judged from the stock exchange lists and the savings bank returns. In Great Britain the market value of the securities quoted on the stock exchange on June 18, 1898, was £3,215,414,000. In France the nominal and actual value of negotiable securities has recently been carefully worked out in a series of articles by M. Edmond Théry, the accomplished editor of *l'Économiste Européen*. He shows that the market value of securities issued by French companies increased from $9,000,000,-

000 on July 1, 1890, to $13,250,000,000 on July 1, 1897, and while one-tenth of this amount was held in each case abroad, this is offset four times over by foreign securities held in France. The market value of all securities held by Frenchmen, which was $11,000,000,000, paying an annual income of $480,000,000 in 1880, had risen in 1897 to $17,000,000,000, paying an annual income of $580,000,000. In this form of wealth alone, therefore, there has been an increase of more than 50 per cent. in capital in seventeen years, with an increase of less than 21 per cent. in money earnings. A part of this increase may be fictitious, in the sense that former private undertakings have been turned into stock companies and that some of the stock companies represent worthless enterprises. The essential point, however, is not materially impaired, that the available money credits have been found among French investors to absorb this vast amount of stock in national, railway and industrial securities. This increase, moreover, is a net increase in both nominal and market values and takes account of the millions which have been sunk in worthless enterprises, like the Panama Canal, only at their capitalization and actual market value at the present time, and not at their issue value.

A calculation of all the movable wealth of leading European countries was undertaken in 1895 by the International Statistical Institute, under the direction of M. Alfred Neymarck, which covered the precious metals, mortgages and savings deposits, as well as negotiable securities. The total was found to be $85,000,000,000. M. Neymarck distributes this negotiable wealth among the various countries as follows: England, $35,000,000,000; Germany, $18,000,000,000; France, $15,500,000,000; Russia, $5,000,000,000; Austria, $4,500,000,000; The Netherlands, $2,600,000,000; Italy, $3,400,000,000; Belgium, $1,200,000,000; Denmark, $550,000,000; Roumania, $240,000,000; Norway, $150,000,000. In the four great investing countries of France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Great Britain there are more than $46,000,000,000 of capital invested in negotiable securities alone—an amount equal to fifty times the bonded debt of the United States and to $3,250 for every family of five persons in the United States.

The statistics of the savings banks indicate in some degree the manner in which the common people have come to the aid of the

great capitalists in accumulating loanable credit. The postal savings banks alone showed deposits, at recent dates, in Great Britain and Ireland of $500,000,000; in France, $150,000,000; in Belgium, $100,000,000; in Italy, $90,000,000, and in Russia, $123,000,000. The French savings banks outside the postal service carry deposits to the amount of $650,000,000; the Swiss banks have $175,000,000, and the British trustee savings banks carry deposits of $500,000,000. In these few countries, therefore, is an investment fund of nearly $2,500,000,000, derived from the savings of people of small means. In the United States the deposits in the savings banks in 1870 were $549,874,358, computed in depreciated paper money. In 1880 the amount, upon a gold valuation, was $819,106,973; in 1890, $1,524,844,506, and in 1897, $1,939,376,035. The amount has more than doubled during the fifteen years since 1882, when it stood at $966,797,081, and amounts to $26.56 for each man, woman and child in the United States. No account is taken of the deposit accounts of the great discount banks, because they grow largely out of current commercial transactions rather than new savings. These accounts could not exist without preliminary saving, but the capital which they represent corresponds rather to the circulating capital which maintains production than to the great funds which are seeking investment in new enterprises.

The essential question regarding this vast mass of accumulated saving invested in negotiable securities is whether it is put to profitable use. It is growing at a rate which would mean greatly increased prosperity in every country, if increase of savings were accompanied by increase of earning power in the old proportions. The statements compiled annually by M. Laveleye, the editor of the *Moniteur des Interêts Matériels* of Brussels, puts the total issues of new securities in 1897, including public loans, as well as railway and industrial stocks and bonds, at $1,800,000,000. This is considerably less than in 1896, when the issues were $3,200,000,000, but the conversions at that time were $1,500,000,000, as compared with only $135,000,000 in 1897, so that the net issues of new securities were not far apart in either year and amounted to nearly $1,800,000,000. The total for 1897 includes $26,000,000 in the United States and about the same amount in Canada, but the bulk was European capital, even where the recorded issues were in other countries. The applications of new capital to joint stock

companies and security issues in Great Britain in 1897 were $775,000,000, and the issues of French securities in 1897 were computed by *l'Économiste Européen* of December 31 at $90,000,000.

The effect of these great accumulations of capital was predicted as long ago as 1879 by Prof. Leroy-Beaulieu, the eminent French economist, in the first edition of his book, *Essai sur la Repartition des Richesses.* He made it plain that if European laborers and capitalists continued to pile up savings in later years as they had already done up to that time, the supply of loanable capital would become so great that its earning power would be materially reduced. The continued tendency in this direction has been pointed out in a striking manner by Prof. Leroy-Beaulieu himself and by M. Théry, in the series of articles already referred to, and is no longer a subject of dispute among European financiers. The conclusive evidence of the plenitude of capital and the cheapness of money is afforded by the conversions of the public debt which have been steadily going on among the great powers. Great Britain refunded her consolidated debt in 1888, and British consols now pay but little more than two per cent. at the current quotations. France negotiated loans of $880,000,000 between 1880 and 1890, most of which were issued at three per cent., but were quoted at only 85 to 91 per cent. up to 1890. Since then the quotations have steadily risen, until the real return in interest is summed up by M. Théry in the declaration that a capitalist who should have invested 10,000 francs in proportionate purchases of the six types of French national securities would have drawn from his investment in 1880 an annual revenue of 380 francs, in 1890 355 francs and in 1897 only 297 francs.

The great Prussian conversion was operated during 1897 and applied to $850,000,000 of consolidated four per cent. securities. These four per cents. were quoted at 104.5 and the three and a half per cents. were quoted at 104.2 in October, 1896. The three per cent. obligations issued in 1890 and then quoted at 86.5 reached par on July 5, 1895, and stood at 99.6 on October 5, 1896. One of the reasons for the close approximation of the four per cents. to the three and a half per cent. securities was the conviction that the government would soon proceed to the conversion of the former. M. Miquel, the Prussian Minister, in announcing his project, recalled the fact that in 1894 France had converted her four and a half per cents. into three and a half

per cents.; that Sweden, Norway, Luxembourg, Zurich, Saxe-Gotha, Würtemberg and Bavaria had converted four per cent. into three and a half per cent. securities; and that Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Bremen and Berne had converted three and a half per cents. into three per cents., not to speak of the great Russian conversion of five per cents. into four per cents.

Figures like these illustrate in a forcible manner the superabundance of loanable capital in Europe and the small return which it now pays to investors. The evidence that the leading European states, in reducing their interest rates, have only followed the tendency of commercial loans is afforded by M. Théry in his discussion of railway and industrial securities. That the situation is on the point of becoming much worse for investors is indicated by the fact that not only are governments preparing for conversions of the public debt at reduced rates of interest, but some of the railways and industrial societies are preparing to pay off their obligations and narrow the field of possible investment. The leading railway companies of France are beginning to issue obligations at two and a half per cent., which are still quoted a little below par, but which, after the deduction of the tax upon corporation earnings and the tax upon transfers, pay a net return of only 2.44 per cent. a year. Of the French railway obligations 121,525,000 francs mature in 1900, 167,205,200 francs in 1910, 216,214,000 francs in 1920 and larger sums during the three succeeding decades.

This congestion of capital in Europe follows a distinct economic law. This law, as worked out by the eminent Austrian economist, Böhm-Bawerk, applies to the earnings of capital the law of diminishing returns. In other words, capital becomes less productive in earning power where it is abundant, because less productive use can be found for the excess above a certain limit. And it is this excess which fixes the rate for all. In the luminous language of M. Leroy-Beaulieu, "The circumstance which most influences the rate of interest in civilized countries, where capital is generally sought and loaned for productive works, is the average productiveness of capital newly formed and the prospect of productiveness of capital which is available." Saving has reached a point in old countries where the offers of capital have almost exceeded the effective demand and the owners of capital are bidding recklessly against each other for the purchase at high premiums

of the evidences of the public debt and other unquestionable securities.

A remarkable proof that this great accumulation of capital is to a large extent doubling upon itself by duplicating the machinery of production, without substantial benefits to the community or even to investors, is afforded by the statistics of the French tax upon the income of negotiable securities. An article in *l'Economiste Français* of May 21, 1898, calls attention to the fact that the product of this tax, if the rates had been uniform, would show no appreciable increase for the past fifteen years. The rate was changed from three to four per cent. in 1891, so that the gross yield was increased, but the product of each one per cent. of the tax was 16,075,000 francs in 1883 and only 15,737,000 francs in 1896. This tax is levied upon the dividends paid upon negotiable securities. If the fact that the yield of the tax had not increased were considered by itself, it would indicate that the increased savings of the French people and their large investments in negotiable securities for the past fifteen years had been absolutely barren of increased earning power. In other words, the superfluity of capital has so reduced dividends that all the additional savings of half a generation have no more than offset the effect of declining interest rates. This calculation is, of course, subject to qualification, by reason of large investments by Frenchmen in foreign securities which do not pay this tax, and by reason of the reduction in the prices of commodities, which increases the purchasing power of the dividends earned. But even with these qualifications there could hardly be a more striking demonstration of the barrenness of the vast volume of savings and the manner in which the increase in volume accentuates the difficulty of sufficient savings to afford productive dividends.

The restlessness of capital under diminished earnings has been illustrated in many ways during the last few years. In every great capitalistic country there is an eager reaching out for new investments, which is sometimes willing to assume great risks rather than accept small returns. Germany, which was a comparatively poor country until within the present generation, is expanding greatly her foreign investments, in spite of occasional deficiencies of circulating capital at home. The proof that German capital is finding its way all over the world is found in the extension of German banks, of which there is one, with a capital of 10,000,000

marks ($2,500,000), in Brazil; one with head offices at Buenos-Ayres and Valparaiso, with a capital of 20,000,000 marks; one at Shanghai and Calcutta, with a capital of 15,000,000 marks; and the German Bank of Chile, at Valparaiso, with a capital of 10,000,000 marks. Germany is interested in the Brazilian railway of Minas, with a capital of 62,000,000 marks, and in the railways of Anatolia (which are almost wholly owned in Germany), with a capital of 26,720,000 marks and loans of 68,340,000 marks. German capital is also largely invested in breweries, paper mills, soap factories, textile mills and machine shops in the United States.

Even Scotland, the example for many years of conservatism in banking and investments, has felt the pressure of the low returns upon saved capital in recent years. The Scotch incorporated banks gave notice on October 1, 1892, that after that date the allowance of interest on creditor balances of current accounts would be discontinued. This did not apply to distinct deposit accounts, but the rate on these was then only one and a half per cent., and was reduced in January, 1895, to one per cent. The congestion of capital in Scotland had already led to large transfers of money to Australia, and when the crisis of 1893 occurred in that country about one-third of the deposits of £153,000,000 were owned in Great Britain, chiefly in Scotland, and had been deposited in the Australian banks, because of the liberal rate of interest paid.

The present situation in regard to saving is not absolutely novel in the world's experience. The Florentine cities found capital accumulating on their hands beyond the capacity for its safe employment, and were compelled to make precarious loans to foreign kings. Holland faced a congestion of capital in the days of her great maritime supremacy, when money sought investment in vain at two per cent., and the wild folly of the tulip mania illustrated the tendency to speculation which such conditions foster. England was afflicted with such a congestion of capital in the early days of the Stuarts, when prosperity and commercial greatness began to afford small commercial savings to Englishmen, and again in the middle of the last century, when three per cents. were quoted at 107. In each of these cases the world was far from rich, and savings could not be said to exist in excess in the sense that there was more than enough for all. But the question of congested capital is a practical one and not a sentimental one. The few who then saved, the many who save now, will not hand over their whole

savings to the needy, except under compulsion of taxation or under the cruel stress of an economic crisis which wipes out dividends and shrivels the value of investments.

There are three important solutions of this enormous congestion of capital in excess of legitimate demand. One of these is the socialistic solution of the abandonment of saving, the application of the whole earnings of the laborer to current consumption, and the support of old age out of taxes levied upon the production of the community. It will be long before this solution will be accepted in a comprehensive form in any modern civilized state. The second solution is the creation of new demands at home for the absorption of capital. This has occurred at several previous stages of the world's history and is likely to continue as long as human desires continue expansible. But there has never been a time before when the proportion of capital to be absorbed was so great in proportion to possible new demands. Means for building more bicycle factories than are needed, and for laying more electric railways than are able to pay dividends, have been taken out of current savings within the last few years, without producing any marked effect upon their amount and without doing more, at the most, than to stay the downward course of the rate of interest. Aside from the waste of capital in war, which is only a form of consumption, there remains, therefore, as the final resource, the equipment of new countries with the means of production and exchange.

It is in the countries which Lord Salisbury describes as decaying that the means for the employment of new capital must be found. Western Europe and the Atlantic coast of the United States, with many of the interior States, are already fully equipped with the necessary means of production and communication. There remain many improvements of a permanent character capable of being made in the luxuries of living, but they are not in the nature of additions to the machinery of production and exchange. Such an improvement, for instance, would be the abolition of grade crossings by costly tunnels and bridges, where the improvement obviously would not pay for itself, but was rendered possible out of the abundant surplus savings in the form of earnings of the railway or the State. These improvements are very desirable additions to the accumulated comforts of a community, but their creation is essentially in the nature of the em-

ployment of capital for consumption, where they have no visible and appreciable effect upon earning capacity, rather than its employment as an investment. A railway which saw fit to employ a large surplus of earnings in such improvements would be pursuing the same course as an individual who applied his surplus to the purchase of valuable works of art and jewels. They would both have a permanent character, but not a productive character. The railway would not issue new interest-bearing securities for sale to investors for such purposes, and the individual would not borrow the savings of others to add to his personal luxuries.

For the means of finding new productive employments for capital, therefore, it is necessary that the great industrial countries should turn to countries which have not felt the pulse of modern progress. Such countries have yet to be equipped with the mechanism of production and of luxury, which has been created in the progressive countries by the savings of recent generations. They have not only to obtain buildings and machinery—the necessary elements in producing machine-made goods—but they have to build their roads, drain their marshes, dam their rivers, build aqueducts for their water supplies and sewers for their towns and cities. Asia and Africa are the most promising of these countries. Japan has already made her entry, almost like Athene full-armed from the brain of Zeus, into the modern industrial world. The increased capacity of her people for production, giving them increased command over the products of other peoples, is producing its natural effect in the rise of wages and increased importations. China, Siberia and the islands which have languished so long under Spanish inertia, are likely to follow, perhaps with more halting steps, in the footsteps of Japan. The opening of railways and canals will afford employment for the masses of capital piling up in Europe and the United States, which will be profitable if the merchandise is found to feed the new means of transportation. Existing commodities now imported from the interior of these countries at great cost will be swept on paths of steel to the seacoast, with the result of reducing their cost, increasing their consumption, and benefiting at once both producer and purchaser.

The United States cannot afford to adhere to a policy of isolation while other nations are reaching out for the command of these new markets. The United States are still large users of foreign capital, but American investors are not willing to see the re-

turn upon their investments reduced to the European level. Interest rates have greatly declined here within the last five years. New markets and new opportunities for investment must be found if surplus capital is to be profitably employed.

In pointing out the necessity that the United States shall enter upon a broad national policy, it need not be determined in just what manner that policy shall be worked out. Whether the United States shall actually acquire territorial possessions, shall set up captain generalships and garrisons, whether they shall adopt the middle ground of protecting sovereignties nominally independent, or whether they shall content themselves with naval stations and diplomatic representations as the basis for asserting their rights to the free commerce of the East, is a matter of detail. The discussion of the details may be of high importance to our political morality and our historical traditions, but it bears upon the economic side of the question only so far as a given political policy is necessary to safeguard and extend commercial interests. The writer is not an advocate of "imperialism" from sentiment, but does not fear the name if it means only that the United States shall assert their right to free markets in all the old countries which are being opened to the surplus resources of the capitalistic countries and thereby given the benefits of modern civilization. Whether this policy carries with it the direct government of groups of half-savage islands may be a subject for argument, but upon the economic side of the question there is but one choice—either to enter by some means upon the competition for the employment of American capital and enterprise in these countries, or to continue the needless duplication of existing means of production and communication, with the glut of unconsumed products, the convulsions followed by trade stagnation, and the steadily declining return upon investments which this policy will invoke.

The entry of the United States upon the competition for the world's markets means some radical changes in their existing policy, but it means an enlarged share in the world's earnings and in the respect of other civilized states. The system of protection, whatever its original merits, will lose its reason for being when the producers of this country are able to compete in the markets of the world with the producers of all other countries. Great Britain has blazed the path of future economic achievement by declaring her willingness to open the gates of every country which

she enters to the free competition of the world. The United States, if they would have her by their side, must follow the same course. The narrower policy, pursued by France and Russia, of endeavoring to shut up their colonies to their own commerce, is only a repetition within a slightly extended wall of the old policy of building up trade, which should be reciprocal, by endeavoring to destroy the purchasing power of one's purchasers. Such a policy cannot offset the effects of congested capital, for it only intensifies within the protected wall the intensity of competition and shuts up the producers to the barren contest against each other before the same body of consumers. Fictitious premiums set upon particular industries only make their last state worse than their first by drawing capital into such industries in excess of the requirements set by the natural laws of trade.

It is not even necessary to argue the question whether "trade follows the flag" or whether trade can be achieved without the prestige of political power. The present situation in China is such as to call for energetic political action on the part of all powers which desire to obtain new openings for their commerce. Russia, Germany and France have seized stations and large tracts of territory in China with a view to enforcing there their restrictive policy of shutting up the market to their own people. It is necessary, if the United States are to have an unimpaired share in the new trade of Asia, that they should protest against this policy of exclusion and seek to limit the area over which it is applied. Great Britain stands before the world, as she has done since the days of Huskisson and Peel, as the champion of free markets. The United States, if they are not to be excluded from Asia, must either sustain the policy of Great Britain or they must follow the narrower policy of the Continental countries in carving out a market of their own. Silent indifference to what is going on in Asia is not merely a question of political and naval prestige or of territorial extension. It is a question whether the new markets which are being created there shall be opened to our commerce in any form under any conditions, and nothing but vigorous assertion of American interest in the subject will prevent the obstructions to the natural course of trade which will follow the division of Asia among the protectionist powers of the European continent.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

THE EXPLORATION OF THE SEA.

BY CHARLES MINOR BLACKFORD, JR., M. D.

WHO is there in whom the sight and sound, or even the very mention of the sea does not arouse an interest, even enthusiasm? The sea has ever been a theme for artist, poet and orator. It furnished a highway for Hellenic traffic, and about it clustered many tales and traditions, many beautiful mythological fancies, many half historic stories. It was a second home for the Hellenic people, and it is easy to understand the joy with which the ten thousand under Xenophon hailed it with shouts as they saw from the hilltops the glitter that marked the end of their long and weary retreat.

The dancing ripples, the steady heaving of the tides and the resistless power of the waves when hurled by storms on the shore, excited the imaginations of early men, and thus peopled the waste of waters with deities. In the warm, mild seas, the Ægean and Mediterranean, Neptune held his court, attended by mermaids and dolphins, to whom even Orpheus deigned to play. Among its terrors were Scylla and Charybdis and the sirens. In the forbidding waters of the north the Lorelei held sway; and Undine lived in a palace as rich in barbaric splendor as the caverns of Capri in sensuous tints.

These were but fancies, for as to the real life of the sea the ancients were ignorant. Its simplest problems were inexplicable, for even Aristotle failed to understand its saltness. He argued that, as the water was continually evaporating, the sea would ultimately dry up, and as the upper layers are exposed to the sun, they must be warmer and more salt than those beneath them. He named 180 species of marine animals inhabitating the Ægean Sea, a truly wonderful feat for one who did not possess instruments or modern chemical, physical and biological knowledge.

Pliny, in his gossipy Natural History, gives a list of 176 species, which, though four less than those given by Aristotle for the Ægean alone, he asserted to comprise all to be found in the sea, and complacently remarks:

"Surely, then, everyone must allow that it is quite impossible to include every species of terrestrial animal in one general view for the information of mankind, and yet, by Hercules, in the sea and in the ocean, vast as they are, there exists nothing that is unknown to us, and, a truly marvellous fact, it is with those things that nature has concealed in the deep that we are best acquainted."

He states the depth of the sea to be 1,500 fathoms in some places, and in others to be immeasurable. In regard to the saltiness, he repeats Aristotle's view that the surface strata are more saline than the deeper ones, because "what is sweet and mild is evaporated from it, which the force of fire easily accomplishes, while all the more acrid and thick matter is left behind, on which account the water of the sea is less salt at some depth than at the surface."

During the Middle Ages, little was done save to repeat the teachings of Aristotle, and beyond question the fabulous dangers of the ocean delayed the discovery of America. The voyages of Columbus and his followers excited anew the old interest in marine life, and in 1558 Gessner published a "*Historia Animalium*," the fourth book of which is on "Fishes and Sea Animals." The slender store of knowledge of pelagic life received its next addition from "A Treatise on Aquatic Life," by John Jonston, in 1649, and, about 1650, Hooke invented a sounding rod with a detachable weight, an idea that slumbered two hundred years, till Passed Midshipman J. M. Brooke, a young Virginian in the United States Navy, † invented in 1854, a rod embodying it, that is so perfect that Sigsbee says of it: "In fact there is no sounding rod . . . that is not a modification of Brooke's rod in one respect or another."

The first attempt to explore the sea in the scientific sense was that made by Ellis off the northeastern coast of Africa. He succeeded, in 1749, in sounding, at a depth of 891 fathoms, and made observations of the temperature of the deeper strata of water by drawing up specimens in a valved box, so arranged as to close on striking bottom, and taking the temperature on deck after the box had been drawn up. This process was more ingenious

† Now Prof. J. M. Brooke of the Virginia Military Institute.

than adapted to precise results. The next year, 1750, two Italian naturalists, Marsili and Donati, used the common oyster dredge for collecting specimens, and as early as 1779, Otho F. Müller, a Dane, invented the "Zoologists' Dredge" by fastening a net to an iron frame, and the modern era was definitely begun.

The progress of thalassography has been so rapid and so great during this century, that it can be sketched only in bare outline. In 1805 Péron went around the world and took temperatures at many points. He conceived the remarkable idea that at the bottom of the sea lay a bed of ice, though he neglected to mention the manner in which it was fastened down. Preposterous as is this idea, it survived for thirteen years, when Sir John Ross upset it. This latter explorer invented an apparatus, called the "Deep Sea Clamm," a gigantic pair of tongs by which he secured specimens of the bottom and several worms from more than 1,000 fathoms. Of course, had Péron's ice sheet lain over the bottom, the "Clamm" would not have brought up earth, but it is strange, in view of what was to follow, that the presence of the annelids attracted so scant attention.

When marine life began to command notice, the question of the depth to which life could extend divided scientific thought into warring camps. About 1840, it was generally believed that the bathymetrical limit was about 300 fathoms, and some strange ideas were current as to the physical condition of water when under a pressure such as a depth of two miles would produce. It was thought that skeletons of drowned men, or even heavy cannon and the "wedges of gold" that popular imagination places in the sea, floated at certain levels, beneath which is water so compressed as to be impenetrable. In fact, water is almost incompressible, and the weight of a cubic inch of it at the depth of a mile is very little more than at the surface; but it was assumed that no living being could survive a pressure which at 1,000 fathoms is about a ton to the square inch. We ourselves live under a pressure of about fifteen pounds per inch, and are unaware of it. Indeed, we sometimes waken on a morning when the barometer has risen, say, half an inch during the night, and consequently find ourselves sustaining an increased pressure of several tons not only without suffering, but with a positive feeling of buoyancy and good spirits. On the other hand, if the tremendous pressure under which we live be relieved as by a surgical

"cup," severe injury may follow. Aëronauts suffer from this cause, and marine animals dredged from great depth often reach the surface in a most lamentable condition, with eyes protruding and viscera distended.

The notion that life could not exist below 300 fathoms soon received heavy blows. Ross had brought up worms in mud from 1,000 fathoms, and entangled on the line at 800 fathoms was a beautiful *Caput Medusæ*. Off the coast of Portugal there is a fishery of sharks carried on below 400 fathoms, and it is thus demonstrated that animals so high in the scale can survive a pressure of 1,120 pounds to the inch. But these facts, and others equally forcible, seem to have been overlooked in favor of a plausible hypothesis, especially when the latter bore the stamp of a great name. In 1843 Edward Forbes, then professor of botany in King's College, London, read a paper on the *mollusca* and *radiata* of the Ægean Sea and their distribution, considered as bearing on geology. For a botanist to discuss a zoological topic from a geological standpoint is remarkable, but this paper was the beginning of a series of works on marine life that were in the very front of the thought of the time. Space compels the omission of his ideas of distribution from specific centres, his "Law of Representation" and much of interest and ingenuity that sprang from his brain; but his "Bathymetrical Zones" require mention because of the influence they exerted on science. He distinguished around all seaboards four well marked zones of depth, each characterized by a distinct group of organisms. These zones he called the Littoral, Laminarian, Coralline and the Zone of Deep Sea Corals. Of these, the Littoral extends between high and low water marks, and is periodically exposed to air, sun, and extremes of temperature. Animal *species* are rare, though *individuals* are many, and of them, many are vegetable feeders. From low water mark to about fifteen fathoms extends the Laminarian Zone, and it constitutes the chief home of the "tangles." It is always under water, except that at lowest ebb of the spring tides glimpses of its upper margin can be seen. The Coralline Zone extends to about fifty fathoms and vegetation is represented by millepores, zoophytes and bryozoa. Most sea fish—cod, haddock, etc.—inhabit this zone, though sometimes they go deeper.

Beneath this lies the zone of deep sea corals, in which life grows less and less, till it reaches zero. Erroneous as is this sys-

tem, it is a great advance on what had gone before, but it was destined to be short lived. Ross had brought up living organisms from depths far below Forbes' zero, and with improved dredging and sounding implements, it was shown that life was abundant even in abysmal regions. Sir James Clark Ross, R. N., dredging in 270 fathoms, lat. 73° 03′ S., lon. 176° 06′ E., reports "*Corallines, Flustræ* and a variety of invertebrate animals," and further in the same paragraph says: "Although contrary to the general belief of naturalists, I have no doubt that, from however great a depth we may be enabled to bring up the mud and stones of the bed of the ocean, we shall find them teeming with animal life,"—a prediction that has been amply fulfilled. In regard to the same cruise, J. D. Hooker says that in lat. 33° 32′ S., lon. 167° 40′ E., living specimens of *Hornera frondosa*, four other corals, an *annelid*, a *dictropia*, etc., were brought from 400 fathoms, besides which many infusoria and other evidences of life at 1,000 fathoms; and an unsigned paper claims that during Sir John Franklin's ill-fated expedition, the dredge was used at 300 fathoms; a depth evidently believed by the writer to have been unprecedented. In this he was in error, as the cases cited above will show.

The time was now ripe for true exploration, for scientists all over the world became interested in the strange new universe of water. In 1851, Michael Sars, a Norwegian, published a list of 13 species of living organisms from 300 fathoms. His son, G. O. Sars, aided the father in this work, and in 1864 he himself published a list of 92 species whose habitat lay between 200 and 300 fathoms beneath the surface. The collections made by these two have been of more service to science, though somewhat indirectly, than have many of ten times their size. For among those who saw them was Sir C. Wyville Thomson, and, gazing on those strange forms of life, he found food for much reflection. A mind like his needed no second hint, and at once he interested his friend, Dr. Carpenter, then a vice-president of the Royal Society, and enlisted his influence with the Admiralty to such purpose that the gunboat "Lightning" was put at the service of Thomson and his ally. The craft was ill adapted to the work, but it was a beginning, and a cruise was made off the northern shores of Scotland in 1868. The main object of this cruise was to determine, if possible, the effect of pressure on animal life at great depths, and the results of the diminution of light, besides

a number of minor problems. The cruise was successful, despite the unsuitableness of the vessel. It was shown that life was abundant at 650 fathoms, and that consequently Forbes' zero did not exist—at least, anywhere near the depth suggested by him. The prevalent idea that beneath a certain level the temperature was uniform was found to be an error, and a distinct oceanic circulation was discovered, in which currents of water at 2° C. were found quite near currents of a high temperature. Finally it was seen that a large proportion of deep sea forms were of new genera and species, thus opening a new world to the zoologist and botanist. Many of these new found organisms are identical with those of tertiary fossils or are sufficiently allied with them to explain some riddles and help clear up some of the problems of geology.

In the mean time, a battle was being waged over the organisms dredged from great depths. Among them were many *Rhizopods*, the most abundant being *Globigerina* and *Orbulina universa*. The first is a complex shell, like several spheres fastened together but communicating by a minute passage, to which the class owes the name *Foraminifera*. The second is a tiny perforated sphere, through the holes in which the protoplasm can be protruded and withdrawn. In parts of the ocean, these are so abundant that their shells or external skeletons make a peculiar sort of mud, called an "ooze," that covers vast tracts. As this ooze is found in abysmal depths, far below the assumed limit of life, it was suggested that the organisms had lived on the surface but had sunk to the bottom after death. Specimens were forwarded to Professors Ehrenberg of Berlin and Bailey of West Point, but these two high authorities disagreed; the former holding that, as the dead *Globigerina* was much heavier than its bulk of water and there was no reason to think that life altered this, the probability was that they had lived where found; but Bailey held that they more probably lived at or near the surface and sank after death. With a view to deciding the point, specimens were submitted to Prof. Huxley from those collected by Capt. Dayman of the "Cyclops" in 1857, who inclined to the view that they lived where found, though admitting it to be far from proven.

The question was soon settled in a manner simple and conclusive. A telegraphic cable was laid in 1857 through the Mediterranean between Sardinia and Bona, off the coast of Africa. It

failed completely in 1860, and the task of picking it up and remedying its defects was intrusted to Mr. Fleeming Jenkin, C. E., afterward Professor of Engineering in the University of Edinburgh. The cable had broken in seventy fathoms, but the sea end traversed a wide submerged valley of nearly 2,000 fathoms. When this was recovered, it was found to be covered with marine growths, many of which must have fastened on the cable while young and grown to maturity on it. Now at 2,000 fathoms the pressure approximates a ton and a half per square inch, yet Professor Allman, F. R. S., gives a list of fifteen forms, including the *ova* of a cephalopod, that had affixed themselves to the cable. The *ova* show, not merely that comparatively high organisms can survive this enormous pressure, but that they can fulfill the highest function of organisms, that of reproduction. M. Alphonse Milne-Edwards also prepared a paper and read it before the Academy of Sciences on July 15, 1861, in which he described the organisms found on the cable below 1,000 fathoms. One of them was a hitherto undescribed coral, to which he gave the descriptive name of *Thalassio trochus telegraphicus.*

As soon as it was settled indisputably that the organisms dredged from on or near the bottom of the sea lived where found, Professor Thomson again brought pressure to bear on the Admiralty for a vessel with which to explore this new realm. Private means avail but little in such an undertaking, and Governmental aid is essential, and it is a matter for congratulation that H. M. Surveying Ship "Porcupine" was commissioned on March 18, 1869, and ordered to be equipped for deep sea dredging. The "Porcupine," though small, was admirably adapted to its purpose, and her officers—Capt. Calver, Staff Commander Inskip, Lieutenant Browning and Mr. Davidson—aided the scientific staff with an intelligence and zeal that went far toward making the cruise an unqualified success.

During these years a discussion was going on among biologists that was of the greatest interest, scientific and otherwise, to scientists as well as to many without that category. The researches of Pasteur, Lister and others had shown putrefaction, suppuration and fermentation to be due to the action of living organisms, and much interest attached to the origin of these beings. A large school, led by Bastian, held that life could be spontaneously generated, and this they asserted to be proven by experiment. It was

claimed that it was a logical necessity of the theory of evolution, and that the dogma "*omne vivum ex vivo*" was fatal to evolution as a complete system. Tyndall and other careful experimenters destroyed their claim to experimental demonstration, and the doctrine of "abiogenesis" was falling to pieces, when unexpected aid came to it.

In dredging at the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, Thomson and Carpenter found a soft, gelatinous matter that appeared to be alive. It was like protoplasm, but was capable of indefinite increase in size, was not nucleated, nor did it reproduce itself; but it was thought to eat, move, and be sensitive. Huxley had seen it in 1868, and, in 1872, Bessels obtained it on the unfortunate "Polaris;" but, on the other hand, the "Challenger" failed to secure it. Says Thomson:

"If the mud (containing it) be shaken with weak spirit of wine, fine flakes separate like coagulated mucus, and if a little of the mud in which this viscid condition is most marked be placed in a drop of sea water under the microscope, we can usually see after a time, an irregular network of matter resembling white of egg, distinguishable by its maintaining its outline and not mixing with the water. This network may be seen gradually altering in form, and entangled granules and foreign bodies change their relative positions. The gelatinous matter is, therefore, capable of a certain amount of movement, and there can be no doubt that it manifests the phenomena of a very simple form of life."

To this supposed being Huxley gave the name of "*Bathybius haeckelii*;" and it was greeted with a flourish of trumpets by the materialistic faction. It was claimed to be inorganic matter in the very act of becoming organized, and to demonstrate that life was but a question of molecular arrangement. Huxley wrote a paper in support of these views, but the rejoicing was short lived. Biogenesis did not yield without a struggle, and a few experiments destroyed the *Bathybius*. It was noticed that it was seen only in alcoholic preparations, and it was next observed that when alcohol was poured into sea water a precipitate of calcium sulphate is thrown down that presents every appearance of the so-called *Bathybius*. The calcareous plates and other features that had been so carefully studied, and that had been so bewildering from their endless variations, proved to be accidental inclosures, and the mystery stood explained. As soon as Professor Huxley became convinced of his error, he admitted that he had been led astray and, in his discussion with Bastian, showed himself one of

the staunchest advocates of biogenesis and did as much as did anyone to establish the truth that all life springs from life.

From this time, the seas have been thoroughly explored, and so many expeditions have gone forth that it is impossible to sketch each one, however lightly. There is one that is as yet unique in the annals of science and some mention must be made of it, not only because of the perfect manner in which those actually engaged in the cruise performed their part, but also on account of the thorough and scientific way in which the reports and collections have been utilized. This expedition is that of the famous "Challenger."

The work of the "Lightning" and the "Porcupine" had thoroughly aroused the leading scientific men of England to the importance of marine life. The objections of the Admiralty, if any had existed, had been overcome, and, in 1872, H. M. S. "Challenger," a corvette of some 2,300 tons displacement, was put in commission for a three years' cruise. She sailed on December 21, 1872, and returned on May 26, 1876. It is safe to say that no expedition that has ever sailed has added so materially to the world's stock of knowledge, both by destroying errors and accumulating truths. The expedition was under the scientific supervision of Sir C. Wyville Thomson, who also undertook the publication of the scientific reports after his return. The task proved too much for his strength, and failing health forced his retirement some months before his death, which occurred in March, 1882, an event that was lamented by the whole scientific world.

The University of Edinburgh volunteered to care for the specimens sent home from time to time, and as each consignment reached its destination the cases were unpacked and the contents examined and compared with the accompanying catalogue, after which the bottles and other containers were replaced in the original boxes. It is convincing evidence of the great skill of the naturalists on board that of the thousands of bottles but three were broken, not a single specimen was lost, and very few suffered from leakage or from evaporation of the spirit in which they were preserved.

On the return of the vessel a question arose as to the disposition of the vast store of material, and whether the preparation of the reports should be confined to British naturalists. A liberal

policy prevailed, and eminent men from all over the world co-operated in producing a set of reports that is a veritable encyclopedia of the sea and its coasts. The official reports fill forty-eight large volumes, of which zoology has forty; botany, two; physics and chemistry, two; the "narrative," three; and one is devoted to a general summary of results. This set seems to cover the ground quite thoroughly, but besides the reports the books, monographs and articles based on this celebrated expedition are fairly innumerable.

This cruise added to science fourteen new species of birds, 250 new species of fishes, thirty-two varieties of cuttlefish, forty-nine new species in one order of the holothurians or sea cucumbers, and thousands of new Radiolarians. Eight out of fifteen known insects that walk on water were found by the "Challenger," and our knowledge of relationships between classes of organisms made much more complete. Indeed, the history of thalassography may be divided into two eras—before the "Challenger" and after it.

Were any description of later expeditions attempted this paper would be far too long, but the excellent work of American investigators cannot be overlooked. The Navy Department, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Fish Commission and individuals working in behalf of the Smithsonian Institution, have done admirable work that is equal to any done abroad, and private funds have supplied means by which much has been accomplished. Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Johns Hopkins and other colleges have working laboratories on our coast, or in the Bahama Islands, that rival the famous zoological station at Naples, and with the present interest in "the sea and all that therein is" the time may come when the boast of Pliny will be true.

CHARLES MINOR BLACKFORD, JR.

PRINCE VON BISMARCK—II.

BY EMILIO CASTELAR.

V.

"We have thirty-four kings," said Heine, "and we all call fatherland those kingdoms which belong to them by divine right." To simplify this almost feudal régime by reducing to a common denominator these various fractions, and building up, if not a single state, at least one which should become predominant and constitute itself the guiding star of the group, what a splendid task for a statesman of Bismarck's courage and power! To this task he devoted himself, and then followed the most brilliant period of his life and history, that dating from his preparations for war with Austria and coming down to the time when he was making ready for the inevitable conflict with France. I know of no greater prodigy of skill than that then displayed by him. The rout of the Austrians was indeed a portentous event in Bismarck's career, following, as it did, so closely after he had been grievously defeated in the popular branch of Parliament, where he was supported by but thirty-six deputies—a miserable fraction better adapted to follow a petty political chieftain than a leader such as he.

However, having induced Austria to associate herself with him in his design for the seizure of the Danish duchies, he assumed a feigned humility toward that power as long as the work was in progress, but once completed and when he found himself no longer in need of assistance, he turned upon his quondam ally with fierce arrogance and dealt her a well-nigh fatal wound. He had a thorough contempt for the idea, at that time prevalent in Germany, that a war between the two great branches of the German people would be little better

than fratricidal. He did not hurry the preparations for his enterprise; in fact, he spent five years in perfecting his plans, but no sooner were they fully matured than he struck at his enemy with lightning-like rapidity. The war lasted but a few days, and a single battle sufficed to decide the contest between Prussia and Austria. So brilliant and startling was the victory which crowned Bismarck's work—the expulsion from the Germanic confederation of the ancient and imperial protector of the Teutonic peoples, a work undertaken in opposition to everybody's advice and carried to a successful conclusion in spite of every obstacle—that the achievement will ever live in human annals as an example of what can be accomplished by a tenacious will; above all, when this has for its object the realization of a fecund and progressive ideal.

Such a stupendous feat cannot be judged from outside—from the standpoint of the anatomic cabinet of an impassive historian who coldly studies a cold skeleton. Such a critic having no relations with real personalities, is incapable of understanding the creations of others, and neither reflection nor study will ever enable him to appreciate and comprehend Bismarck. It is owing precisely to this, that the opinions of so celebrated a writer as Taine carry so little weight, as they are simply formulated by a professor for those who, comfortably seated by their library fireside, give themselves over to the study of personages long since dead—the protagonists of ancient history, entities who at one time lived in the cosmic fires of revolution or took part in the apocalyptic battles of empire. Who can form an idea of the living lion of the desert by studying the desiccated lion of the museum? Vico, formulating historical judgment, says: "We can only know that which we have caused; so God, who is the great cause of all things, knows all things." I would add to this, that we know only through suffering; hence everyone who has revealed something to us is a martyr, and all redemption comes to us through the immolation of a redeemer. Only those who planned and succeeded in accomplishing Italian unity, as did Cavour or Ratazzi, or who, like Mazzini or Crispi, conspired for half a century, or who, like Garibaldi, destroyed absolutism; or who, like Lincoln, emancipated the slaves—only these can realize what it must have cost to establish German unity on the foundations of a defeated Austria, surrounded and but-

tressed as the latter was in her historic fortress by arms and superstitions eager to rush to her defence. The battle of Sadowa was simply the final consequence in logical sequence of religious reform; of the Treaty of Westphalia; of the philosophic and political movement initiated by Frederick the Great; of those two revolutions whose forces Prussia combated and in the end accepted; of the universal French Revolution of 1789; and, finally, of the German National Revolution of 1848. Bismarck might well feel satisfied with his work.

VI.

I have said that Bismarck's work was founded upon contradictions or antinomies. From the time of his access to power to the time of his triumph over Austria, these contradictions, like the antinomies of Hegel, are reconcilable only in synthesis; while, from the hour of victory over Austria to the time of his fall from power, they are as irreconcilable as are the antinomies of Kant. The great philosopher, upon seeing the destruction, as he supposed, of the cardinal principle upon which the universe is founded, namely, pure reason, formulated his theory of practical reason, and thus found a way out of his difficulties; but Bismarck was not so fortunate, for, after Sadowa, whether in his domestic or foreign policy, he did nothing but entangle and involve himself more and more each day, wandering, as it were, within the limits of an immense and continual contradiction.

The unity of his country having been established by the Treaty of Prague, it might reasonably have been supposed that a secure foundation had been laid for progress, and that no obstacles would henceforth be put in its path. Dominated, however, by that spirit of contradiction, as strong within him as it was in that German of the Germans, Robert the Devil, he showed himself to be under the influence of two contrary forces of which he was the product, and he proceeded to put the seal of reaction on his own work. The unity of Germany, accomplished with the aid or at least with the acquiescence of the French, it was not to be supposed that Italy and Prussia should become aggrandized by the initiative of France while the latter was to be confined strictly to her own limits. Irreducible antinomies—either France must be strengthened without detriment to Germany, or Germany must retain what she had gained, without, however, becoming an

offence or a danger to France. Bismarck proposed to gather into one group, and form into a union, the South German States; this union to bind itself not to pass beyond the limits of the Main and to engage to incorporate its army with that of the North. Prussia was to be the tutelar genius of the whole. She was to proclaim universal suffrage and would compel the feudalists themselves to support it. Then Bismarck proposed to have Prussia continue ancient feudalism by establishing it upon the waves of this same universal suffrage, building a castle as it were in the ocean. He proposed all this, and further, to impose upon so progressive and democratic a State as United Germany, the forms and processes of the conquerors and of the conquest; to divert Austrian ambitions toward the Slavonic races of the South, and thus embroil her with Russia, who had similar ambitions herself; to reconcile a king of so-called divine origin and of absolutist tendency with a parliament modeled upon that of Great Britain; subsidize socialism and formulate laws for it, and then declare a state of siege against the socialists; seek for religious peace and at the same time promulgate the Cæsar-like May laws of 1873 against the Catholic clergy. All this he proposed to himself, and then in his infatuation he attempts, in alliance with Dr. Döllinger and the Old Catholics, to form a new church, only to find himself shortly afterwards going humbly to Canossa to sue for pardon, offering in consideration the revocation of the May laws.

We next find him threatening the Papacy and treating it with terrible irreverence, which does not prevent him, however, from submitting to Papal arbitration and bowing to the Pope's decision in the colonial disputes between Spain and Germany; then we see him seeking to wound Russia by vetoing the Treaty of San Stefano, and to favor England and Austria by handing over to the one the Island of Cyprus and to the other Bosnia, without its ever occurring to him that Russia might seek to retaliate by entering into a close alliance with France. We have him seizing Metz and Strasburg under the pretence that this would conduce to preserve European peace, and he who sought to destroy Austria is found declaring that that power's existence is indispensable for the safety of Germany, and that she is providential in history as the protector of the incipient States of the Danube. Subsequently he plans and forms the Triple Alliance for the sake, he tells us, of European stability, and he compels the

partners to arm themselves to the teeth, thus ruining Italy and drawing from Germany the last drop of sweat for the purpose of filling the voracious coffers of the army chest. He foments the hereditary principle by putting kings before all human institutions; but he has no scruple in embittering the last hours of the Emperor Frederick, and he turns angrily from the latter toward William II., in whom he sees nothing but a simple pupil to be managed as a puppet; only, however, to find in him a master who was soon to show that he, Bismarck, was not the Alpha and Omega of all created things. To the youthful Emperor was reserved the task of solving the great Chancellor's many contradictions by simply suppressing, as a useless cipher, the contradictor himself, and sending him into retirement.

In the midst of so many contradictions in the great statesman's character there are three which stand out prominently—one is displayed in his domestic policy, a second in his foreign policy and a third in his treatment of questions affecting one and the other. The contradiction in the first of these may be seen in his treatment of German socialism, while that in his foreign policy is exemplified in his dealings with Russia; the third of these contradictions being shown in his treatment of Rome.

To a statesman devoid of such contradictions, it would never occur to combat liberal political economy as out of fashion; to be in continual conference with Lasalle and seek to associate the latter with his work; to conceive German royalty as a patriarchate founded for the benefit of the poor; to pile law upon law and regulation upon regulation with no other result than to add to the fiscal estimates a burden of taxation and a load of misery, and to punish with violence and by useless measures the inevitable awakening from illusions which he himself had propagated and fomented.

Still more glaring was the Bismarckian contradiction as seen in the Chancellor's relations with Russia.

Some time ago I said in one of my Parliamentary speeches, that from about the year 1850 to 1859 there were premonitions of war between France and Austria; from the year 1859 to 1866 of war between Austria and Prussia; from 1866 to 1870 of war between Prussia and France, and from 1870 to 1877 of war between Russia and Turkey, just as from the time of the Treaty of Berlin to the present day there have been threats of war between Rus-

sia and Germany. Smiles of incredulity greeted this declaration, which, however, is based upon the most commonplace prevision.

Never were two dynasties more closely bound together than the imperial houses of Germany and Russia; and on the other hand, never was there a more implacable hatred than that existing between the Russian and German peoples. One has but to look at the princes of the Muscovite dynasty to see, at a glance, how close is the consanguinity between them and the princes of the German imperial family; in a word, they are all Germans. But on the other hand, one need but look at a Russian and a German, to see that the former has been grafted from the full Tartar to the Slavonic stock, while the latter is of the pure Aryan root. The Russian princes have maintained such an affection for the fatherland from which they sprang that for a long time the ruling ministers of state, the court chamberlains and the officers of the household guard were compelled by necessity to use the tongue spoken between the Rhine and the Vistula, or they had to belong, through some branch of their families, to the Teutonic stock. Under these circumstances, the Germans saw in themselves, as it were, a conquering and official race—the rulers of a conquered and servile empire. So dominant, in fact, was this Germanic influence that the Emperor Nicholas had for his Chancellor (that is to say during our own times), a man who could neither speak nor understand the Russian language. German blood, diffused by great Empresses through the race of the Romanoffs, became still more common by reason of the custom deeply ingrained in the latter, of allying themselves with German princesses, who exercised so powerful a social influence that they were able to secure the adoption of laws eminently favorable to the condition of woman, thus giving a token and sign of their unquestioned superiority. And these princesses, so manifestly superior, educated as they had been in cities which were the very focus of science and poetry (especially in the last century), brought to the throne of the Czars, together with the nostalgia of a fatherland, the firm resolution to rear and educate their offspring in a love for that Germany which was so dear to them. While the Russian dynasty, therefore, entertains for Germany an honest and honorable friendship, the Russian people, on their side, feel for that country nothing but implacable hatred. In their pride, common to all nations which have a long life before them and but a short history to

look back upon, they detest the people to whom they owe what little culture they possess. The pure Muscovites, the guardians of the national thought, believe that the blending of the Slavonic and the Tartar races represents a purer blood than that of the Teuton, just as the Teuton in the beginning of modern history believed that the old tree of the Latin Empire and the Latin race could only renew its life by the pure sap injected into it by the tribes wandering on the foggy plains of the north.

The Russians have an abiding faith in the superiority of that civilization which was originally represented by cities purely Muscovite, like holy Moscow; defended by heroes like Ivan the Terrible, and consecrated by such a church as the Orthodox, which unites the genius of Europe with the genius of Asia; and this faith in their peculiar civilization is strengthened by the illusions common to a love of country, thus forming, as it were, a magnificent monument erected by a race which believes itself to be the elect of heaven and to be predestined to a brilliant future. This marvellous work of history found itself, at the time of Peter the Great, interrupted and almost smothered beneath the vast pile of documents heaped upon it by German bureaucracy, and as a result Moscow fell, the holy Synod expired, Russian originality became extinct, the patriarchal empire was converted into an autocracy, the militant church became a bureau, the free and original life of the Slav and Cossack, who had found themselves providentially united on the boundless steppes for the purpose of saving and regenerating the world, became simply a German parody. Such was the Muscovite idea, and it went still further—the Russian believed that, in like manner as the civil law of Rome sought to found a race superior to any which had previously existed—a race which should be purer in sentiment, nearer to nature and better fitted for liberty; so the social problem of the modern world required a race like the Slavonic, the only one capable of facing and solving it; and the solution was to come through free and ample municipal government as patriarchal as that enjoyed by the Asiatic tribes and as progressive as that of any European state. Animated by such sentiments as these, the patriotic Russian hated to see his Czar—already too absolute—adopt the despotism of the German; he hated to see the Synod—already too official—assume the form of German bureaucracy; and to see in the staff of the army the German officers supreme.

St. Petersburg, to him, represented nothing but the city of the conquerors; and in all modern life, from the time of Peter the Great to the present day, he simply sees a vile parody of the customs and institutions which, according to his ideas, have made the Western nations thoroughly adapted for war and conquest, but have totally unfitted them for natural liberty and political progress.

Statesmen, bureaucrats and military men are accustomed to forming their combinations without ever giving a thought to the poet who gives his country a poem, to the publicist who writes a pamphlet, or to the historian who records a deed. They resemble the husbandman who sows the seed without knowing what inclemencies or what favors heaven has in store for his crops, or whence came the cloud which watered or the hail storm which destroyed his beloved fields. That strophe of the poet, that word of the orator and that idea of the philosopher—all these are lost sight of in the whirlwind of practical politics, the most impure of all the impurities contained in this living reality; but still they take possession of the people in some mysterious way, just as the living germs of certain plants are carried by the wind and fall with vivifying force upon other plants far distant; and they awake sentiments heretofore dormant, but now springing to life and setting in motion the greatest and loftiest enterprises.

Hence, while Emperors and Chancellors sought to form a close alliance with Germany, the Russian people cursed the project; and here again Bismarck made the mistake of supposing that the court could vanquish the people, but that the people could never vanquish the court. As a matter of fact, the Russian people have recently triumphed over the court; and, strangely enough, they have been assisted in their work by two very opposite forces—by the Nihilists, who some years ago assassinated the Czar, and by his successor, who brought to the throne a character and principles of a distinctly Muscovite type. Thus it is that Germany finds herself between the Russian and the French, or, as one might say, between the hammer and the anvil.

A like perplexity and uncertainty plagued Bismarck in his treatment of the Catholic question. In 1873, after a furious combat with the church, supposing that he could suppress Catholicism by a *coup d'etat*, he attempted to subject the very soul of the people to coercive laws; but, ten years later on,

we find him rising in the German legislature to declare that the State was powerless to oppose ideas, hence that all measures adopted for and aimed at the conscience must necessarily prove abortive. And the same thing which happened to him in the ecclesiastical question arising out of the May laws, befell him in the military question arising out of the conquest of Alsace and Lorraine. Bismarck's profound genius enabled him to quickly understand what a grave mistake it was to retain Metz and Strasburg, the two cities beloved beyond all others by France, and loving her beyond all else in return. But he permitted an oligarchy of victorious generals to impose their own and the national will upon him; and, failing in sufficient resolution to oppose them, he proceeded to devour the bitter fruit of moral defeat. As long as Alsace and Lorraine are retained from France, Europe will know no peace; and as restoration to their nationality is but an act of simple justice, these provinces will some day be returned to their rightful owner; notwithstanding the regrettable weakness displayed by the Chancellor in his attitude toward German military leaders.

Bismarck committed a similar error in his colonial policy. How many shameful defeats he sustained in his ambitious designs to make Germany a colonial power! After having moved heaven and earth to acquire territories on the Dark Continent, he found himself compelled to exchange an empire in Zanzibar for an insignificant islet in the German Ocean.

His experience was similar in regard to his personal power, so tenaciously and persistently defended by him against all and everything. He championed the old principle of the imperial will as the basis of the State and as the foundation of the law, regarding the legislature as simply a consulting body. He made the Kaisers his gods and he flattered them to such an extent that he was able to induce them to seize the crown from the altar and place it upon their own heads as though by divine right. But there came a day when imperial power, in order to assert its assumed divinity and omnipotence, sacrificed upon its altars no less a victim than the Chancellor himself.

EMILIO CASTELAR.

BISMARCK AND MOTLEY.—WITH CORRESPONDENCE TILL NOW UNPUBLISHED.

BY JAMES PEMBERTON GRUND.

WHEN I found myself in Berlin, several years ago, as the correspondent of a great American newspaper, I felt that to leave Berlin without having had an interview with the "Iron Chancellor" would mean that my mission had been a failure. No journal at that time had obtained an interview from the Prince for twelve years—not since M. de Blowitz had performed his memorable feat of securing in advance a copy of the Berlin Treaty before its ratification for publication in the *Times*. I had been presented to the Chancellor a short time before his retirement, but as at that time his relations with his imperial master were rather strained, he declined to discuss politics. After he had gone to Friedrichsruh, the labor question in Europe entered upon an acute phase, and it was thought that the First of May would not pass without trouble in any one of the great cities of Europe. Through the kindness of Count Herbert Bismarck, I obtained permission to visit his illustrious father at Friedrichsruh about the middle of April, in order to obtain from him his view on the Labor Question, and more particularly the end, aim and probable result of the socialistic agitation then carried on with feverish activity in every country of the civilized world.

I had had the honor of meeting Count Herbert Bismarck many years before that time—when he was a student at the University of Bonn. The Chancellor received me very graciously and granted me an interview on the subject of socialism in which, as was his wont, he disdained the artificial aspect of the question altogether and went at once to the very essence of it, tearing out the heart of his subject, of which he knew every detail. He took me for a two hours' drive with him on the second day of my

arrival—not along the highway, but along the rough roads cut through the woods. This was thought to benefit his digestion. He talked of socialism almost the whole time without a pause. Never once was his memory at fault, either with regard to places or people or their actions. Nor was there lack of anecdote to make the tale more living. Of Lasalle, whom he had known in his youth, he said: "A great vanity, but greater knowledge. The best talker I ever listened to. Had he lived, he would have become a conservative—at least he would never have remained a socialist." The guilds of the master workmen in the Middle Ages that placed the handicraftsman in a position to be envied by his descendants of to-day, the Chancellor summed up in a single sentence as "an aristocracy of labor." The present struggle for existence and the law of the survival of the fittest was in the ex-Chancellor's opinion a necessary condition of modern life. "If it ever came to an end," he observed, "there would be a deadlock of human action, of human activity, which is not the intention of Divine Providence. Such a condition of affairs is, moreover, only possible where slavery exists, as in Africa—where it has existed ever since the world had a history—or in the thousand isles of the Southern Pacific Ocean, where man, when he is hungry, has but to put forth his hand to pluck the fruit from the tree. But our modern progress and civilization is produced by the friction of human competition. If society wishes to secure peace it must always be ready to fight for it." Speaking of the politicians who coquette with socialism in order to obtain votes, he said: "They do not keep before their minds the image of what society would be when dominated by the least instructed and intelligent portion of the population, whose ignorance is easily led by any eloquent liar, who supplies them with the most liberal promises at the cheapest rates. The mob needs flatterers, as much as, or more than, any sultan."

The Prince was not disposed to make light of the spectre of socialism. "Troubles ahead caused by the Labor Question," he continued, "are more imminent than foreign wars. We are riding a steeplechase over an unknown country." The Chancellor, in conclusion, said that all reasonable demands of the workingmen for the improvement of their condition were sure to be realized by means of workingmen's suffrages without a lapse into political chaos.

The life at the castle was simple—the table plentiful and exquisite. The Chancellor had always been fond of the good things of this life and his iron constitution had not only enabled him to withstand the ill effects of early excesses—but to carry a moderate enjoyment of the pleasures of tobacco, wine, and the table into an advanced period of his existence. In the morning everyone had coffee or tea, toast and eggs in his or her room—the Chancellor himself taking two eggs to his share without any liquid refreshment of any kind. About ten o'clock, when the visitors began to drift into the dining room, the Chancellor sat at the head of the table, chatting, glancing at the newspapers and sipping a pint of still Moselle, unaccompanied by any solid refreshment. Beside his arm-chair lay the two great dogs, *Thyras*, the gift of the young Kaiser, and *Rebecca*. For many years, dating from his student days, successive dogs of the Chancellor's have borne the names *Thyras* and *Rebecca*. There was always a *Thyras* at Varzin or Friedrichsruh with a *Rebecca* to keep him company.

After the pint bottle of Moselle and the chat—wherein the Chancellor never became didactic, but allowed everyone his say—only when he added his comments to a remark it seemed in every instance amplified, clarified and explained in the light of his own powerful and comprehensive intellect—he went out for a walk. A great charm of his talk was the simple direct way in which he treated of subjects he had mastered, or great events in which he had taken part. Nothing elaborate, no striving after effect. All discussed in a plain, easy style; all the more graphic because it was so simple. He was a great naturalist—a great botanist—a great farmer; like Goethe, "he understood trees," and the nature of various animals, wild or domestic. While walking he talked—or rather thought aloud—and nothing he said seemed trivial, even when he discussed some very simple every-day matter. He was sure to find some striking side in the thing itself, or in its relation to other things in this world, and proved this to you in a couple of crisp sentences.

He did me the honor on one or two occasions to allow me to accompany him in these little walks. One day we saw on a rustic bench a quantity of feathers and some blood, the remains of some small member of the feathered tribe, made a meal of by a hungry bird of prey. "How much useless cruelty there is in this world," he observed, "the hawk devoured the breast of that bird while it was yet alive."

When the Prince reached a spot on the bank of a little stream on the far side of which were a couple of mills belonging to him, the Prince took a seat on a rustic bench, with the two great dogs at his feet. I happened to speak of a picture hanging in the drawing-room at the castle, showing the famous "Death-Ride," as the Prussians call it, of the First Dragoon Guards (now Queen Victoria's Own) on August 16, 1870, at Mars-la-Tour; in which both the Chancellor's sons took part. Count Herbert was severely wounded in the thigh. Count William's horse was shot under him. But I will endeavor to tell the story of the part his sons took in that famous charge as the Chancellor told it to me.

"Both my sons were present in the famous cavalry charge of August 16," said the Chancellor, "and my son Herbert received there a bullet wound through the leg, from which he has never completely recovered, and which has at times been aggravated by his tendency to abuse his remarkable faculty for work. He received no regular medical care on the field, the only one who looked after him then being a veterinary surgeon, a Swiss. The wound remained open for a considerable period, and from time to time pieces of leather were ejected that had been carried into the wound by the bullet.

"My other son, William, was but a few hundred yards from the French front, when his horse was shot through the hoof and fell across the sheath of his sabre so as to prevent his getting up. He managed, however, to cut the leather thongs holding the scabbard to his belt, and not only regained his feet, but managed to make his horse get up. No sooner had he done this than the French line fired a volley, from the effects of which he sheltered himself behind his horse. He was making off for his life, as the French spared none who took part in the charge, when his attention was attracted to a wounded dragoon of his regiment, who shouted to him, 'Save me!' My son seized him and managed to lift him up and sling him across the saddle. So they proceeded until they reached a ditch, when the horse fell for a second time and it was impossible to make him get up again. So my son was compelled to abandon his steed and the wounded trooper to their fate. When he looked at his horse for the last time he counted eight bullet holes in the animal's body.

"Besides the shot in his thigh, my son Herbert was struck by another bullet in the chest and his life was saved in rather a re-

markable manner. When his regiment was under marching orders, I told him that it would be a pity, in case he were wounded, for a handsome gold watch he carried to fall into the hands of the French. So I made him give it to me to keep, giving him instead a plain French hunting watch of ebony, as hard as iron and of no great value. This was struck by the bullet, which deviated from its course, otherwise my boy must have perished."

During the course of this conversation, the Prince, in alluding to the necessity of being beforehand with an enemy, whether in politics or war, said: "When you see his hand in his pocket, put your own on your pistol; when you hear him cocking, fire!"

Of the value of an English alliance he said: "The enormous fleet of England makes her a valuable ally. It is always in her power—by making a naval demonstration on the coasts of a power at war with her—to compel that power to divide its forces to guard its line of seaboard from attack."

In speaking of the fall of a great minister, he said: "It is always a fool's work when you are called upon to assume responsibility for acts in which you had no share."

I have known three private secretaries of Prince Bismarck. The first was Herr von Rottenburg, who was in his service at the time he ceased to be Imperial Chancellor, but did not follow his master into retirement, though he has since then been several times his guest at Friedrichsruh. Herr von Rottenburg is now a Secretary of State and the son-in-law of the late Mr. William Walter Phelps, at one time Minister of the United States in Berlin. Lothar Bucher, a man who played a leading part in German politics when he was an advanced Liberal, or, more truly stated, an extreme Radical or Socialist of the school of Ferdinand Lasalle, of whose last will and testament he was executor, was his successor. He became the convert to Conservatism that Prince Bismarck said Lasalle himself would have been if he had lived. With his change of opinion, the great personal influence of Prince Bismarck had, no doubt, a great deal to do; but it is a curious fact that it was Bucher's long residence in England after the events of 1848, that brought home to him the conviction that parliamentary government is a failure, and that "the talk of the tribunes" could do nothing to bring about German unity.

And that is exactly where the shoe pinches, and that is why Herr Eugen Richter, the Freisinnigs, and Herr Leibknecht and Herr Bebel, the Socialists, were so bitter against the Chancellor. He accomplished the work they lamentably failed in, by employing methods of his own with which theirs had nothing in common.

Lothar Bucher expressed his acquired convictions in a book entitled "*Der Parlamentarismus wie er ist,*" (Parliamentarianism as it is.) After that his old friends among the German Radicals would have nothing more to do with him, and he accepted a position in the Foreign Office.

Lothar Bucher, now gathered to his fathers, was a little man, of manners and appearance quaint enough to have delighted Charles Dickens. Very short and slight, almost as diminutive as the late Herr Windthorst, with a queer, puckered up little face, all wrinkles, and the shrewdest, kindliest, bright blue eyes imaginable.

We took a walk together one morning. Among the features of Friedrichsruh is a hedge, or rather wall, of pine and fir trees surrounding the Castle and the grounds in such a manner as to protect the inmates from the biting blasts of autumn from whichever quarter they may come. Every variety of the pine is represented, and it seems there are several hundred of them; whenever I asked Bucher the name of one, he looked carefully at the leaves, plucked one, tasted and smelled it, and if then unable to classify it, which was seldom, said, with a little sigh, "I must ask the Prince." Bucher was a fine botanist and practical farmer himself, and told me, among other things, that he had experimented with the planting of Indian corn in various parts of Germany, with a view to introducing it to the Fatherland as a new article of diet.

That set us to talking of the United States, of which Bucher spoke with admiration. A people who had brought such a stupendous civil war to a successful conclusion and who had so magnificently developed the resources of the country, must possess the highest qualities. This led us naturally to discuss the Prince's friendship with distinguished Americans, including Bayard Taylor, William Walter Phelps and others; but more especially with the late John Lothrop Motley, Ex-Minister of the United States to London and Vienna and the historian of the "Rise of the

Dutch Republic," who was Prince Bismarck's college "chum," first at Goettingen and then at Berlin, and for whom he cherished a tender regard that lasted until the end of the distiguished American's earthly career.

The Prince had often spoken to Bucher of Motley. "Motley," said Herr Bucher, "went to Goettingen in 1833. He remained there a year. While there he made the acquaintance of Bismarck, known in his student days as 'the mad Junker' (squire) on account of his recklessness, daring, and defiance of University authority. Besides the Prince, the principal friends of Motley at Goettingen were Count Hermann von Keyserling (afterward a great botanist) and Herr von Kanitz, who was later on Prussian Minister at Naples. Both Prince Bismarck and Motley followed the lectures of the great jurist Savigny. After remaining a year at Goettingen Motley went to Berlin. Prince Bismarck did the same and while in the Prussian capital, they lodged in the house of an old gentleman named Logier at No. 161 Friedrichstrasse.

In the admirable collection of letters of John Lothrop Motley, edited by George William Curtis, is one to his mother, dated Berlin, "up one flight of stairs." He speaks of Berlin as "this most right-angled of cities." He was a good republican, even as a boy; and speaks of "Prussian tyranny dealt out in homœopathic doses constantly administered." Of German students he says: "German students are certainly an original and peculiar race of beings, and can be compared to nothing. . . . Their character is a labyrinth out of which I cannot find my way."

The German students have changed a good deal since the thirties. The romantic side of their character has suffered abatement. At that time it was a proper thing for a dandy student to promenade the streets of a University town in a frogged dressing gown, buckskin breeches with jack boots with enormous spurs, an enormous sabre clanking at his heels; a pipe a yard long between his teeth and a monster mastiff (Ulmer) gambolling at his side, whom occasionally, to amuse himself or the passers-by, he made to jump over his stick. To-day the students smoke cigars in the street and the jack boots are reserved for festive occasions. The duels were more frequent and more bloody in the good old times. The duellists did not wear the great wire spectacles to protect their eyes as they do now, so that the sight of a Cyclops among

members of the corps was not unfrequent. A few years after Motley left Goettingen, he gave to the world in a novel, "Morton of Morton's Hope," a vivid picture of German University life as it was then. The German hero of the book is *Otto von Rabensmarck*, a desperate, roystering, swaggering, but high-minded and clever student; and there is little room for doubt that here the young Bismarck sat for his portrait. Rabensmarck in the novel compels the bully of the University to jump over his stick at the word of command, like a dog, in order to avoid fighting a duel to the death, and I have heard that the Prince in his student days did something of the sort. Motley's friends, Kanitz and Keyserling, also figure in the book under thin disguises, as do his two American chums at Goettingen, both of Charleston, S. C., Amory Coffin and Mitchell King.

After the youth who was to become a great statesman and the youth who was to become a great historian had passed two years of university life together, each went his way; one became a country gentleman, the other returned to the United States. They did not meet again until 1855, twenty-two years afterwards. Both had married ladies born and brought up in their immediate neighborhood: Motley, the charming sister of Park Benjamin; Bismarck, the amiable and accomplished Fraulein Johanna von Puttkammer. Both were fortunate enough to marry women singularly gifted intellectually, and with whom they were in perfect sympathy. Motley, in 1855, was passing through Frankfort-on-the-Main, where Bismarck was accredited Prussian Minister to the Diet of the German Confederation (he was appointed in 1851). The Diet was mainly composed of visionaries and wordy triflers, not a man of mark among them, and it was there that Bismarck imbibed that contempt for parliamentary long-windedness that never since then entirely deserted him. A clever man has called the Frankfort Diet "the political toy-shop of Europe," and of the Bund of German States (including Austria), then in a somewhat shaky condition, Heine wrote:

"O Bund,
Du Hund,
Du bist nicht gesund!"

In Mr. Curtis's collection of Motley's letters is one to his wife, dated Frankfort, July 27, 1855, in which he describes the renewal of his acquaintance with the old college friend he

had quitted nearly a quarter of a century before. When he called, Bismarck was at dinner, so he left his card and promised to return in half an hour. Motley learned later that as soon as Bismarck received his card he despatched a servant to Motley's hotel, but the servant missed Motley, who had returned to his hotel by another way. "When I came back," Motley continues, "I was received with open arms. I can't express to you how cordially he received me. If I had been his brother instead of an old friend, he could not have shown more warmth and affectionate delight in seeing me. I find I like him even better than I did, and you know how high an opinion I have always expressed of his talents and disposition. He is a man of very noble character and of very great powers of mind."

We like to recall our youth in the faces of friends of our early days, and Bismarck was no exception to the rule. Motley, one of the most charming and distinguished of men, was at once restored to his old place in the heart of his whilom companion and friend.

Motley dined and took luncheon repeatedly with the Bismarcks, and was entertained with an account of the part Bismarck played in the events of 1848. Bismarck was always the staunchest of Royalists—"a Jacobite Squire," as he has described himself to me; while his friend, though of a refined, reserved, and aristocratic temperament, that earned him later on a healthy corps of enemies among his rough-and-ready compatriots, was, by conviction, as well as the impulse of his heart, a Republican, who, to quote his own words, considered "Democracy the climax of political progress and the destiny of advanced races." It is difficult to underestimate the influence two such noble natures must have had in early youth one upon the other—how much of Bismarck's cast-iron prejudices of country and of caste may have softened at the touch of the other, nor how the powerful nature of the German may have modified the sanguine views of human perfectibility and power of self-government entertained by the generous, high-spirited young American.

In another letter to his wife Motley concludes a summary of his friend's great qualities by saying: "Strict integrity and courage of character, a high sense of honor, a firm religious belief, united with remarkable talents, make up necessarily a com-

bination which cannot be found any day in any court, and I have no doubt that he is destined to be Prime Minister, unless his obstinate truthfulness, which is apt to be a stumbling-block for politicians, stands in his way."

A shrewd prophecy to make as long ago as 1855, when few people outside of Germany had even heard the name of Bismarck. His love of truth has indeed been at times the stumbling-block in his way, which only his transcendent ability and determined energy enabled him to shove aside. He despised all matters of convention in his heart of hearts, and for his bluntness received from his colleagues of the Corps, the nickname "the diplomatist in wooden shoes." "He went to office," writes Motley, "with a holy horror of the mysterious nothings of diplomacy, but soon found out how little there was in the whole galimatias."

The two men threshed out the subject of the recent struggles in Europe between throne and people, over their wine, of course from different standpoints, but Motley writes: "I am glad of an opportunity of hearing the other side put by a man whose talents and character I esteem and who so well knows *le dessous des cartes*."

The household arrangements of Prince Bismarck, at least in the country, varied but little from what Motley says of the Frankfort household. "It is one of those establishments where every earthly thing that can be eaten or drunk is offered you; porter, soda-water, small beer, champagne, burgundy or claret are about all the time, and everybody is smoking the best Havana cigars every minute." The Prince was hospitable as an Arab, and the stranger within his gates, be he humble or great, was looked after as if he were a king. In the country the dinner hour was six, and there was an abundance of the most excellent wines and capital cosmopolitan cooking, English, French, German and even Russian dishes admirably prepared; while at eleven there was a handsome cold collation set out in the dining-room for those who felt equal to eating more.

On the morning of the day before I left Friedrichsruh, I visited the Prince in his own apartments. He was walking up and down the room in a heavy frogged dressing-gown. In the open fire-place, although it was warm weather, fire had been made, while his secretary was busy in sorting the letters from a number of cases and placing them in symmetrical order upon a large table. Now and again the Prince, after glancing through one of these

little packets, would fling them into the flames and watch them until they were consumed. He was destroying the correspondence of a life-time, only reserving the letters to be used in the preparation of his memoirs and a few to which a history attached.

How an autograph hunter would have wept at the sight! The secret thought of warriors and statesmen nobly expressed, signed by the greatest names in Europe, a crackling flame, a little puff of smoke, and then ashes. I don't know why, but it seemed to me one of the saddest sights I ever saw—as if a whole page of history were torn out of the book of the world, to disappear forever.

The father of the writer had known and liked Motley when they were both young men and there is a reference or two to him in Motley's published letters. They crossed the ocean on the same sailing vessel when Motley, a boy of eighteen, was on his way to Goettingen. My father described Motley to me as he was then, a slight, delicate stripling, strikingly handsome and somewhat of a dandy. He affected the turn-down collars and the cynicism of Lord Byron, as was in 1832 very much the fashion among the well-bred youth of England and America. He had a very sweet voice and beguiled the few pleasant hours of a very tempestuous voyage by singing to the accompaniment of a guitar—a practice he kept up at the University, when, no doubt, the words

"In good old Colony times
When we lived under a king,"

first struck upon the ear of the Prince. In a letter to his wife written from Frankfort Bismarck asks, "Where did I get that song which has been haunting me the whole day?

"'Over the blue mountains,
Over the white sea-foam,
Come, thou beloved one, come,
Come to thy lonely home.'

"I do not know," he adds, "who must have sung it to me in 'auld lang syne.'"

No doubt Motley could have told him.*

The Prince had mentioned Motley's name to me in terms of the greatest admiration, a feeling which I shared. Knowing that my father had known the historian, and my own admiration

*Bismarck referred to the old Colony song in his great Reichstag speech on February 6, 1888, and spoke of having been taught it "by his dear deceased friend, John Motley."

of his character and works, he paused in his work of burning the letters to hand to me six from John Lothrop Motley to himself, full of clever and original matter, and two of them possessing considerable historical interest. "Take them," he said simply, handing them to me.

I glanced at them, and seeing how important they were, asked if I might use them as the subject of an article.

"Certainly," replied the Prince, "but you must omit anything in them that might give annoyance to any surviving member of my old friend's family."

I promised and took the letters away with me that afternoon. A month later I received a note from Count Herbert Bismarck, enclosing three other letters of Motley's. "Here are three letters of Motley which my father gave me for you, thinking that it would interest you to keep them. They are quite charming and I am sure you will like to add those lines of a distinguished countryman of yours to your collection of autographs."

The first of these letters appears to have been preceded by some short notes subsequent to Motley's visit to the Bismarcks at Frankfort in 1855. It was written a short time after the appointment of Motley as Minister of the United States at Vienna. In it he endeavors to enlist the sympathies of his powerful German friend for the cause of the North, and tries to ascertain the exact nature of the attempts made by Louis Napoleon to induce England to join hands with him in an active intervention in American affairs, or at any rate in the recognition of the Southern States as belligerents. This went so far that in 1862 a motion to recognize the Southern Confederacy was introduced in the British House of Commons and lost. Lord Palmerston was decidedly opposed to it, and there were those in England higher placed even than he, who earnestly desired the success of the North, the emancipation of the blacks, and the continued existence as a united nation of the transatlantic branch of the great Anglo-Saxon family. Thus the attempt of Louis Napoleon failed in spite of the fact that it was supported by almost the whole of the British aristocracy and by a very large and influential portion of the prominent commercial magnates of England, who had suffered seriously in pocket by the long struggle going on across the Atlantic.

When this letter was written, Bismarck was Prussian Minister

in Paris, and the watering place in the south of France here referred to is Biarritz. It was at this time that Bismarck first met the Emperor Napoleon and, with his usual acumen formed at once that estimate of his character by which he was ever afterward governed in his dealings with him. He looked upon him as a very much over-estimated man, and disagreed with all Europe in thinking him not so much a great genius with a bad heart as a man of excellent heart and very ordinary abilities. "Bismarck," writes Motley, "is according to common report to be called to Berlin in the autumn to form a ministry." He recalls that delightful visit to Frankfort eight years before, and wishes to be remembered to Madame Bismarck, whom he has described to his wife as one of the cleverest and most amiable of women.

He then, like a true patriot, takes up the cudgels in defence of his country, menaced by enemies abroad and at home. He sets forth in a few terse sentences the essence of the Monroe doctrine, and intimates that the United States "will resist to the death any interference on the part of Europe." He then begs Bismarck to tell him what he knows with regard to the French Emperor's intrigues against the Northern States, "if he can do so without violating any confidences." He shows his knowledge of England's turning a deaf ear to Napoleon's proposal and enumerates the excellent reasons, practical reasons, that exist for England's holding aloof. But with France it is different. She loves *la Gloire,* the Mexican expedition is on the *tapis*, and Louis Napoleon is what Bismarck has called "the would-be self-appointed manager of the affairs of the world."

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
VIENNA, August 29th, 1862.

MY DEAR BISMARCK: I have been at this point now about eight months, and ever since I came here I have been most desirous of opening communications with you. But for a long time you seemed to be so much on the move between Berlin, Petersburg and Paris, that even if I should succeed in getting a letter to you, it appears doubtful whether I should be lucky enough to receive a reply.

Perhaps I shall be more successful now—for the newspapers inform me that you are in some watering-place in the South of France. So I shall write but a very brief note, merely to express my great desire to hear from you again, and my hope that in an idle moment, if you ever have such, you will send me a line to tell me of yourself, your prosperity, and of your wife and children.

Pray give my sincerest regards to Madame de Bismarck, and allow me to add those of my wife, altho' personally still unknown to you both—alas!

I don't know whether you have observed in any newspapers that I was appointed about a year ago Minister Plenipotentiary, etc., to this court. I arrived here from America about the beginning of November. I much fear that this is the very last place in Europe where I shall ever have the good luck of seeing you. Nevertheless, whether you remain in Paris or go—as seems most likely from all I can gather from private and public sources—to Berlin this autumn, to form a ministry; in either case there is some chance of our meeting, some time or other, while there would have been none so long as you remained in St. Petersburg. Pray let me have a private line from you—you can't imagine how much pleasure it will give me. My meeting with you in Frankfort, and thus renewing the friendship of our youth, will remain one of the most agreeable and brightest chapters in my life. And it is painful to think that already that renewed friendship is beginning to belong to the past—and that year after year is adding a fold to the curtain.

However, you *must* write to me, and tell me where we can all meet next summer, if no sooner. I wish you would let me know whether and how soon you are to make a cabinet in Berlin. Remember that when you write to me, it is as if you wrote to some one in the planet Jupiter. *Personally*, I am always deeply interested in what concerns *you*. But, publicly, I am a mere spectator of European affairs, and wherever and whatever my sympathies in other times than these might be, I am too entirely engrossed with the portentous events now transacting in my own country to be likely to intermeddle or make mischief in the doings of this hemisphere, save in so far as they may have bearing on our own politics. You can say anything you like to me, then, as freely as when you were talking to me in your own house.

The cardinal principle of American diplomacy has always been to abstain from all intervention or participation in European affairs. This has always seemed to me the most enlightened view to take of our exceptional, and therefore fortunate, political and geographical position. I need not say how earnest we are in maintaining that principle at this moment, when we are all determined to resist to the death any interference on the part of Europe in our affairs.

I wish, by the way, you would let me know anything you can pick up in regard to the French Emperor's intentions or intrigues in regard to our civil war.

Of course I don't suggest to you for an instant any violation of confidence, but many things might be said with great openness to you that would not, from reserve or politeness, or a hundred other reasons, be said to an American diplomatist.

I suppose there is no doubt whatever that L. N. has been perpetually, during the last six months, provoking, soliciting, and teasing the English Cabinet to unite with him in some kind of intervention, and that the English Ministers have steadily refused to participate in the contemplated crime. Of course they know and we know, that intervention means war with the United States government and people on behalf of the rebel slave-holders, but I have very good reason to know that the English government refuse—and that Lord Palmerston even ridicules the idea as preposterous. Not that the English *love* us. On the contrary, they hate us, but they can't understand how it will help the condition of their starving populations in the manufacturing districts to put up the price of cotton 500 per cent., which a war with

America would do, and to cause an advance in corn in the same proportion. There is no doubt whatever that the harvest in England is a very bad one, and that they must buy some 30 million sterling worth of foreign corn. On the other hand, the harvest in America is the most fruitful ever known since that continent was discovered.

Unless lunatics were at the head of affairs in England, they would not seize the opportunity of going to war with the granary of corn and cotton without a cause.

But it may be different with France. She is fond of "*la Gloire.*" And she is sending out an expedition to Mexico, altho' she seems likely to have her hands full in Italy just now. Moreover, L. N. is the Heaven-appointed arbiter of all sublunary affairs, and he doubtless considers it his mission to "save civilization" in our continent, as he has so often been good enough to do in the rest of the world.

What do you think is his real design? How far do you believe he has gone in holding out definite encouragement to the secessionist agents in France? Do you think he has any secret plot with them to assist them against us in the Gulf of Mexico? Will he attempt anything of this kind without the knowledge and connivance of England? I say no more except to repeat that you may give me, perhaps, a useful hint or two from time to time, of what you hear and know. It is unnecessary for me to say that I shall keep sacredly confidential any thing you may say to me as such.

I shall not go into the subject of our war at all, save to say that it is to me an inconceivable idea that any man of average intellect or love of right can possibly justify this insurrection of the slave-holders. The attempt to destroy a prosperous, powerful and happy commonwealth like ours, merely that on its ruin might be constructed a slave-breeding, slave-holding confederacy, is one of the greatest crimes that history has recorded. In regard to the issue of the war, I don't entertain the slightest doubt, if foreign interference is kept off. If the slave-holders obtain the alliance of France, the war will of course be indefinitely protracted. If we are left to ourselves, I think with the *million of men* that we shall have in the field in the course of the month of October, and with a fleet of 12 or 15 first-class iron-clad frigates, which will be ready by that time, that the insurrection cannot hold out a great while longer. However, of that I am not sure. Time is nothing to God—nor to the Devil either, as to that matter. We mortals, creatures of a day, are very impatient. The United States Government is now fighting with the Devil, for the spirit of this slave-confederacy is nothing less. How long it will take us to vanquish it I know not. But that it *will* be vanquished completely I entertain no doubt whatever. I don't expect you to accept my views, but I thought it as well to state them. I am more anxious about the next three months than about anything that can happen afterwards. Let me however warn you—in case you take an interest in the progress of our affairs—not to believe in Reuter's telegrams as in the London *Times*. Their lies are stupendous, and by them public opinion all over Europe is poisoned. This is nothing to me. Their lies can't alter the facts—I have other sources of information. But when I see how the telegraph and the European press have been constantly worked for the interest of the secessionists, it does not surprise me to see the difficulty which honest people have in arriving at the truth, either in fact or in theory. Do you know your colleague, Mr. Dayton, U. S. Minister in Paris? Let me recommend him to you as a most excellent and honorable man. Renewing all our

kindest regards to you and yours, believe me, my dear Bismarck, always most sincerely your old friend,

J. L. MOTLEY."

To this letter there was no doubt a reply, but it is not published in any edition of the correspondence of Bismarck or of Motley. The first letter of the Prince to Motley is the one written at Berlin on April 17, 1863. In it the Prince begs Motley to write longer and oftener. He expresses his hatred of politics and regrets the necessity of constantly keeping his attention fixed on them like that of the grocer on his figs, "*affaire de metier.*" He is now Prussian Prime Minister, but the change from Frankfort to Berlin seems to have been that from the frying-pan to the fire. The Prussian Parliament he nicknames "The House of Phrases." "I am obliged," he writes, "to listen to particularly tasteless speeches out of the mouths of particularly childish and excited politicians." Poor Prince! No one ever took more deep-sea soundings than he in the ocean of German political stupidity. "As Envoy," he laments, "I still feel like a gentleman—as Minister one is a Helot. I have come down in the world and hardly know how." The most sarcastic passage in the letter is where, speaking about the deputies scolding one another in the course of a debate concerning a subject about which they are agreed, he says that they are perfectly unanimous, but only fighting over the different reasons that make them so—"a quarrel about the Emperor's beard" (a senseless quarrel). "You Anglo-Saxon Yankees," he adds, "have something of the same kind also. Do you all know exactly why you are waging such furious war with each other? All certainly do not know, but they kill each other *con amore;* that's the way the business comes to them. Your battles are bloody, ours wordy. These chatterboxes really cannot govern Prussia. No view of politics but local ones, 'church steeple interests.'" Yet the Chancellor admits that the Germans taken singly are clever, and only foolish in the mass.

In conclusion he says that he has written a stupid letter, but, like Pilate, "'*quod scripsi scripsi,*' and the drops of my own ink will show you at least that my thoughts when left alone readily turn to you. I never pass by old Logier's house in the Friedrichstrasse without looking up at the windows that used to be ornamented by a pair of red slippers, sustained on the wall by the feet of a gentleman seated in the Yankee fashion, his head below and

out of sight. I then gratify my memory with remembrances of the song of 'good old Colony times.'"

These little touches more clearly prove the depth of the affection of the German for the American than the most violent protestations could have done. What is that old song of Colony times? Who wrote it and how do the other verses run? Perhaps some reader will kindly answer.

JAMES PEMBERTON GRUND.

(*To be Continued.*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

GREAT TEACHERS.

A HIGHLY valuable series, under the editorial supervision of Nicholas Murray Butler, of New York, entitled, "The Great Educators," is now in progress. It includes such celebrated names as Aristotle, Abelard, Froebel, Herbart, Loyola and Pestalozzi, and, as especially interesting to English readers, Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, and Horace Mann, of America. These volumes deal not only with the lives and writings and intellectual influence of the respective men discussed, but with the great educational movements of which they were the exponents, and with the pressing problems in the science and art of teaching growing out of their various labors. Thus, in the treatise on Aristotle we have the whole subject of the old classical system; in Alcuin, that of the origin of the Christian schools; in Abelard, the University methods; in Pestalozzi, the interesting theme of the training of children; in Arnold, the great English secondary system; and in Horace Mann, that of public education in this country. The series suggests a question of special educational interest: What constitutes a Great Teacher?

To our mind there are four factors or elements essential to the personality of an educator of eminence. First: He must be a scholar, especially in the particular department in which he is working. As a Professor, he must actually know what he professes to know, knowing it thoroughly, or, as the Old English expresses it, throughly, through and through, in itself as a specific subject or section of truth, and in all its manifold relations to the general department of truth and fact. In the organization of our Secondary Schools, teachers are significantly called, Masters, both in the disciplinary and educational sense. Educators must be masters of their departments, masters of their mental selves, and thus able to command the respect of those looking to them for knowledge, and needing it. First and last, they must be well-informed men, thoroughly booked, or "thoroughly furnished" with knowledge as their stock in trade. The teacher is, first, a storehouse, a base of supplies, a source of enlightenment to the student as a Learner. In Old English, the teacher is a Lareow, a man of lore, an authority to his pupils, who as disciples or learners sit at his feet and wait upon his word.

Further, the teacher must be an Expositor or Interpreter of Truth. The etymological force of our word "teach," is here in place, the Old English verb, *taecan*, meaning to exhibit, to set forth, to show. It is one of the prime offices of the teacher to set forth the truth in clear light so that all may see it, and, seeing it, may apprehend it. It is his office to hold up

the truth before the observer's mind, to make it, as our oldest writers would have said, understandable. Hence, his function is that of an Expositor, an Interpreter, an Explainer, having it as his duty to make the truth plain, to bring it down to the level of the recipient's mind, so that it may have its full effect as truth.

This is something more than mere knowledge. It is the ability to impart and diffuse knowledge. Mere knowledge may exist without it. It involves the art of communication, or dispensation of truth. The teacher must be "apt to teach," "able to teach others also," anything but a "novice" in his work, having by nature or study the facility of expression or elucidation. How much this includes will be seen on reflection—a large and exact vocabulary; clear views of truth; a lucid and logical method; in fact, all that is included in the important work of the presentation of knowledge to the mind. When, moreover, the teacher rises as an expositor to the highest planes of his office, into the region of great general principles that need unfolding and application, it is at once evident that his function has to do with all that is fundamental and vital. Knowledge and fact in their concrete forms now give place to the great laws and principles that underlie them, and the teacher becomes a real Illuminator, setting forth the deepest truths to the inspection of men for their acceptance and profit.

Again, the teacher must be a Mental Trainer. Here we rise, in educational work, to a still higher level. This is the sphere of education proper, as a mental exercise and profession. Our word "train" (from *trainèr*, *traho*) means precisely what our word education (*educare*) means, the evolving of inner power, the drawing forth of native faculty and function.

This is the specifically disciplinary side of the teacher's work, wherein as an intellectual guide and helper he seeks to bring out into open and fullest expression the best that is in his pupils—their latent powers and aptitudes, their abilities and capabilities, so as to reveal them to themselves. Education is essentially a training, the very word discipline (*discere*) radically involving the idea of teaching. As such, teaching includes two somewhat distinct and yet closely related processes, which we may best express by the etymological use of the words, Instruction and Education—building in [*in-struo*] and drawing out [*educo*], working all acquired knowledge into the very mental substance of the pupil, so as to make it an actual element of himself, and also evolving that which is inherent in him, and giving it objective form and process. Instruction is thus mental construction, the real edification or building up of the pupil in all that makes his intellectual power; while Education is the unfolding and manifest expression of inward ability. Each process, however, is alike disciplinary, and contributive to the highest intellectual results, without which, indeed, no such thing as teaching, in its truest sense can exist. At no point is the difference more marked between the mere pedagogue and the real educator, as a mental disciplinarian.

As a fourth and final essential, we note that the Teacher is an Intellectual Quickener, an Inspirer of minds and men, more impressive in his mental and general personality than any knowledge that he communicates or any discipline which he secures. Indeed it is here that we reach the summation of the teacher's work, the highest element of his power, wherein he appears as a vital force, a potent factor in all that affects the well-being of his pupils. He himself and his teaching are thus alike quickening, incitive and energizing, sending the student to the library and the laboratory to follow out the lines laid down for him, and to utilize all that he has

received by independent investigation. Herein we see the element of enthusiasm in educational work, by which its somewhat necessarily formal methods are animated and relieved, and its most didactic processes invested with genuine interest. It is by such an inspiring method as this that notable teachers reproduce themselves in their students, and herein is it seen that the true teacher is immeasurably greater than the books that he consults or produces.

Such, as we conceive them, are the four fundamental marks of a Great Teacher.

Such teachers are, indeed, rare. They are as rare as great epic writers are in verse, or great historians in prose, here and there appearing by conspicuous contrast among the numerous names of lesser note, and serving to give educational renown to any age or period which they respectively represent. Limiting our survey to America, such educators were Mark Hopkins, and Francis Wayland, and Theodore Woolsey. Such, in theology, were Park and Shedd, and the Alexanders. Such, in science, were Guyot, Agassiz and Henry; Theodore Dwight, in the department of law; McCosh, in philosophy; Hadley, and Taylor, and Whitney, in language; and Child, in literature.

These men, without exception, were Scholars and Interpreters and Trainers and Inspirers—great teachers in their respective departments, immense educational forces in the land, and giving to American institutions an order of historic repute which any nation might covet. Is this apostolic succession in any sense maintained among us? We have scholars and interpreters. Have we also teachers, in any considerable number, who know what is meant by intellectual training and quickening as their highest privilege and function? Have we great educators in such a ratio as the old régime produced? Is there not danger in the radical changes now making in educational methods, and in the unduly hasty assumption of university functions on the part of our colleges, that education may become less and less mentally broadening and inspiring, a matter merely of knowledge and the skilful manipulation of it? While our processes and methods are expanding, are they also deepening? With university extension, have we university intension, more and more of the philosophic and less and less of the pedagogic? Is it not possible that the disciplinary element in our higher education is diminishing rather than increasing. Students are taught to listen and observe and read and experiment. Are they taught to think, and are our teachers, first of all, thinkers? With all the decided advantages connected with the widening of the curriculum in our colleges, it is possible that the early opening of the elective system to somewhat immature minds, so often incapable of the wisest choice, the increasing prevalence of the lecture system to the gradual displacement of the text-book, and the increasing distance between professors and students by reason of the rapidly growing numbers in our larger institutions, may tend directly to superficiality, and make it all the more difficult to develop great teachers or great students.

The claims of the smaller colleges, at this point, as to the value of their less ambitious courses, and their more direct intimate relationship between teacher and student are not to be ignored. It is, indeed, under such so called limited conditions that most of America's notable teachers have been produced. The greatest need of Higher Education at the present moment is great educators.

TH. W. HUNT.

RULES OF WAR.—CAPTURE UPON THE SEA.

THAT war upon the ocean has a character of its own no publicist denies. Now and then a spasmodic protest is made against conditions which produce the fact, but it is probable that such will remain ineffective.

The sea is so absolutely different from the land that it is hopeless to make every rule equally applicable to each. Walled towns and fortified places in the interior of a country may bear some analogy to the armed ships of a nation, but the former are within a territory which the citizens of a belligerent possess for tillage and support in time of peace as well as in war; the latter are on an unstable element to which property rights cannot be acquired, and which is equally the high road of all nations. Here is a wide difference amply sufficient to explain the special severities of war upon the sea.

Again, when the moment of hostilities arrives, it becomes the endeavor of each belligerent to work as much harm to the other as possible, certain limitations being recognized by both. In order to do this, the country taking the offensive seeks on land to cut the enemy off from his supplies, and in every way to exhaust his powers of defence. Such activities would be handicapped if the rules of war forbade any interference with the commerce of belligerents. The constant inflow of supplies from the coast cities would be sure to make good any disasters caused by victorious armies in the interior. Therefore, since the earliest times it has been understood that, in case of war, private ships belonging to the enemy were lawful prey for belligerent cruisers.

Fortunately, many of the severities formerly practised upon the sea have been done away with, and also such application of rational law as was illogical and barbarous. Meanwhile, the rules cited may be considered at present as endorsed by general consent.

1. Public vessels of a belligerent can be seized wherever found, either on the high seas or in the ports and harbors of the enemy; although, for some time, there were those who gave as exceptions the case of warships in the rivers and estuaries of the country under whose flag they sailed.

With public ships may well be catalogued all auxiliaries, whether despatch or supply boats. The question of hospital ships or repair ships does not seem to have been finally settled. Undoubtedly, the latter will be no exception to the rule, while the former may be. It certainly seems reasonable that a ship supplied with all the tools and machinery which may be needed to put an ironclad into fighting trim, would be as well fitted to work disaster to the enemy, if indirectly, as a squadron of battleships.

There are, however, two well settled exceptions to this rule, one being that of cartel ships, and the other of ships engaged in public scientific expeditions, where the same are in no way charged with operating in a manner which is or may be construed as hostile to the enemy.

2. Private vessels belonging to the citizens of a belligerent may be captured wherever found, as long as the laws of neutral nations touching surrounding waters are respected.

Naturally, doubt often arises as to whether or not merchant vessels belong to the enemy or otherwise. In order to ascertain the true character of a ship, war vessels are recognized by International Law as having the right of search, and may command a suspected vessel to lay to until her papers may be examined. No objection can be made to such forcible de-

tention, even if the ship be neutral. Any mistake made by the commanding officer will be rectified by his government; at all events, it will later be a good cause for complaint. Meanwhile, if right of search were not granted, it would be impossible for belligerents to interfere with the commerce of enemies.

It is to be noted that a friendly or neutral vessel that habitually uses an enemy's flag is in peril, just like a citizen who takes up his abode in an enemy's country.

When hostilities commence time will probably be given merchantmen to clear from the enemy's ports in which they may happen to be lying. This is not a matter of right, but it is recognized as an act of comity and is customary at present.

As exceptions to the foregoing rule under which enemy's shipping can be seized, we may mention fishing boats, whose nets and trawls lie off the coast; possibly private hospital ships belonging to charities and, as already noted, ships sent out on scientific expeditions by societies. Again, it often happens that ships are driven into port by stress of weather. In this case it is suggested by some that they shall be accorded different treatment, which is generally prompted by the generous feelings of mankind in hours of distress. If this is true touching storm beaten ships seeking harbor, it certainly should apply to ships that are wrecked upon an enemy's coast.

Previous to the Declaration of Paris the practice of nations differed—little respect being shown to neutrals carrying enemy's goods and less to neutral goods upon hostile ships. The United States having placed itself upon record, in the beginning of its existence as a nation, as a champion of neutral rights, has, through its different agencies, sought to bring about a recognition of the principles which are at present generally accepted. To day the goods of a neutral may not be touched by a belligerent, unless they are contraband of war, wherever found, and enemies' goods are equally safe if put in neutral bottoms.

There might at this point be some discussion as to neutrals and the rights of neutrals, but the subject is so broad that it cannot be satisfactorily treated incidentally.

It may be well to note, regarding the right of search, that any interference with a nation's vessel or man-of-war belonging to a neutral would be *casus belli*.

Often it happens that a war ship takes a private vessel belonging to the enemy but is unable to hold it, owing to the appearance of the enemy's fleet or for some other reason. In this case, ransom may be taken, the private vessel giving hostages to assure the captor that it will proceed on its way to port, taking a definite course. If the course is not followed, the ship may properly be recaptured by another cruiser, in which case adjustment will be made with the vessel that first captured the prize. The bill given for the ransom should be honored on presentation.

As a general rule, nations forbid their cruisers to destroy merchantmen at sea if it is possible to bring them before a prize court. The reason for this lies in the fact that the commanding officer may have made a mistake, and in order to have his action ratified the capture should be brought before a properly constituted tribunal.

No objection can be made by a neutral or friendly vessel to being chased or fired upon by the enemy if they exhibit wrong colors. A spoliation of papers is good ground for capture.

Notable historical exceptions to the action of governments are furnished by the United States in the war with England, where orders were given to commanders to demolish the ships which they could not expect to save without risking their own ships. This course was further followed by the Confederate States during the Civil War.

It often happens that a vessel captured upon the high sea is retaken by a friendly cruiser. To whom does the property then belong?

This leads to a brief discussion of what is referred to by writers as *jus postliminii*, a term taken from the Roman law, which in many ways has done pioneering work for International Law. The *jus postliminii* has to do with the right of the original owner of the property after recapture. In order to ascertain this, it is necessary to trace the vessel's history through the time which has expired since it first came into the enemy's hands.

By common consent of the powers, a vessel after it has been twenty-four hours a prize becomes the property of the belligerent State that has captured it. This is clearly shown by rules which grant larger salvage to rescuers who retake the vessel before such a period has elapsed than afterwards. Yet it is safe to say that the title does not become absolutely the enemy's until a prize court has passed judgment, and that, if a recapture be made before the vessel is regularly condemned, the party whose property was thus wrested away may upon payment of salvage demand that which is his. Meanwhile, an adjudication of the court which finds the vessel to be a lawful prize, should certainly cut off any lingering title that the original owner may have possessed.

A word in closing as to prize courts. These represent government; and, being duly constituted, pass upon the acts of national officers who, in discharge of their duties, have apprehended vessels supposed to be the property of the enemy. The findings of such courts are subject to appeal, but, in spite of a probable bias in every case, it is seldom that they are in error, owing to the judicial temper of the trained men commonly selected to fill such positions.

If the captain of a warship, therefore, makes a mistake, there is every reason to believe that the wrong will be righted when the case reaches the prize court. If not, the responsibility lies with the nation, and the neutral whose rights have been invaded may properly demand indemnity and use force to procure the same. This, however, rarely happens. The higher courts of states passing upon these matters have as a rule consisted of eminent jurists whose wisdom and integrity were beyond suspicion; and the endorsement by such of any capture carries a weight that is convincing, especially as it is recognized that any gross partiality or unfairness shown by the bench would react prejudicially, besides tending to seriously diminish the influence of such courts, which, at present, to a certain extent, perform the duties of an international council.

DANIEL CHAUNCEY BREWER.

CASH *VERSUS* GLORY.

AN ordinary service to mankind is usually paid for at current rates in legal tender. An extraordinary service, not involving the element of heroism, is rewarded by both legal tender and more or less fame. The highest of

all services, rendered at the risk of life, is supposed to receive its full compensation in glory, unaccompanied by more sordid considerations. If, however, the hero of the service last mentioned should not be contented with his meed of glory, but should demand more substantial reward, he may receive it indeed, but at a large discount from the other (and in sentimental estimation more valuable) consideration. Unlike the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick-maker, who receive their *quid pro quo* without a thought of humiliation, either in their own minds or yours, the man who saves your life at the risk of his own is looked upon as almost if not quite disgracing himself by accepting your proffered pecuniary reward, although he may in fact be in far sorer need than any one of the worthy trio who simply contribute to your necessities or comforts.

The man, for example, who clings to the bridle of your runaway horse and brings you to safety at his own imminent peril, would excite a feeling not far removed from contempt if he should deliberately pocket your bank-note, giving you a receipt therefor, for "services rendered," while the lad who merely held your horse's bridle while you were shopping would take your quarter-dollar with the unquestioning approval of all observers.

Suppose your child were swiftly drifting toward death, down the current of disease. A great surgeon offers to save it, with absolutely no risk to himself, for some hundreds of dollars. "Famous specialist!" says everyone approvingly.

But suppose the current were literal, and Death awaited his victim at the base of the cataract. A "hero" offers to leap to its rescue, with an even chance of perishing with it, for the same sum. "Mercenary wretch!" exclaims the world.

Noblesse oblige. But does it oblige to endure hunger and privation rather than accept compensation honestly earned?

However fully and freely the average American citizen acknowledges the desert of the honest veterans who receive their pensions from an honest government, according to contract distinctly entered into at the time of enlistment, he no doubt most heartily wishes there were no necessity of thus derogating from the "glory of our nation's defenders." Does he feel any such wish in regard to those who offered their money instead of their lives to the country in its time of need? The bondholders have received far greater pecuniary compensation for the risk they ran than the soldiers; but for one grudging word uttered against the bondholders there are ten against the pensioners. It is, of course, perfectly fitting and proper that the one class should receive their compensation in cash. What a pity the other class cannot be satisfied with glory!

Now, underneath his heroic exterior, the average citizen soldier is as practical a man as his fellow patriot, the bondholder. When the call came to him to offer his bosom as a target for the enemy's bullets, he said in effect: "Yes, I will do it; but the service is worth more than thirteen or sixteen dollars a month during the danger, and a little more or less than that when the danger is over. Life is of more value than money. The capitalist would rather give his whole fortune than his life. My life is worth as much as his. But I will not be unreasonable. I do not demand a fortune. I demand only that I and my family shall be assured against want and privation during our lives. With this understanding I hereby agree to offer my body as a shield against national destruction. If my terms are accepted I shall expect the contract will be fulfilled faithfully and ungrudgingly, just as it is with my colleague, the bondholder."

"But," the sentimentalist might have said, "you will have glory, while the bondholder will be satisfied with his interest."

To which the soldier might have replied:

"He *needn't* be satisfied with his interest. Let him relinquish his bonds and he can have glory too. As for me, I shall demand cash as *per* contract, and you can allow me the glory or not, as you choose."

The government was at liberty to accept or refuse his terms. It could accept salvation or destruction at its pleasure. Since it chose salvation on his terms, who has the right to complain or to grudge him his just due?

EDWARD PAYSON JACKSON.

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WHAT SHALL BE DONE ABOUT THE PHILIPPINES?

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

In pursuance of the protocol, to which the United States and Spain were parties, the ten plenipotentiaries composing the Hispano-American Commission will meet this month in Paris and endeavor to arrive at an agreement concerning the disposition to be made of the Philippines. If an agreement be reached, it will be embodied in a treaty, together with the other conditions of peace set forth in the protocol, and this treaty will bind the executives of the two countries. That this is fully understood by Mr. McKinley and that he personally has no idea of recurring to war, whatever may be the decision of the Commission, is evident from the fact that he has already given orders for the disbandment of 100,000 volunteers. The treaty will not, however, acquire validity until it has been sanctioned by the Cortes, without the assent of which no Spanish territory can be alienated, and until it has been also ratified by two-thirds of the United States Senate. Such a ratification may be looked for, even though the terms of peace may be unacceptable to many Senators. The Senate has rejected treaties, but never a treaty of peace. The Treaty of Ghent failed to redress a single one of the grievances which had been proclaimed the causes of the War of 1812; nevertheless, it

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was accepted by the Senate. The treaty which brought to a close the war with Mexico in 1848 was also ratified by the Senate, though it had only three votes to spare; in this case opposition was due to the complaint not that we secured too little, but that we secured too much, and it was parried by an expedient to which we shall presently refer. We may, consequently, take for granted that the Senate will confirm the agreement of the Hispano-American Commission, if any be arrived at, but what the agreement will be is, at present, a matter of conjecture. The very creation of the Commission is proof that Mr. McKinley, at the time when the protocol was signed, had not made up his mind what to do about the Philippines, and that he still remained undetermined as late as Sept. 10, seems a fair inference from his selection of plenipotentiaries. Of the five American Commissioners, two—Senator Davis and Senator Frye—are known to be favorable to the annexation of the whole Philippine archipelago; a third, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, is believed to take similar ground; Judge Day, on the other hand, is understood to have held formerly, if he does not still hold, that we should confine ourselves to securing a coaling station, while Senator Gray is known to have argued and voted against the annexation of Hawaii, and is, therefore, presumably, opposed to the acquisition of dependencies even more remote. We may assume, however, that all the Commissioners would not have accepted the trust reposed in them unless they were prepared to obey the President's final instructions. Those instructions will probably be framed in accordance with what Mr. McKinley believes, at the last moment, to be the prevailing opinion of the country. Public opinion is now well advanced in the process of taking definite shape, after widespread and prolonged discussion, which has been, or should be, directed to two questions, namely, first, what should we wish to do about the Philippines; and, secondly, what are we able to do, in view of the situation created by the protocol? The second question is no less important than the other, although many of our newspapers overlook it altogether and talk as if we were still at liberty to deal with the Philippines as we please; whereas, had such been the President's opinion, he would have announced it as peremptorily as he did the demand for the cession of Porto Rico, and would not have relegated the solution of the Philippine problem to a Commission.

I.

Two or three months ago, the President's uncertainty regarding the course to be pursued in the Philippines was shared by many of his countrymen. Neither in its moral nor in its economical aspects had the problem been thoroughly examined. There is no doubt that those who organized a conference at Saratoga for the purpose of considering the questions opened by the war, expected therefrom a declaration that, by the teaching and practice of the fathers, we were precluded from seeking any transmarine possessions, and, especially, such as were parted from us by the breadth of the Pacific. As a matter of fact, so rapid was the diffusion of information and the resultant evolution of opinion, that the Saratoga Conference pronounced in favor of annexing not only Porto Rico, but also a port in the Ladrones and the whole, or part, of the Philippines. There is now reason to believe that a large majority of our citizens are thoroughly convinced, first, that, by our victory at Cavite, and the subsequent capture of Manila, we assumed a moral obligation toward the natives of Luzon; secondly, that the obligation can be best discharged by the occupation of all the Philippines, and, thirdly, that no grievous financial burden will be imposed upon our people by the discharge of that obligation, seeing that the natural resources of the Philippines are incalculably great, and that our occupation of them will give us a voice potential in the future regulation of China's trade, wherein we are profoundly interested.

From the viewpoint of these prevalent convictions, let us glance at the several ways in which it has been suggested by the various advisers of the President that the Philippine problem shall be solved. Shall we restore the whole of the Philippines to Spain, retaining only for ourselves a station for coaling and repair, as, for example, the city and harbor of Manila? This we cannot do without forfeiting our self-respect and the respect of the world, for the natives of Luzon, the most populous and civilized island in the group, have notoriously suffered more at the hands of Spain than have the Cubans, and we are ourselves responsible for the latest uprising on their part. Moreover, what Spain could not do, when she had a considerable navy and funds relatively adequate, she certainly could not accomplish now that her navy is well nigh extinct and that her

treasury is bankrupt; that is to say, establish in the island of Luzon a government which should fulfill the fundamental functions of safeguarding life and property. We may dismiss with a word the fantastic proposal that we should govern Luzon in partnership with Spain. Such a mongrel administration would compel us to share the responsibility for evil doing, while depriving us of power to avert it; Spanish influence, so far as a joint régime permitted its exercise, would be sure to follow the old channels of oppression and embezzlement. Shall we, then, declare the island of Luzon independent, and make over the control of it to Aguinaldo and his followers? It is the consensus of all observers, who have studied at first hand the situation in Luzon, that the Tagals could not establish a durable government of their own. They are an industrious people, docile and easily managed by an administration at once firm and just, but they are very far from possessing the qualifications for self-rule. Shall we, by resigning our own claim to the Philippines, a claim which, being based upon our capture of their capital, was, when the news of the signing of the protocol reached Manila, actually stronger than our claim to Cuba or to Porto Rico, enable Spain to sell them to Russia, France or Germany? By such an act, we should endow with an inestimable coign of vantage in the Far East one of the powers, the whole tendency of whose policy is to minimize our share in China's foreign trade. But Spain, it may be argued, could find a purchaser in Great Britain. We answer that, by the acquisition of the Philippines, Great Britain would acquire the prospect of such preponderance in the Far East that the other powers would feel constrained, by a sense of self-preservation, to avert it by a general war. Our duty to mankind enjoins us not to precipitate a general war, and the surest mode of discharging that duty is to take the Philippines ourselves.

Could we not, however, surmount all difficulties by keeping Luzon, which represents in area rather more than a third of the group, and leaving the rest of the islands to Spain, a promise being exacted from her that they shall not be ceded to any other power? This solution of the problem is said to be favored in influential quarters, but it is open to grave objections. In the first place, it is doubtful if Spain would be able to maintain peace and order in the rest of the archipelago, and, thereby af-

ford no pretext for foreign intervention. Even when her navy was relatively strong, it was only with difficulty that she was able to repress the pirates, who formerly infested the coasts of Mindanao and the islands of the Sulu group. Suppose, however, that, in the remnant of her possessions, she did contrive to maintain a naval force sufficient for police purposes and gradually did manage to develop a flourishing island empire, we should have at our doors a vindictive neighbor ready to join any coalition that might be formed against us, and, meanwhile, eager to foment disaffection in Luzon, which her profession of a common religion and her familiarity with the customs and the character of the Tagals would facilitate. By such a compromise, in short, we should only invite future trouble, which we can avoid by assuming control of the whole archipelago. The civilizing of the southern islands, which have, collectively, a superficies of about 75,000 square miles, would be a trivial task to the American people, which, in less than a century, has reclaimed the vast region lying between the Mississippi and the Pacific.

From an economic as well as a humanitarian viewpoint, the work would be worth its cost, for, at the end of a century, the whole Philippine group should be able to support fifty millions of inhabitants, if we may judge by the experience of Java, which, in the course of a hundred years, has seen its population expand from about two to over twenty millions. If it be true, as Mr. Benjamin Kidd contends, that the twentieth century is to witness a vehement struggle for the control of tropical lands upon the part of the nations belonging to the temperate zones, we should enter upon the contest with one of the most valuable prizes attainable in the tropics already in our hands. Nor is it only by their natural resources, capable, as they are, of almost limitless development, nor by the capacious market for our manufactures which they would, eventually, offer, that the Philippines would be of immense utility to the United States. Such is their strategic relation to China that our possession of them would give us an influence at Pekin second only to that of Russia and Great Britain, an influence that we could use to thwart such of the European powers as contemplate a thorough-going partition of the Middle Kingdom, and to co-operate effectively with those that are resolved to uphold what is left of China's territorial integrity and to keep at all events an open door to that most popu-

lous and resourceful section of the Celestial Empire which is watered by the Yang-tse-Kiang. It is, in a word, freedom of access for American manufacturers to the best part of China which would be powerfully furthered by our retention of the Philippines.

II.

To the first question, then, What should we wish to do about the Phillipines? we answer that we ought to keep not only Manila, not only the whole island of Luzon, but the entire Philippine archipelago, if we are to show ourselves alive to the full purport of our opportunities and to the full scope of our mission in the East. That would be the simplest, safest and cheapest solution of the problem. Is it, however, any longer possible to secure all the Philippines in the new situation created by the protocol?

There is no doubt that President McKinley, before that agreement was signed, could have obtained the Philippines well nigh as easily as he obtained Porto Rico and Cuba, for Manila was known to be upon the point of falling into our hands, which is more than could be said for either San Juan or Havana. Had the Madrid Government proved recalcitrant upon this point, it could have been quickly brought to terms by naval demonstrations against the Carolines, the Canaries, the Balearic Isles and the seaports of the Iberian peninsula. But, when the President forbore to exercise the power which he possessed, and consented to let the fate of the Philippines be determined by a commission, in which Spain should have an equal voice, he, practically, put the retention of all the islands by us out of the question, unless some consideration should be tendered, which would be regarded in Madrid as a *quid pro quo*. For suppose that, in compliance with instructions from Washington, the five American commissioners should concur in demanding the cession to us of all the Philippines, it is absolutely certain that the five Spanish commissioners would, on their part, reject the demand, unless it were coupled with an offer of compensation. We could not blame them for an attitude which must, or should have been, foreseen when the protocol was signed. It is even questionable whether the Spanish commissioners will agree to surrender the whole of the island of Luzon in the absence of any indemnifying proposal. In that event, it may be said, the result of the negotiations will be a

deadlock, and, if this cannot be broken, both parties will be relegated to the arbitrament of war. We answer that the public opinion of the world would not justify us in recurring to the arbitrament of war after the solution of the Philippine problem had been formally committed by our Executive to a joint commission. We should be told, justly, that if our President was resolved to keep the Philippines, or at least Luzon, he ought, when the protocol was signed, to have proclaimed his resolution as distinctly as he did in the case of Porto Rico, and that, unless we could and would replace Spain in the position occupied by her when hostilities ceased, we should have no right to recur to war, merely because the Spanish commissioners saw fit to exercise the equal voice which the protocol conferred on them. This is indisputably true. Our Government has, voluntarily, made the disposition of the Philippines a subject for negotiation, and it could not, with any show of decency, make a deadlock the pretext for a recourse to arms.

When the President begins to ponder the methods of escaping from the predicament in which the protocol has placed him, he will find a suggestive precedent in the treatment which Mexico received at the hands of President Polk in 1848. At that time General Scott occupied the Mexican capital, and the entire Mexican republic was undeniably at our mercy. We might have annexed the whole of it, but public opinion in the Northern States would not have tolerated such a sweeping exercise of the right of conquest; indeed, it was even indisposed to brook an extensive mutilation of a sister commonwealth. Under these circumstances, it was decided that, although we had demonstrated the possession of a giant's strength, we would not use it like a giant, and our commissioners were instructed not to exact from Mexico a single acre by right of conquest, but to offer $15,000,000 in cash and the assumption of debts amounting to $3,000,000 due from Mexico to American citizens, in exchange for the tract comprising California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico. The purchase money now seems ludicrously small, but it was eagerly accepted by the provisional Mexican Government, the full extent of the mineral wealth of the ceded territory being, as yet, unguessed at. The result of this remarkable transaction, which, so far as we know, has no counterpart in history, and which presents a striking contrast to the treatment of France by Germany in 1871, dis-

armed, in a considerable degree, the opposition of our Northern States to the dismemberment of Mexico, and the treaty of peace was ratified by the Senate.

The bearing of this precedent upon the situation created by the protocol is obvious. It is most improbable that, without some compensation, the Spanish commissioners will agree to give up the Philippines, or even the island of Luzon. On the other hand, the maintenance of their authority in the rest of the islands would require an outlay of blood and treasure which they are ill able to afford. The Madrid Government could escape from the dilemma, and, to use the Chinese phrase, "save its face" in the eyes of the Spanish people, if, in return for a cession of all the Philippines, it could secure such a sum of money as would, to a moderate extent, relieve the necessities of its exchequer. As it happens, a relatively insignificant part of the Spanish debt is saddled upon the revenues of the Philippines. This our commissioners might consent to assume, and they might even go a little further, and agree to make the United States, or Independent Cuba, responsible for a fifth part of the so-called Cuban debt. Why do we designate this particular fraction? Because, when the Autonomist government was instituted in Cuba, it was stipulated by the Autonomists that the insular revenues should be liable for only a fifth of the Cuban debt, inasmuch as by the most liberal estimate not more than a fifth of the money borrowed in Cuba's name could be regarded as having been applied to the welfare of the island. The Philippine debt and one-fifth of the Cuban debt would not, together, amount to much more than $100,000,000, a sum which we could borrow at three per cent., or, for that matter, easily spare from our national revenue, distended as this has been by the war taxes. We opine that an offer on our part to assume the indebtedness mentioned would secure the assent of the Spanish commissioners to the relinquishment of all the Philippines, and we doubt if their assent to such a proposal can be gained in any other way.

But why, it may be asked, should we buy what we have conquered? We answer that the question comes too late. It should have been put before the signing of the protocol, whereby in the disposition of the Philippines the Spaniards acquired an equal voice.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

OUR POLICY IN CHINA.

BY MARK B. DUNNELL, FORMERLY DEPUTY CONSUL-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES AT SHANGHAI.

CHINA has been given a new lease of life. Not her own strength, but the jealousies and fears of England, Germany, Russia and France have averted the threatened partition. She has secured a short stay of execution by yielding every demand. If, in the respite, she fails to introduce necessary reforms and put herself in a strong defensive condition, there will be little sympathy for her in any future humiliations that may befall.

Although the powers have stopped short of partition, they have secured concessions that will work a fundamental change in their relation to China and one another in the Far East. Although our Government has stood aloof in the recent negotiations, it has not been because we were not concerned, but rather in accordance with our customary practice of culpably ignoring our interests abroad. As respects number of residents and volume of trade, the United States has larger interests in China than any European power save England. And yet, when these large interests were threatened, our Government ignominiously left their defence to England. If the administration has any policy in China it would appear to be the inglorious one of leaving England to fight unaided the battle for open markets, and then come in and enjoy the fruits of her valor under the "most favored nation clause." A mere statement of the recent changes in China and the dangers that still threaten our treaty rights will make clear our true policy.

Russia has gained more than any other power, for Manchuria has become a Russian province in all but name. The subtle, patient, bold diplomacy of Russia has achieved a notable victory.

Russia has long known exactly what she wanted in the Far East, and she has pursued her aim with admirable steadiness of purpose. There has been none of the weak vacillation of a "government by discussion." Indeed, the peaceful acquisition of Manchuria must be accounted the most brilliant diplomatic triumph of the century. A territory exceeding in area England and France combined has been won without firing a gun or losing a single life, and without the payment of any consideration whatever. True, the nominal sovereignty of China is retained to "save the face" of the Chinese government, but the substance of sovereignty has passed irrevocably to the Muscovite. He can wait with a light heart and characteristic patience for the coming of an opportune moment to assume absolute dominion.

This last move of Russia should be considered in the light of a little history. The territory of the Amur was an unknown land to the Russians until about the middle of the seventeenth century. The first Russian expedition into that region was under the leadership of an adventurer named Poyarkoff, who, in 1636, sailed down the river from Irkutsk to its mouth. As early as 1682 the Russians had a settlement on the Amur at Albasin. By the treaty of Nerchinsk, signed in 1689 and confirmed in 1728, the Russians were forced to evacuate all their settlements on the Amur and acknowledge the sovereignty of China over the basin of that river. The dominion of China remained unquestioned until toward the middle of the present century, when the Russian Government desired to send supplies to its settlements in Kamchatka by way of the Amur. In 1847, General Muravieff, who was in command of Western Siberia, sent an officer to explore the river. Several surveys were made, and in 1851, Nikolaievsk and Mariinsk were founded near the mouth of the Amur by the commanding officer of a Russian man-of-war as posts of the recently formed Russo-American Trading Company. In 1853 Alexandrovsk and Konstantinovsk were founded on the coast. All these settlements were within territory admitted by Russia in the treaty of Nerchinsk to belong to China. In 1854, General Muravieff asked permission of the local Chinese authorities to send supplies to the Russia settlements on the Pacific down the Amur. His very reasonable request was denied. As the Crimean War was then raging, the Amur afforded the only available route. It was a case of necessity. Accordingly, General Muravieff pro-

ceeded down the river with a large convoy of barges and a thousand men. Again in 1855 expeditions were sent down the river with military stores and provisions and many colonists. Russian stations were established at several points along the north shore of the river against the feeble protests of the local mandarins. Owing to the Taiping rebellion, the government at Peking was unable to oppose by force this Russian occupation. The weakness of China was an invitation to the bold diplomacy of Russia. By means that have never been made public, she succeeded in 1858 in extorting from China the astonishing treaty of Aigun, by which the whole of the left bank of the Amur was ceded unconditionally and without compensation to Russia. This forced gift of China was organized into Primorsk province. Brilliant and unaccountable as this diplomatic achievement was, it was soon followed by one still more brilliant and unaccountable. In 1860, when the Taipings were masters of the greater part of China, and France and England were at the gates of Peking, Russia forced China to cede to her all of Eastern Manchuria as far south as Korea. China received no compensation whatever for thus ceding an immense territory and cutting herself off from the Pacific. The secret means by which Russia secured this extraordinary grant still remain secret.

No further move was made by Russia until 1895, when, at the close of the war between China and Japan, the latter demanded, as a condition of peace, the Liao-tung peninsula. This position would have given Japan control of all Manchuria and kept Russia beyond the Amur. It was intolerable that Russia should build a railroad across the continent and thus be cut off from an ice-free terminus on the Pacific. Supported by Germany and France, Russia compelled Japan to withdraw the demand, and in this action she was clearly justified. Manchuria was thus saved to China, but it was perfectly well understood at the time that Russia was to be granted a right to build her railroad across the country and find an ice-free post at Talien-wan.

In 1896, Russia was formally conceded the right to extend her Trans-Siberia Railroad across Manchuria. Under this concession the road will probably begin at the Onon station of the Trans-Baikal Railroad and cross the Chinese frontier near the town of Staro-Zurukhait, running in Manchuria southeasterly through Tsitsihar, Petuna and Ninguta, and connecting with the

South Ussuri Railroad at Nikolks, to which point trains are now running from Vladivostok. In March of the present year Russia secured the further right to connect this line with a road running from Port Arthur and Talien-wan northward through Moukden and Kirin to Petuna. It is believed, upon evidence that is well nigh conclusive, that Russia has already secured, by secret convention, the right to police the territory through which these railroads will pass. This is to be done ostensibly to "protect" the railroads, but, of course, it will eventuate in the military government of the country. It is also believed that she has secured the right to develop the mines of Manchuria and "reform" the military system.

Finally, the control of Manchuria by Russia was unequivocally and irrevocably fixed by a convention signed at Peking last March. The following notice of this convention was given to the powers by Russia through her foreign ministers:

"By virtue of a convention signed at Peking on March 27, Port Arthur and the port of Talien-wan, and the territories adjacent, have been ceded to Russia in usufruct by China. You are requested to notify the foregoing government whereto you are accredited, adding that the above-mentioned ports and territories will be immediately occupied by Russian troops, and that the Russian flag will be hoisted by the side of the Chinese flag. You may at the same time inform the foreign minister that the port of Talien-wan will be open to foreign trade, and that the largest measure of hospitality will be extended to the ships of all friendly nations."

An official communication issued to the press adds:

"The concessions are for twenty-five years, but may be extended later by common accord. Further, China has conceded the right of constructing a railroad to connect the ports with the Trans-Siberian main line."

Manchuria has an estimated population of 23,000,000. It is the land of the Manchus, who, in 1644, conquered China and established the present dynasty. Its native population has been very largely withdrawn to garrison the cities of China. On the other hand, Manchuria has been overrun by Chinese from Northern China. So extensive has been this migration to and from China that Manchuria has become in race, language and customs an integral part of the Chinese Empire. The climate is very similar to that of Minnesota and Manitoba. The winters are extremely cold, with abundant fall of snow, but the sky is clear and the atmosphere dry and bracing, so that much outdoor activity is possible. The summers are short, but long and warm enough to ripen the finest cereal crops of China. Magnificent crops of

maize, wheat, barley, hemp, rice and millet are raised in Southern and Central Manchuria by the Chinese, who are the most industrious agriculturists of the world. Fine as these cereal crops are, beans are a still more important crop. They are grown in enormous quantities for their oil, which is used extensively by the Chinese for illuminating and cooking purposes. After the oil is extracted the beans are pressed into huge cakes, which are shipped from Newschwang to the southern ports of China, and there used as a fertilizer for sugar cane. Beans are also ground into a pulp and converted into a white jelly-like substance, which is called bean curd and highly relished by the Chinese. Cotton, tobacco and indigo are extensively cultivated. Cattle, sheep and hogs are to be seen everywhere in the farming districts of Manchuria, and mules, donkeys and ponies are so abundant as to be within the reach of all. Nowhere in China are the conditions for farming so favorable. The northern and western portions of Manchuria are mountainous or hilly, and the sparse population is for the most part non-Chinese and markedly inferior. It was not until 1820 that Chinese were allowed in the northern provinces, but recently they have fairly overrun the more desirable portions.

Manchuria possesses an immense source of wealth in her extensive forests of pine, oak and elm. Fortunately, these forests are so situated that logs may be easily floated down to the sea on the great rivers of the country. China proper now looks almost wholly to Manchuria for her lumber. At the mouth of the Yalu as many as 40,000 raftsmen are said to congregate in summer. Gold, silver, iron and coal are found in abundance, but the Chinese government has hitherto forbidden the development of the mines. Take it all in all, no part of China is more richly endowed by nature, and under the wise guidance of Russia, Manchuria is destined in the near future to astonish the world by her development. At present, the great drawbacks are bad government, bad roads, bad currency, brigandage and want of a proper mail service. We may be sure that Russia will speedily remedy all these defects. Brigandage, which now terrorizes large portions of the country, will be put down with a ruthless hand. Railroads will be pushed with all possible speed. Preliminary surveys have already been made, and large orders have been placed in the United States for steel rails and locomotives. The chief western import is cotton goods, and it is pleasant to add that they

are principally of American manufacture. Our commercial interests in Manchuria are larger than those of any other western nation, and capable of very great enlargement. It, therefore, behooves our government to be especially active in preserving the "open door" in that country. Our rights at Talien-wan have not yet been defined by Russia, but so long as the neighboring port of Newschang remains a Chinese treaty port, discriminating duties are not likely to be imposed at Talien-wan. We should join with England in demanding written assurances from China that, in any future concessions that may be granted in Manchuria, our present trading privileges shall be properly safeguarded. If we can receive unequivocal assurances of equality of opportunity with Russia in the Manchurian markets, we shall view her occupancy with unqualified approval. Even though an illiberal policy should be pursued at Talien-wan, the benefit accruing to us from the Russian control would far outweigh the evils. Certainly we have no share in the hysterical Russophobism just now so common in England. So long as Russia is kept beyond the Great Wall, her expansion in the Far East is viewed with favor rather than alarm by Americans. She is doing a highly important civilizing work in the outlying regions north and west of China, which no other European power would be permitted to do or could do so well.

Very different are the concessions recently secured from China by England. They involve no possible danger to our interests, and are certain to result in a greatly enlarged demand for American goods.

(1.) The valley of the Yangtse shall not be mortgaged, leased or ceded to any foreign power.

This is the richest and most populous portion of China. From this region come the tea and silk, which constitute the staple exports from China, and here American merchants find the chief market for our cotton goods and kerosene oil. Of course, the promise of China is utterly valueless in her present state of weakness, but it is incalculably important as showing the firm determination of England to keep open this immensely rich market. Whatever may befall in China, Americans are thus guaranteed free access to the Yangtse valley.

(2.) The inland waters of China shall be thrown open to the vessels of all nations.

This is far and away the most important commercial concession yet obtained from China since the opening of the country, and, if carried out in good faith, will revolutionize trade conditions. The chief obstacle to foreign trade has always been the local taxes, called *likin*. The Chinese people have been eager to purchase foreign goods, but the likin taxes, imposed between the port of entry and the home of the consumer, have raised the price of the goods beyond the means of the people. By treaty we have long had the right to pay 2½ per cent. *ad valorem* at the port of entry, in commutation of the likin taxes. Transit passes have been issued, which were evidence of the payment of this tax, and were designed to secure the free passage of the goods covered through the likin stations. In practice the unscrupulous cunning of the mandarins has rendered these passes well nigh valueless. Under the present concession we shall be able to evade the mandarins by carrying our goods directly to the consumer under our own flag. China is a perfect network of waterways, and by the use of light draft steamers and launches we shall greatly increase the area of our markets. It is one thing to secure a right in China from the Peking Government. It is quite another to secure its recognition by the local officials. Much diplomatic pressure will have to be exerted at Peking before we shall enjoy this right to the full. Our Government should unreservedly cooperate with England in any action that may prove necessary to make this right practically useful.

(3.) In connection with the Anglo-German loan of £16,000,000 China has agreed that the likin taxes in the provinces of Kiangsu, Kiangsi, Hupeh, Chekiang and Nyanhwei, which are pledged as part security for the loan, shall be collected by the foreign custom service under Sir Robert Hart.

From what has been said concerning these taxes, it is apparent that this change will prove highly advantageous to foreign trade.

(4.) China has promised that the successor of Sir Robert Hart as Inspector General of the Imperial Maritime Customs shall be an Englishman, and that an Englishman shall hold this post so long as English trade predominates.

This is a position of very great power, and, in the capable hands of Sir Robert Hart, has done much to maintain English prestige in China. As England is the only power in China standing unequivocally for open markets, anything which enhances her influ-

ence at Peking works for American interests and should receive our hearty approval.

(5.) Funing, on the inlet of Sam Sa; Chinwang Peitaho, on the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, and Yo-chau, on the Tung-ting Lake, are opened to foreign trade.

(6.) Wei-hai-wei is leased to England on the same terms on which Port Arthur is leased to Russia.

Speaking of this lease as the leader of the Government in the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour said: "We offered, if they (Russia) would abstain from taking Port Arthur, to ourselves give a corresponding pledge to take no port on the Gulf of Pe-chi-li. But our offer was not accepted, and Great Britain has since obtained a lease of Wei-hai-wei on the same terms as those by which Russia secured Port Arthur. Wei-hai-wei is the only port on the Gulf of Pe-chi-li which might balance the possession of Port Arthur. While Port Arthur is stronger, the accommodation at Wei-hai-wei is inestimably greater, and by taking Wei-hai-wei under our protection we prevent the Gulf of Pe-chi-li from falling under the maritime control of one power, and thus defend our interests."

Opinion in England is very much divided as to the wisdom of this move, but Americans are undivided in the opinion that a strong British fortress at Wei-hai-wei between the Russians at Port Arthur and the Germans at Kiao-Chou will render American interests in North China more secure. The stronger England becomes in China the less likely are Russia, Germany and France to impose discriminating duties within their concessions.

(7.) A company of English capitalists has just received a sixty-year concession of the coal and iron fields in the Province of Shansi.

The value of this concession may be imagined when it is recalled that Baron Von Richtofen estimated that the anthracite alone of these fields would supply the world for 2,000 years. A railroad is already under construction through this region. This concession being secured against the strenuous opposition of Russia and France is a brilliant triumph for English diplomacy. The predominance of England in North China seems now assured and the threatened ascendancy of Russia in that region happily averted. It is a decisive victory for the policy of the "open door," in which we may well rejoice.

(8.) In 1897 England secured the opening of the West River to foreign trade as far as Wuchow, which was at the same time made a treaty port.

This is a concession that the foreign merchants at Canton and Hongkong have long sought. The West River is the natural channel for the foreign trade of Southeastern China. Hitherto this trade has been unnaturally restricted by the obstruction of the local officials. Already American kerosene oil is finding largely increased sale as a result of the opening of the river.

Last year Germany secured the following concessions. We quote the language of M. Von Brand, the then German Minister to China :

"China rents to Germany for ninety-nine years the two promontories forming the entrance to the Bay of Kiao-Chou, and the water area of the bay up to high-water mark, with the islands in it; agreeing, at the same time, that nothing shall be done by the Chinese authorities within a radius of thirty-one English miles round the bay without the previous consent of the German authorities. China agrees further to give to a Chino-German railway company, to be formed, a concession for the construction of a railway from the Bay of Kiao-Chou to Tsinan-Fu, passing through Ichau-fu, and returning to the point of departure. It also grants to Germany the privilege of operating the coal mines at Weihsien, Joshansien and Ichau-fu, and promises furthur that in the event of works being undertaken in Shantung with the help of foreigners, German industry and commerce shall be first called into requisition."

These concessions do not seriously menace American interests. On the contrary, in so far as they open up hitherto inaccessible territory, they are distinctly advantageous. They will create new markets for American cotton goods and kerosene oil, a trade in which Germany and the United States are not competitors. Germany has given the world assurances that she will pursue an open policy at Kiao-Chou. Her interests in China are so manifestly on the side of the "open door" that we need have no great fear of discriminating duties. The powers in China are divided into two opposing parties. The United States, England and Germany desire the integrity of China, to the end that trade may be open to all on terms of entire equality. On the other hand, Russia and France, whose trade with China is comparatively insignificant and seemingly incapable of large increase, are actuated by a desire for territorial aggrandizement and exclusive privileges. Wherever the French flag flies in China, we may expect the same illiberal commercial policy that has blighted Tongking, Anam and Cochin

China. At present Kiao-Chou is commercially insignificant, and it will remain so until a railroad is constructed to Tsinan-fu.

Passing to the south we find France endeavoring, from her basis in Tongking and Kwang-chau-wan, to capture the trade of Kwangsi and Yunnan. Foreign trade in these provinces is as yet comparatively insignificant, but it is thought to be capable of enormous enlargement, especially in the rich Province of Yunnan. Just what direction this future trade will take is one of the interesting commercial problems of China. This region may be reached from Shanghai by way of the Yangtse; from Canton by way of the West River; from Tongking by way of the Red River and the proposed French railroad, and from Burmah by an extension of the English railroad. With a view of controlling this trade, France has secured the following concessions:

(1.) A lease of Kwang-chau-wan on the Leichau peninsula, in the Province of Kwangtung.

The harbor is a fine one, twenty miles long and land locked, with two entrances. The wide part of the harbor is about ten miles long from east to west and six or seven miles wide from north to south, with a depth and holding ground that will afford an open and safe anchorage for vessels of the largest draft. By this lease France secured the natural outlet for the trade of the Province of Kwangsi and an invaluable base for operations in Kwangsi, Kwangtung and Hainan.

(2.) The concession of a railroad connecting Tongking with Yunnan-fu by the Red River.

(3.) A promise by China not to alienate her territory bordering on Tongking.

(4.) A promise by China not to cede the island of Hainan to any other power.

(5.) In June, 1896, a French company secured the right to build a railroad from the frontier of Tongking to Lungchau, in Kwangsi, and in June, 1897, an extension of this road was authorized.

(6.) In June, 1895, France secured the right to trade at Lungchau in Kwangsi and at Mengtzu in Yunnan. Already a large trade has been built up at Mengtzu.

By these concessions France is given an immense advantage in the race for the markets of Southern China, but there is nothing in the commercial history of France in the Far East to justify the

belief that she can maintain the advantage against the English, who will reach these markets from Canton and Burmah.

The various concessions that have been enumerated are sure to make the present year the beginning of a new era for China. The country is at last fully open to foreign trade and presents to our merchants an unparalleled opportunity. Fortunately we are already in the field. Ever since the opening of China, our merchants have enjoyed a large share of the foreign trade, and to-day, at Shanghai, we have houses possessed of large capital and officered by able men of long experience in China, who are keenly alive to every opportunity for the extension of American trade. The men who have doubled American imports into China since 1893 are not likely to lag behind in the race for the new markets recently opened.

Our staple exports to China are cotton goods and kerosene oil. American clocks and watches have a large sale. Recently there has been a growing demand for our wheat flour. The railroad concessions recently secured will create a large demand for American locomotives and steel rails. Baldwin engines are used on the Tientsin-Peking Railroad, and the lead thus secured is not likely to be lost.

The total value of our exports to China last year was about $20,000,000. The official statistics do not include the full value of the trade, for the reason that many goods find their way to China *via* England. The following statistics from the Statistical Abstract, 1898, show the declared value of our exports and the wonderful growth of the trade in recent years:

	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.
American exports to Chinese ports..	$3,900,457	$5,862,426	$3,603,840	$6,921,933	$11,924,433
To Hong Kong.....	4,216,602	4,209,847	4,253,040	4,691,201	6,060,039
	$8,117,059	$10,072,273	$7,856,880	$11,613,134	$17,984,472

The following table shows the growth in the leading articles of export:

Flour:	1893.	1897.
Chinese Ports.....	$66,699	$72,100
Hong Kong.....	2,059,576	3,322,241
	$2,126,275	$3,394,341

	1893.	1897.
Cotton Goods:		
Chinese Ports	$1,638,657	$7,438,203
Hong Kong	14,062	17,492
	$1,652,719	$7,455,695
Kerosene Oil:		
Chinese Ports	$1,809,437	$3,371,937
Hong Kong	842,313	1,157,050
	$2,651,750	$4,528,987

Under these conditions, what should be the policy of the United States? We have no desire to appropriate a single foot of Chinese territory, and as a government we are entirely indifferent to the balance of power in the Far East, except as it may affect our trade. The political considerations that enter into the relations of England and Russia in the north of China, and England and France to the south, do not concern us. Anything like a general alliance between this country and England in the Far East should be studiously avoided. While we sympathize with China and feel that in the interest of civilization her independence should be respected and maintained, under no circumstances that can be now foreseen would we fight to prevent a partition that did not involve the destruction of our present treaty rights. So long as entire equality of trading privileges is secured, the scramble of the powers in China for concessions will receive no active opposition from the United States. We are concerned with the integrity of Chinese trade, and not the integrity of Chinese territory. In this regard our interests and those of England differ. Otherwise they are identical and we can readily secure her co-operation in the furtherance of our policy. The sticking point with us is the preservation of our present treaty right of admission to the Chinese market upon terms of entire equality with every other nation. To this end our Government should join England in insisting, even to the point of war, upon an express stipulation in future grants of territory by China that our goods shall be admitted into the territory granted upon the same terms as the goods of the nation receiving the grant. We should also join England in employing every diplomatic means, short of a threat of war, to prevent the partition of China, because that event would be disastrous to American trade, although open markets were guaranteed. It is highly discreditable to American and English diplomacy that Talien-wan, Kiao-Chou and Kwang-chau-wan, the natural outlets of the rich provinces of Manchuria, Shantung and

Kwangsi, have been alienated by China without our interests being properly safeguarded. It would never have happened if the two governments had been acting together at Peking. In short, our policy in China should be, concert of action with England so far as our interests are identical, opposition to the partition of China by every means short of war, and opposition to partition or territorial grants even to the extremity of war if the preservation of our present treaty rights of trade cannot be guaranteed.

It has been urged that we are estopped from fighting for open markets in China because of our protective tariff at home. Nothing could well be more absurd. It is not a question of fighting for new rights, but for the preservation of rights we already possess. At present we have a treaty right of admission to all the markets of China through the "open ports" upon the payment of a nominal duty. Certain powers of Europe threaten this right by securing territorial concessions from China without insuring us against discriminating duties within the territory granted. It is not a question of China giving away her own. These concessions are forced from her. It is simply a question whether we shall weakly allow ourselves to be pushed out of valuable markets to which we have a possessory right.

The advantages of co-operating with England to the extent here advocated are obvious. No power or combination of powers would for a moment think of opposing the joint demand of England and the United States for open markets in China. The demand would be too reasonable and the combined strength too overwhelming. The powerful fleet of Japan would eagerly join those of England and the United States to sustain such a policy.

The only serious obstacles to this course of action lie in the historical enmity between this country and England and our traditional policy of avoiding alliances. Happily, recent events have done much to remove both these obstacles.

That there is much in the past relations of the two governments that makes co-operation difficult is too true, but in the noble language of Lowell, "these things should be remembered, not with resentment, but for enlightenment." Community of interests is fast overcoming every repulsion, and the feeling of the more open-minded and far-seeing men of both countries was eloquently expressed recently at the Mansion House by our Ambassador;

"The good understanding between us is based on something deeper than mere expediency. All who think cannot but see there is a sanction like that of religion which binds us in partnership in the serious work of the world. Whether we will or not, we are associated in that work by the very nature of things, and no man and no group of men can prevent it. We are bound by ties we did not forge and that we cannot break. We are joint ministers in the same sacred mission of freedom and progress, charged with duties we cannot evade by the imposition of irresistible hands."

The universal sympathy of Englishmen for us in our attempt to pacify Cuba and give the island the benefit of a liberal and just government is evidence that there is a patriotism of race as well as of country. In the presence of this sympathy, we forget our old animosities. England alone of European powers has fully recognized the distinterestedness of our motives. By peremptorily refusing even to consider an invitation from the Continental powers to intervene in the war she has placed us under a heavy debt of gratitude and rendered it altogether impossible for us to remember past grievances. The war has repaid its cost by disclosing to the world the solidarity of English-speaking peoples.

Recent events have also done much to remove the other obstacle to effective action in China. Cuba, Hawaii and the Philippines are teaching us that a policy of isolation is no longer possible. Changed conditions are forcing us unwillingly into a departure from our traditional policy of avoiding contact with the world at large. We are confronted by the unpleasant alternative of giving up cherished ideals or ignominiously shirking the duties of great power. Again and again our Government has failed to protect American interests with vigor and effect because of its irrational unwillingness to act in concert with other powers. We have pursued a weak and ineffectual policy of isolation when the conditions were such that co-operation with other powers was essential to the proper protection of our own interests. The policy of isolation has been rendered sacrosanct by the great name of Washington. Like all devotees of superstition we have clung to the words of the Farewell Address and ignored the spirit of the text. Washington spoke with reference to conditions then existing, and we do his memory a grave injustice in attributing to him an intention of recommending a permanent and inflexible policy

of isolation. He never allowed himself to be hampered by an unyielding policy. He did not think in formulæ. He had a strong affinity for facts and saw conditions as they were. His success in the field was largely due to the bewildering rapidity with which he changed his plans to conform to changed conditions. We should remember that he did not disdain the French alliance during the war. The Farewell Address does not warn us against all alliances, but only such as would not directly and materially promote our interests. Washington counselled a policy of isolation during the period of the nation's infancy and weakness. He had suffered throughout his administration from the provincialism of the masses and their proneness to take sides in the controversies of Europe. He therefore wisely counselled a policy of isolation. By failing to consider his words in the light of the conditions that provoked them, we have strangely misunderstood and misapplied this counsel. A temporary policy of isolation that was designed to protect the weakness of the infant republic has been irrationally converted into a permanent policy which thwarts and hampers us in our days of lusty manhood. One hundred years ago we occupied a narrow fringe of land along the Atlantic seaboard. Our white population was but three millions. We had no possession on the Pacific coast and the Mississippi Valley had not yet been acquired. We were living under a newly formed federal government which was a distasteful compromise, and had not yet won the undivided loyalty of the people. Our form of government was confessedly an experiment. In Europe absolutism held universal sway, save in France, where events were doing much to discredit democracy. We had not a friend in Europe whom we could trust, and our isolation was our safety. Fortunately, we were then farther removed from Europe than we now are from China. The wisdom of avoiding entangling alliances involving war, at that period of our extreme weakness, is so obvious that we can but marvel that it should have required all the strength of Washington's administration to keep the people from joining France in the war against England. A timid shrinking from contact with the world which was wise in those days of our infancy, when we were the weakest of nations, is grotesquely absurd now that we have become the strongest. Should we protect or extend American interests in any part of the world by temporary co-operation with a European power? It is thought a

sufficient condemnation of such a policy to repeat the hackneyed phrase against "entangling alliances." And thus the native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er by a phrase. In consequence we allow American property in Turkey to be destroyed with impunity and leave England to fight unaided for the preservation of our treaty rights in China. In consequence our whole foreign policy has been enervated and in particular our attitude toward Hawaii and Cuba has been weakly hesitant. This hallowed policy of isolation has had the natural result of producing provincial habits of thought among our public men, that make it difficult for them to consider our foreign policy along broad lines of national destiny. The Cuban war will prove the beginning of the end of the absurd attempt to guide the conduct of our years of maturity by the little prudential maxims of our infancy.

Our commercial necessities are also fast bringing home to the American people the inadequacy of their traditional foreign policy. We have been so long intent on discouraging imports that we have thought little of encouraging exports, but now that we have captured our own markets we are eager to invade the markets of the world. Indeed, the invasion has already begun. In 1894, the value of domestic manufactures exported from the United States was $177,801,000, while in 1897 the value was $279,617,000, an increase of about 57 per cent. American tools and machinery are the standard of the world. Our sewing machines, bicycles and typewriters lead in every market, and our locomotive engines are whistling at the gates of Peking. We are selling steel rails in London, India and Manchuria. The industrial capacity of the American people has outgrown the demands of the home market, and our merchants are in consequence making an energetic push into the markets of the world. It is certain they are accomplishing wonders unaided by government, but it is equally certain that our foreign trade would increase even more rapidly if our Government was as keenly active and resolutely bold in opening up new markets and furthering the efforts of our merchants as are the governments of Europe. We have long recognized the fact that the prosperity of the Western and Southern farmer depends largely upon the foreign markets. We are just beginning to realize that the prosperity of the Eastern artisan is equally dependent upon them. This revolution in industrial conditions demands a revolution in our foreign policy. The more

far-sighted of our statesmen are awakening to the necessity of finding foreign outlets for the overflowing industrial energy of the American people. Unless our eyes turn outward in search of foreign markets, they will soon turn inward upon discontent and dangerous political unrest among our industrial classes. This condition will force our Government to abandon its policy of indifference and adopt a policy of active intervention in foreign affairs, not for the purpose of territorial acquisition, but in the interest of open markets. Along these lines the two great branches of the English race seem destined to act in concert, with incalculable benefit to themselves and the world at large. Whatever disposition may be made of the Philippine Islands, it would be highly discreditable to American statesmanship if we failed to provide that they should forever remain open to our trade, free of all duties.

For many it has long seemed our ideal destiny to live apart, in complacent self-sufficiency, a recluse among the nations. Happily such an ideal is as impossible as it is ignoble and retrograde. Impelled by irresistible forces we are already beginning to look outward, and are preparing to take the high place among the nations to which our strength entitles us. We should be unworthy members of the stout-hearted race to which we belong if we were daunted by the burdens and dangers of the wider activities upon which we are entering.

MARK B. DUNNELL.

THE MOVEMENT FOR MUNICIPAL REFORM.

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

THE problems confronting those interested in the welfare and advancement of our American cities are both numerous and extensive. They involve questions of the election of competent officials, and the selection of trained subordinates; of the enactment of new laws, and the enforcement of those already on the statute book; of the maintenance of law and order, and the suppression of vice; of policy, the determination of whether a city shall own and operate its franchises, or lease them to a private corporation or give them away absolutely to private parties; of municipal functions; of cleanliness, health and sanitation; of municipal standards, of municipal taste, and finally, of civic patriotism.

I place the problem of the election of competent officials and the selection of trained subordinates first, as it is one of fundamental and far-reaching importance. Indeed, it lies at the basis of all good government. Good laws are important; good men to execute them are essential. The most striking illustration of this proposition is to be found in the management of the New York Police Department under the Tammany *régime* and under Theodore Roosevelt's. Until late in the latter's term there was no change in the laws relating to the New York police system; indeed, few radical changes were made at any time; but there was, nevertheless, a most marked difference in the results. Under Tammany, vice flourished with the protection of the department; law breakers were in close touch with the police and were unmolested so long as they maintained a satisfactory understanding with those whose duty it was to detect and punish crime; laws were enforced against those who bowed not to Tammany or refused to contribute to its treasury; while those who did basked in a profitable immu-

nity. When Roosevelt and his brave and honest colleagues took charge, all this disappeared and an impartial enforcement of the law against all offenders, high or low, rich or poor, followed. Crime diminished, vice hid its head, and old-time offenders forsook their haunts and sought newer and less dangerous fields of activity. In the one case, the department promoted and protected vice. In the other, it lent every effort to its prosecution and extermination.

Mayor Pingree's administration is another notable illustration of the principle just enunciated. I do not recall that the laws of Michigan enlarged the powers of the public-spirited and courageous Mayor of Detroit; but I do know he executed the laws he found on the statute books in a spirit of fairness and impartiality, without fear or favor, and in the interest of the community at large, rather than of selfish individuals or corporations. I think that the great majority of the citizens of Detroit will agree in testifying that their city has benefited morally, physically and financially because they had for Mayor a man who placed the city's interest foremost, and constantly and conscientiously worked to advance its welfare.

Municipal reformers now quite generally believe that the municipal problem is in a large part one of men. We must get the right men in the right place, and then keep them there. So we are not surprised when we find an increasing number of reform organizations devoting their energies mainly to the election of the right sort of officials. It is significant of the growing public opinion on this point that, within the past eighteen months in three different cities, unusually large votes have been cast for strictly municipal candidates. In Chicago, in April, 1897, nearly 80,000 votes were polled for John Marshall Harlan for Mayor; in November last, 151,000 were cast for Seth Low for Mayor of Greater New York; and in February last nearly 58,000 votes were cast for William Henry Rhawn for Tax Receiver of Philadelphia. Neither Mr. Harlan, Mr. Low nor Mr. Rhawn was supported either by the Republican or Democratic machines. Mr. Harlan had behind him a Citizens' party; Mr. Low was supported by the Citizens' Union; and Mr. Rhawn was nominated by the Municipal League, and subsequently by the Citizens' party, organized during the campaign.

The extraordinarily large vote in each of these cases indi-

cates that the voters are learning to place the candidate and his fitness for the office above partisan considerations. In Chicago the Harlan vote exceeded the Republican vote; so did the Low vote in New York, and in Philadelphia it exceeded the Democratic. In each instance the Independents became the vigorous minority, supplanting the old national minority party.

Reform organizations with scarcely an exception insist that municipal affairs must be divorced from State and national politics, and considered solely from a municipal standpoint. Every year instances multiply, showing the growth of this doctrine, although the three we have just mentioned are the most conspicuous illustrations; others, however, will recur at once to those who have followed the trend of municipal development during the past few years.

The selection of trained subordinates upon approved civil service reform principles is quite as generally insisted upon by reform bodies as the one to which we have just alluded. Civil service reform is a *sine qua non* of municipal reform. While the latter involves more than the former, to be successful it must include all of it. This has been universally recognized, and I do not recall a single organization dealing with the political side of municipal reform which does not strenuously insist upon it. It is a corner stone of the New York Citizens' Union and the Philadelphia Municipal League. The Civic Federation of Chicago is mainly responsible (in co-operation with the local Civil Service Reform Association) for the Illinois law. The Baltimore Reform League has always been a persistent advocate of the policy, and the St. Louis Civic Federation has just concluded a most active and aggressive campaign in behalf of the adoption of a civil service reform amendment to the city's charter. The Citizens' League of New Orleans secured civil service reform as one of the first fruits of its magnificent victories. The National Municipal League has always stood for the principle, and has worked in closest harmony and co-operation with the National Civil Service Reform Association; and it has never failed to make it a prominent topic for discussion at its conferences.

It is hardly necessary at this late day and in this connection to discuss the reasons why this is so. Intelligent people generally have accepted these principles; officials who have been protected by their operation from the onslaught of the spoilsmen, endorse

them; experience has demonstrated their practicability. They will be engrafted upon our statute laws and constitutions and adopted in our municipalities, when the inertia of the average citizen is overcome. The main difficulty is not in the acceptance of the principles, but in applying them. The attacks of the machine are less dangerous than the indifference of apathetic friends.

Next in importance to the election of competent officials and the selection of trained subordinates, we must place the enactment of new laws. The greater proportion of American municipal charters are at best an ill assorted and inconsistent mass (perhaps I would be justified in saying mess) of laws, lacking in logical order and clear legislative intent. While there are some notable exceptions, until quite lately municipal legislation in America has been in a most backward state. There has been no clear-cut conception of municipal functions; nor has there been any attempt to formulate a charter based upon American experience and political traditions. Recently, efforts have been inaugurated in some of the larger cities, which have met with more or less success, to secure the enactment of new charters. In New Orleans, the Citizens' League made the question of a new charter an election issue and won. Then it proceeded to draft a modern charter and urged it upon the Legislature, and in this it was successful. The Merchants' Association of San Francisco has been working for a new charter in place of the present antiquated scheme of government of that city, which, while it may be admirably adapted to subserve the interests of the Southern Pacific Railroad, prevents the citizens from effecting any substantial reforms. The association's first proposed charter was defeated at the polls; its second attempt succeeded. In Minneapolis, as well as in Duluth and several other of the larger Minnesota cities, new charters will be shortly submitted for popular approval. In Ohio, thanks to the long-continued and carefully planned labors of the State Board of Commerce, a bill was passed by the Legislature providing for a Commission to codify the laws relating to the cities, as a preliminary step to the enactment of a more logical and wiser scheme of municipal government. In other cities and States similar movements have been instituted, and I think I am justified in saying that there is a general dissatisfaction with present forms, and an equally general desire for improvement.

The National Municipal League, at its Louisville meeting in

1897, authorized the appointment of a Committee of Ten to report on the feasibility of adopting a Municipal Programme. This committee, in pursuance of the objects of its appointment, has given careful study to the whole municipal problem in America, and will report as a result of its labors a constitutional amendment and a municipal corporation act, which will embody a scheme of government adapted to American municipalities. The scope and contents of the committee's report will not be disclosed until the next meeting of the league, which it is expected will be held in Indianapolis in the autumn, but it is quite generally understood that it will be in some respects the most important contribution to the study of municipal government thus far made.

There is scarcely any substantial difference of opinion as to the necessity of enforcing those laws already on the statute books. If they are wise and intended to correct existing evils, they should be enforced to secure the advantages originally intended; if they are antiquated, honest enforcement will quickly lead to a repeal. There should be no unenforced laws on our books. Every such law detracts from the effectiveness of other laws. If the provisions of one law can be evaded with impunity, the question is very soon propounded, why cannot we evade other laws with equal impunity? If the executive is allowed any discretion as to which laws he shall enforce, the door is opened at once to favoritism and corruption. This was the case in New York City under Tammany, and will be the case wherever such a policy is tolerated. Experience has time and again demonstrated the soundness and wisdom of the doctrine that the quicker way to secure repeal of an unpopular or obsolete law is to enforce it strictly.

Some very effective reform work has been done by associations which have stood for the enforcement of the law. In most large cities there are law and order societies, making a specialty of the enforcement of the laws relating to excise and the social evil. Other organizations, like the Citizens' Associations of Boston, Albany, Philadelphia and Chicago, confine their efforts to the laws and ordinances relating to city business. Each one of these and they are only types of many more scattered over the country, has saved thousands of dollars to taxpayers, promoted municipal order and cleanliness and a stricter compliance with contract specification and wholesome municipal regulations. The Philadelphia body, through its insistence upon the enforcement of the law re-

quiring street railways to pay for the paving of the streets occupied by their tracks, secured the collection of over $400,000 from the companies and established a precedent which has since been faithfully followed.

The Citizens' Association of Albany completely revolutionized the methods of administration; and the most recent success of the Chicago Association (perhaps the most important of its career) was the complete and final establishment and vindication of the Illinois civil service law, by the highest tribunals.

Working hand in hand with what has come to be designated quite generally as law and order work, we find quite frequently organizations like that of which Dr. Parkhurst was president when he made his sensational and startling exposures concerning Tammany's complicity with vice and crime. The question of the policy to be pursued by cities in regard to the social evil is in some respects the most difficult and most delicate confronting those charged with the execution of the laws; but just so soon as an official is permitted to punish one offender and allow another to go free, just so soon such a course as disgraced New York under Tammany rule is made possible.

What we may call, for want of a better designation, policy determining organizations, are growing in number. In this class may be placed municipal ownership leagues, park and playground associations, public education and improvement societies. In Boston a municipal ownership committee is laboring to create a sentiment in favor of a policy which will lead to Boston's becoming the owner of her street railways. Similar organizations in New York and Buffalo and several Western cities are working to the same end. While there is a general recognition on the part of all reform bodies that there must be a change in the policy of dealing with municipal franchises, but few as yet have gone to the extent of those just mentioned. The opinion is general that the average American city has been most profligate in its management of these matters, and that the cities have suffered by improvidence and corruption. Reform sentiment seems to be divided, however, between the policy of leases for short periods with provision for adequate compensation, and that of municipal ownership and private operation. Few organizations have gone so far as to insist upon both municipal ownership and operation.

The movement for small parks and public playgrounds grows

apace. In New York and Philadelphia it has made rapid and substantial strides; Chicago is not far behind; indeed Western cities generally have shown wise foresight in providing for ample breathing spaces, and means for recreation. In some cities the demand for parks and playgrounds has been incorporated in the platforms of political parties, notably in that of the Citizens' Union of Greater New York. In Philadelphia the City Parks Association has so far succeeded in moulding public policy that not only has the area of squares and small parks in the more densely populated section been greatly enlarged, but a long look ahead has been taken, and ample provision made for future needs. I think we can say that this phase of the movement has succeeded to an unexpected degree, and it does not seem to be any longer a question of policy, but rather one of means and ability.

City improvement societies in many places discharge the function of parks and playground associations, going further, however, in attempting to beautify our cities by means of landscape gardening and artistic treatment and decoration of public buildings. In this work the women of our cities have found a congenial field for their talents, and have aided materially in developing a more elevated and refined municipal taste. They have found an equally congenial field in the direction of improving and protecting the health and sanitation of cities. Women's health protective associations and sanitary leagues have contributed materially to the alleviation of evils threatening the health of our urban communities. They have devoted their energies to such practical and important matters as the filtration of the water supply; the disposal of garbage and the cleaning of streets—matters of municipal housecleaning with which they are peculiarly fitted to grapple.

Closely associated with all the lines of activity which we have discussed are those efforts designed to raise municipal standards and instill into our citizens a keener appreciation of their duties in times of peace and within the borders of their town or city. We have all along been suffering from a perverted or wholly inadequate view of the importance of municipal government and of the true meaning of civic patriotism and its obligations. Too many have felt that the only way in which they were called upon to serve their country was upon the field of battle or upon the quarter deck of a battleship, failing to realize that perhaps there

was quite as much of heroism in voting for one's principles on election day, or in service upon a board of aldermen having the interests of a hundred thousand people and of millions of dollars of property in its charge. It is indeed an encouraging sign of the times to find, in all sections of our land, good citizenship leagues and good government clubs, municipal leagues and civic clubs working to inculcate a profounder and a more correct view of true civic patriotism, and seeking to create a public spirit in the interest of right municipal conduct that will be intolerant of any variation from the highest standards of municipal righteousness and efficiency.

Within the past few years the National Municipal League has come to play an important part in the development of municipal reform, in that it has brought together for an interchange of views those interested in municipal problems. It has sought to produce that helpful inspiration which comes from the contact of those working along similar lines under differing environments. It has stimulated a closer study of municipal conditions, a keener observation of the shortcomings and defects of municipal administration, and a profounder and more intelligent appreciation of the difficulties of the situation. Through its national conferences for good city government, public interest has been aroused and reform workers educated and inspired, and a literature produced that has been of untold value to the student and practical administrator alike. The proceedings of these conferences, published each year, form, in the opinion of intelligent critics, the most substantial addition thus far made to the literature of the subject.

In this hasty review we have mentioned the ways in which reformers are working and the movements to bring them into closer relations and to create a more generally diffused public spirit. No attempt has been made to indicate, even in the slightest way, the great and substantial progress that has thus far attended them. I have not sought to show the number or membership or accomplishments of the constantly growing list of organizations. Suffice it to say that the development has been such as to fill with the liveliest hope of an early realization those who have been laboring, in season and out, for many years in the cause of the better government of our American cities.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

THE ORIGIN OF MORALITY.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L.

THE firing of the cannon being over, interest in other than war subjects may revive, and attention will be attracted to the elaborate and important work in which Mr. Alexander Sutherland applies the principle of evolution to the origin and growth of the moral instinct.*

It is the well-known lot of every great discovery, after being first received as a paradox, possibly as a heresy, ultimately to become a universal solvent and perhaps a craze. One familiar instance is the discovery of the circulation of the blood, which after being strenuously denied and contemptuously ridiculed, was followed by the general treatment of the questions of human physiology as problems in hydraulics. Evolution has been no exception to the law. It was at first received in most quarters not only with incredulity, but with aversion; in some quarters with horror. Now everything is Evolution. The tendency surely reaches its climax when to reconcile us to the manifold imperfections, moral, historical and scientific, of the Bible, the evolutionary theory is applied to revelation. Revelation is a manifestation of the divine nature through inspired writings or in some other way. To be revealed at all, the divine nature must be fully revealed, since an imperfect revelation of character, divine or human, would be false. An evolution of revelation would seem, therefore, to imply an evolution of God. It would, at all events, assume the divine operation to be subject to a law which we cannot conceive otherwise than as one of physical necessity, identical with that of which the worm is developed into the ape and the ape into the man. If this is not exactly Pantheism, it is

* "The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct." By Alexander Sutherland, M. A. 2 vols. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898.

something still more remote from the common idea of a moral and personal God.

Admitting, as everyone who is open to reason must admit, that evolution is a most momentous discovery and has profoundly altered our views of the origin and present estate, if not of the destiny, of man, we may be permitted to doubt whether it has at once assumed its ultimate form and found its final limits. Men of science are not agreed—indeed, they differ widely—as to the probable age of our planet; but they are all agreed, and if they accept the evolutionary theory plainly must be agreed, in holding that the earth had a beginning. The Darwinian theory is that evolution works through natural selection; in other words, through the improvement of accidental variations under the influence of surroundings. An eminent Darwinian was asked what length of time it would probably take on any conceivable theory of probabilities to evolve in this way a bird which would build a nest in anticipation of laying an egg. Some birds, it is true, do not build nests, but many do, and to them the question applies. The answer, which was not very prompt or confident, involved the intervention of imitation. But here was another principle which had itself to be evolved by natural selection, and would apparently require countless aeons for its evolution. It is not likely that even such a master-mind as that of Darwin has reached the whole truth at a bound.

Especially we may be allowed to suspend our belief with regard to the final relation of the discovery to human action and character. That it has profoundly changed our ideas upon these subjects and exploded much of our moral philosophy cannot be questioned. We can no longer rest our faith on anything supernatural, transcendental, or intuitive. We can no longer believe in any innate moral sense, unless it be in the way of hereditary transmission. Kant's "categorical imperative" disappears, together with the implanted sense of right and wrong, and with Butler's divinely accredited conscience, which, "if it had power as it has authority, would rule the world." Even apart from Darwin's discovery, theories of the immutable distinction between right and wrong and of the moral law engraved on our hearts would be confuted by the variations in the moral code among the different races of mankind.

On the other hand, it does not seem possible that, without

the intervention of anything miraculous or any breach in the continuity of development, moral action and character may be the commencement of a new order of things in such a sense that the transition would be a *saltus mortalis* for any purely physical theory of evolution. From the worm to the man, still more from the primeval concurrence of atoms to the man, the progress may be unbroken, but the change, if there is such a thing as change, is vast; and there is no apparent reason for assuming that it has been arrested at the particular point up to which the Darwinian theory explains it.

It may be true that the rudiments of morality are found in brutes. They are, however, rudiments only. The most remarkable of them owe their existence to the influence of man and to the hope of good or fear of punishment at his hands. Brutes show no tendency to spontaneous improvement, though a habit impressed by man may become hereditary in a breed. The attachment of a dog to its master, often intense and touching, is at the same time blind. The dog shows no sign of moral discrimination. Bill Sykes's dog was just as much attached to his master as ever was the dog of a philosopher or saint. We cannot imagine a brute forming an idea of moral excellence, or striving to attain a moral ideal.

Mr. Sutherland undertakes to evolve all morality out of sympathy. He connects his theory with the general idea of Adam Smith's "Moral Sentiments," though Adam Smith could, of course, have no knowledge of evolution. He traces scientifically, it might almost be said ultra-scientifically, the growth of sympathy from the very lowest orders of animal life up to its highest development in man. The term "sympathy" is used by him in an extended and, it may be thought, hardly legitimate, sense as comprehending not only fellow-feeling, but affection of all kinds, conjugal affection, for instance, and the mutual affection of parent and child. He would thus seem to exclude from the pale of morality actions which are done from the pure sense of duty and characters formed upon that sense, such as the character of William III. or Washington; falling thus into an error opposite to that of Kant, who held the best action not to be moral if it was done not from a sense of duty, but because it gave pleasure to the agent. He would seem also to exclude self-control and good habits, such as temperance, continence, industry, or frugality,

formed for the benefit of the agent alone. Morality, according to all common notions of it, is regulative; while sympathy and affection are impulsive and require a rule to make them moral. We can hardly feel convinced, therefore, that Mr. Sutherland, though he may have collected many interesting facts and thrown side-lights on the subject, has solved his great problem.

A moral philosopher who is a thorough-going evolutionist must apparently be a thorough-going necessarian. He must believe, in fact, that our actions are predetermined, like the course of physical events, presumably from the very beginning of things. A thorough-going necessarian Mr. Sutherland is, as the following passages show:

"But sometimes we become imbued with a strong belief in will-power as something of itself selective and determinative. When we see a man who refuses to be the sport of circumstances, who does not drift with the current, but strikes boldly out for some definite point on the shore, we are inclined to regard him as one who can rise superior to the laws of causation. Yet the two factors in the determination of such a man's career are independent of his volition; how came he by that strong will-power, and what were the exterior circumstances that gave to it its tone and direction? That will power must be hereditary; he did not create it. The man born without it can never make it for himself. And, moreover, whatever be the appearances, this will-power is necessarily, in regard to its scope and direction, the sport of circumstances." II., 108.

"Moreover, this 'will-power' that I have discussed with the ordinary terms, is no separate existence, no real entity. It is only a capacity of being so powerfully attracted by one motive that other motives become insignificant. It is as if the iron ball of our illustration were so decidedly drawn by one particular kind of magnet, that the others had little or no power to deflect its course."—II., 109.

"It is hard to persuade the common sense man that he never really makes a deliberate choice; yet in fact all that his judgment can do is to weigh the various attractions of several motives, and the more powerful must certainly prove victorious, as when a child measures with his eyes two pieces of cake and thinks he chooses the larger, when it is in reality the larger pie ce which has attracted him."—II., 110.

"In general, when we deliberate, we are only giving to our minds the time to picture to themselves in imagination the more distant motives for action. One of the crew of a foundered ship afloat in the lifeboat beneath a tropic sky might long to drink a cool draught of the ocean waters. If he deliberates it is because fancy begins to elaborate all the joys of later life, inevitably lost if such a draught be drunk. He is reckoned to be a strong-willed man if he insists upon drinking in spite of the warnings and entreaties of his fellow-sufferers. Nevertheless, he is considered a strong-willed man if, on the contrary, day after day, in spite of the horrid temptation to drink, he remains true to his motive of once more seeing home and family. He is considered a man of weak will if he is inclined now one way and now another. But in every case his action will be determined by the attraction which these motives exercise on a mind of his class."—II., 111.

All this, we venture to submit, is hypothesis, and apparently, from the nature of the case, incapable of verification. Science cannot inspect a motive as it inspects a physical force or ingredient, submit it to experiment, ascertain what it is, how it acts, what determines its strength or weakness. The strongest motive is that which in the end prevails; no more scientific definition can be given.

It will be observed that in the passages quoted there is recognized, besides the motives by the comparative force of which action is supposed to be absolutely determined, something which compares these weights with each other and ultimately strikes the balance between them. What is this determining factor? To put the case in another and a broader way, what is it that makes us conscious and reflecting agents; in what does our personality consist?

We not only balance motives against each other at the time of action, but we afterwards reflect on our decision and commend or blame ourselves, according as the decision appears to us to have been right or wrong. If this is a mere delusion, how is the existence of the delusion to be explained? What are self-approval and remorse if the action about which they are felt is merely the resultant of forces over which we have no more control than the magnet and the iron have over the resultant of their approximation to each other? Nobody imagines that anything like the phenomena of the retroactive conscience can have a parallel in the case of purely physical agents.

The necessarian hypothesis is not, and we do not see how it ever can be, an observed or demonstrated fact. It is a supposed intellectual necessity. It can appeal for verification to nothing but our consciousness, and by our consciousness it is distinctly and uniformly denied.

"The constitution," says Bishop Butler, "of the present world and the condition in which we are placed is as if we were free. And it may perhaps justly be concluded that since the whole process of action, through every step of it, suspense, deliberation, inclining one way, determining, and at last doing as we determined, is as if we were free, therefore we are so." This is old-fashioned reasoning, antecedent to the discovery of evolution. But can it be positively shown to have been affected by that discovery? Bishop Butler would have, no doubt, admitted at the time

of his writing, and would still more emphatically admit now, that the word "free" required important qualification in view of the influences of surroundings, hereditary tendencies, and other circumstances which limit the action of the will. He would have admitted, to adopt Mr. Sutherland's illustration, that it makes an immense difference whether a boy is brought up in the home of an English squire or in that of a German musician. But he would probably have insisted that this did not extinguish, though it limited, his moral freedom. Is it not possible that physical science as well as popular opinion may have its *idola*, and that one of them may be that nothing can have any real existence which is not capable of being explained by the Darwinian hypothesis ?

It is surely paradoxical to say that "the absence of free will does not imply absence of responsibility." What can imply absence of responsibility if it is not implied in the absence of any power of self-control or self-determination? The phenomena of moral responsibility, it is true, directly contradict the necessarian hypothesis. But they are phenomena all the same, and those who deny the reality of their existence still feel themselves constrained to assume it in moral judgments of all kinds, in penal legislation and in the whole conduct and intercourse of life. Mr. Sutherland, in perfect consistency with his theory, denies that punishment is retributive, since if it were it would imply free agency in the person on whom it is inflicted. He maintains that it is merely preventive. But surely it is also retributive if it is proportioned, as all reasonable punishment is, to the gravity of the offence. If nothing but prevention were considered, our punishments should be measured only by their preventive effect. We might punish shoplifting or petty larceny with death. Such, in fact, was the principle of the penal code of England in the last century. But juries rebelled against the application of the code because it was not retributive, or, to use a plainer term, just; and the laws had in the end to be repealed.

Mr. Sutherland recognizes, as nobody who chooses to accept phenomena can help recognizing, the existence of moral ideals and of conscious effort to realize them. How, on the evolutionary hypothesis, can he account for the existence of the ideal, or the attempt at realization?

It can hardly be said that anyone has yet been able to afford the necessarian theory that which would be its decisive

confirmation, by treating human history as a subject of exact science. The most important attempt is that of Comte, whose well-known theory is that the course of history is determined by man's mode of explaining phenomena, and in accordance with that law has passed through three stages; the theological stage, in which phenomena are explained by the action of deity, beginning with Fetichism and ending with Monotheism; the metaphysical stage, in which they are explained by the action of certain occult agencies, such as Nature; and the positive stage, which is that of purely scientific observation, ushered in by the work of Comte. It is assumed that the third stage is final, and this finality runs through the whole philosophy of Comte, who seems to think that progress has ended with his own era and undertakes to furnish humanity with a final religion, pantheon, and form of government. But the theory, however imposing and in some respects suggestive, has never been applied, nor apparently is it capable of being applied, to the particular facts. No such universal connection as it supposes has yet been proved to exist between man's reading of phenomena and his moral actions. The three zones of history cannot be identified; the metaphysical zone, especially, eludes definite location. Nor can they be said to be mutually exclusive, some of the greatest lights of positive science, Newton, for instance, having been also devout theists. The philosophy of history has no doubt greatly advanced; we understand far better than our forefathers the connection of events, the succession of eras, the influence of the general conditions of each era on individual character and action. For this, as well as for a more rational, comprehensive, and tolerant view of humanity generally, we are greatly indebted to the discoveries, still more perhaps to the spirit, of science. But no one has yet found it possible to deal with the phenomena of history as we deal with those upon observation of which the strict sciences are founded.

If it is said that the explanation of this is to be sought, not in any essential difference of the phenomena, but merely in the difference of complexity, we can only reply that when this difficulty has been overcome and the possibility of a science of history analogous to the physical sciences has thus been demonstrated, we shall all be ready to accept the demonstration.

Morality, surely, in the common sense of the term, is not an affection, sympathetic or otherwise, nor is it an instinct, any

more than it is a divine revelation or a metaphysical necessity. It is simply another name for the rule of reason applied to human action and regulating man's natural appetites, desires, and affections for the good of the individual, the family, the community, the kind; in regard to the three last of which relations, man being a complex being, his interest is as much self interest as in regard to the first. In the case of the individual, the rule of reason presents itself as temperance, continence, industry, frugality, and other principles necessary to individual conservation; in the case of the family, it presents itself as domestic duty; in that of the country as civic duty; in that of humanity at large as general benevolence. Duty is another name for the observance of rules essential to our welfare in the different aspects of our being, especially in relation to our families, the community, and our fellow-men. It has its origin in the dawn of reason and reflection. Its warrant is general experience. It owes its sacredness to the voice of universal opinion. It is preserved by tradition, perhaps also by hereditary transmission. Conscience is the register in each man's mind of his observance or non-observance of the rule, with an apprehension of consequence, good or evil. The rule is improved, elevated, specialized, refined by each step in the progress of moral civilization. It varies in different races or nations, according to their stage of civilization, or under the influence of local circumstance and fashion, sufficiently to repel the hypothesis of its being implanted by the Creator or Nature in all breasts; but its general identity is preserved by the uniformity of human nature. So long as that uniformity continues, though we cannot proclaim the immutability of right or wrong, we are not in danger of confusion.

The utilitarian doctrine, in fact, appears to be sound provided that it is sufficiently comprehensive, and embraces all the needs, desires, and affections, domestic, social, intellectual and even æsthetic, as well as egoistic, of our complex human nature. The rule of the highest expediency will then be identical with morality. We may, in fact, dispense with the term "egoism" as well as with "altruism," which is its supposed opposite. There is a pleasure in self-sacrifice, and it is felt by the man's self.

Beyond morality, as the rule of the highest expediency and the regulator of our current actions, there appears to be such a thing as a moral ideal. Beauty of character, apart from the current use-

fulness of moral habits, is a thing of which we all more or less have a perception and to which the highest of our species distinctly aspire. This beauty may be capable of resolution into usefulness, and the admiration which the sight of it produces in us may be simply a high degree of that which is produced in us by the sight of any perfect and exquisite adaptation. It may be so or it may not. If it is not, there would seem to be an indication of something beyond the practical requirements of our present existence, something corresponding to the idea of spiritual life. We are bound to scrutinize all moral as well as all physical phenomena, and to reject anything fanciful or superstitious. But we are not bound or warranted to deny the existence of phenomena because they are not capable of explanation by any physical theory. After all, is not the mystery of the universe unfathomable? Can we think it likely that the range of our five senses, upon the evidence of which all physical science rests, is coextensive with being? How can we tell what there is beyond?

The great religions are in fact pursuits of a moral ideal which is personified in God, and the attainment of which is regarded as an approximation to the divine nature, bringing with it everlasting bliss. They are in this distinguished from anything Fetichist and from the mere superstitious belief in the power of a tribal god, who is propitiated by sacrifices and rites unconnected with morality and sometimes distinctly immoral. This is eminently true of that which is far the greatest of all religions, Christianity. But the Christian ideal, however sublime and beneficent, is imperfect. It involves an impracticable secession from the world and disregard of all worldly interests. Christianity has had little influence on industrial, still less on public, life. Has not "To hell with Spain! Remember the 'Maine!'" been the cry of the most church-going of communities?

It has hitherto been the general belief that morality, besides being the dictate of our highest interest, was the command of God, in whom we have impersonated it, that conscience was His voice in our nature, and that it held out as the consequence of well or ill doing eternal reward or punishment. This belief, which is in fact essential to the common conception of conscience, has, on the most moderate estimate of its influence, been a powerful auxiliary to opinion and to law in the repression of individual appetites and passions, when by their violence they overcame the

social sentiments and threatened the general welfare. It has also acted as a social sedative by holding out to those who have reason to repine at their present lot the prospect of a reversal of conditions in the next world, tempering thereby the dangerous force of envy as well as that of discontent. But faith in God and a future life is apparently losing its hold, and its departure is attended by heavings of social discontent and disaffection. Law may repress detected crime, but it must first detect; and if the voice of conscience is no longer heard in the breast, what is to restrain a man who thinks he can escape detection from gratifying his individual appetites and passions at the expense of his fellow-man or of the community? Transition, as history tells us, has its perils, though all may be destined to come right in the end. The work of earnest inquirers such as Mr. Alexander Sutherland, who are trying to place morality on a rational and sound foundation, is therefore most seasonable as well as good.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

OUR NATIONAL FOLLY AND ITS VICTIMS.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL J. C. BRECKINRIDGE, U. S. A.

How much there has been of misery upon the land and how little upon the sea has been phenomenal in this war. Even if it were easy to fix the personal responsibility for the state of things which has prevailed, just punishment alone would not remedy the evil nor even avail to guard against its recurrence. Close study, followed by resolute action founded upon clear insight and profound wisdom, is needed if we would care for our soldiers as they ought to be cared for when the cry goes up, "To your tents, O Israel!"

Though the flower of our manhood is selected for our soldiers, and weaklings are systematically rejected, still it has been demonstrated that more soldiers died of disease than from wounds, and that they are more in need of protection from themselves than from the foreign enemy. How to secure protection from germ diseases is fairly well known, and the task demands steadfast persistence in doing just the right thing at the right time. This is as clear a military duty as assaulting an enemy's works or taking due advantage of cover on the skirmish line. Therefore, we must try to perform this duty, also, in such a way that, even if we fail and are stricken, we shall remain blameless.

On these two demands all the duties of a soldier depend, viz.: (1.) To take proper care of himself, so that (2.) he can give a good account of himself when he faces the enemy; and no soldier has the right to weaken the fighting line by failing to take proper care of his health. This is an individual, as well as a collective, duty.

In all other civilized nations, a certain comparatively small percentage is taken annually into the armies, and prepared for war surrounded and dominated and properly advised by several

times their number of men who are old soldiers, already inured to camp life and the march, from whom all watchful care and proper guidance and restraint can be expected every moment of the day; and on every matter, however trivial and incidental it may appear. These few recruits are absorbed into the perfect organization without display of effort, and their inexperience or ailments produce no strain nor catastrophe, for they are not the whole organization, but only a part of it, while the evil effects of their ignorance of the conditions of military life are minimized by the universal and individual instruction surrounding them. But in an improvised army, where all are recruits and all are equally unused to the exigencies of soldiering, the conditions are reversed, and the fact that they are massed together magnifies the discomforts and disease like the revelations of a microscope.

Nothing appears more insignificant in a library than simply pulling a trigger with one finger, but just there hangs all the art of war. And all the health of the command hangs upon the control of the still more minute microbe. What is the soldier going to do about it? His orders are explicit that he shall protect himself tirelessly against disease; and it is his bounden and constant duty to obey, even to the uttermost. The unending demand may not be easy; but a soldier's life in times of war is, proverbially, not an easy one, nor yet his death. The good soldier cares for himself and his comrade as well as for his country, and there is a constant call for all his care if he will only heed it.

The distinctive quality of a soldier is his ability to do, and his familiarity with doing, his very best in large masses. How awkward even the leaders of germans, or winners of athletic contests in the field, appear when they first enter the ranks as soldiers, and what a strain upon their endurance they find the new demands to entail, the death roll shows and there are living witnesses to testify. But all men admire a magnificent review, as it displays the well ordered power of young men in their might. To this it is essential that these youths shall be assembled together in groups equal to a city in size, but nearly as nature made them; without sanitary plumbing or fresh marketing, without aqueducts or sewers; and it falls on them to take care of themselves, day and night. Perhaps, in an improvised army, the corporal knows no more than the colonel about how to do the thousand and one

little things essential to the health and well being of the men, from keeping their beds off the ground to grinding coffee without a mill; and, being unaccustomed to such duties, how easily both can demonstrate in practice that the things, even if attemped, can be ill-done; and when done in a slipshod way they are worse than ineffective, and the ill results flow as naturally from inexperience as water flows to the sea. In this way the circle of cause and effect is complete. Soldiers must be organized and trained in camps for victory. But camps are as dangerous as battles are. Shall we, therefore, have no battles nor camps?

Our young men will continue, as their fathers did, to look these dangers fearlessly, but not heedlessly, in the face, whenever our country calls them to arms; but there should be no useless sacrifice of such precious lives. To care for them is an unquestionable duty of the Government, which cannot be innocently ignored. The law should make adequate provision for preparation for war. Does it do so? The camp should be ready for the recruit before he enters it, and everything he needs for health or comfort or instruction—clothing, tents, weapons, well-cooked food, medical stores—should be ready to his hand. Has it ever been so with us? From the Revolutionary War till now, have we not paid in shattered constitutions for careless, inconsiderate military legislation; and will it not continue to be so even unto the end? Liberal and extravagant expenditure of blood and treasure after war is declared may make up the deficiencies which existed when the war began because of previous inattention and niggardliness; but when war is on there is a new reckoning. It is the blood of brave men that cries aloud from the ground against such unpreparedness. What an improvised army needs is as easily determined as what a regular army needs; and should be as carefully provided in advance. But have we had any law upon the statute book heretofore authorizing, compelling, such preparation? The dangers of camp life which, if not so imposing to the imagination, are equally dread with those of battle, fall principally upon the volunteer. This was clearly demonstrated at Chickamauga, when the regulars were ordered thence to win the victories of Santiago de Cuba, while the surgeons protested against the volunteers even taking a practice march in the lamentable state of their health, which was due principally to preventable diseases. After the volunteer has enlisted and been dis-

charged, slick tongues in plenty advocate his cause in consideration for his vote; but the seeds of trouble have been already sown and misery is broadcast over the land. Is it not evident that we should always have ready for immediate use, tentage and arms and staff and supplies for 250,000 men, and these of the finest quality? Dare we believe such provision will be ready for the next war any more than it was for that of 1861 or 1812? In the future, as in the past, will not the volunteer be made to suffer in his first camp by lack, not only of recent but of old appropriations, and of proper preparation and of a due accumulation of cannon and all else that cannot be made in a day or two? And then, as always, the pensions must be increased beyond all proportion to the dangers endured, simply because legislative inattention has reigned.

The records may never show the wrecked constitutions that can be traced along the unskilled company kitchens and sinks, nor the heartburnings that attend those enthusiastic days and weeks when the young man offers himself as a willing sacrifice to uphold the cause of his country and finds himself in ceaseless misery, sans clothes, sans food, sans arms, sans tents, sans everything; and it begins to dawn upon him that he is in a new life, and had better look out for himself if he wishes to live long enough to get into his first battle. But the pity of it may dwell in the hearts and memories of those who have watched these things and struggled night and day in some measure to relieve them; and who have seen generous hearts all over the nation, from Executive Mansion to mountain cabin, send good cheer and loving encouragement; and who have thrilled to witness these stalwart youths, moulded into splendid organizations, stream by with every promise and assurance of victory fluttering above their banners, which have enlightened the world again and again as to the resolute and enduring character of American patriotism and prowess. Whether in sickness or in health, the women of the land can thank God daily that they have taken such men to their heart of hearts. And upon such as these the honor and success of our nation securely rests.

How earnestly every official has labored, what sympathy for the soldier each one has felt, and the enthusiasm and zeal displayed in what all realized to be the cause not only of the country but of humanity, is known everywhere, to all; for the best

sentiment of all of every station is enlisted inexpressibly in our country's cause. If there were not, at first, enough trousers nor shoes, nor tents, nor hospital stores, nor arms, is it not clear that the blame, however sharp and close, must also justly run far back beyond the opening of this war, and that this deplorable condition is simply part and parcel of the unadulterated folly which has pursued our volunteers from the beginning—the folly not wholly of to-day, but of yesterday? We have been suffering the acute and painful stage of the national folly of military unreadiness—a consuming folly for which tribute is due. Aye, and tribute is paid in the blood of our dearest! See their emaciated figures from chosen camps of instruction at Chickamauga or Tampa, those stricken forms from the dark jungles of Las Guasimas, or the thorny slopes of San Juan, and give heed to their dread story in due time. Have we not the just right to appeal to our country again and again for proper provision for those who uphold her banners in the hour of need? Or shall our young men shrink from such hardships, dangers and death when our country calls for them?

The response to the country's call has been such as we would have it. Our young men in their manly truth and beauty have met the duty of their day. Nor have they sickened nor been stricken in vain. It is best that war should be short, sharp and decisive. And it has been all this. And those who have borne the brunt of the contest and the camp have done so unflinchingly, unmurmuringly. In the voice now raised in their behalf at Santiago or Montauk Point, all the nation joins, for it is just and righteous altogether. We have witnessed their sufferings, and they shall be recognized, and, God willing, righted. The nation may not have been prepared to care for them as her heart and ours craved they should be cared for; because she would have gathered them under her wings as a hen gathereth her chickens. But there was no time to wait. Come what would, the starvation of the innocents was to be immediately stopped, and the dastardly destruction in a friendly port of our men-of-war would not be endured. The task set was worthy to set a world on fire. Have we not the right to ask our fellow countrymen: Has not the rescue been complete? No one now suffers but soldiers and sailors, and those who have loved them dearly. There let the pain continue, if it must. It will be

stoutly borne. And then let some credit also be given, if in our fellow countrymen's kindness it may seem that any is due, for duty faithfully, zealously done.

And the fallen, are they not buried out of our sight? But how inexpressibly dear to our memory! Before their serried shades we stand uncovered, steadfastly gazing at the sadness that abides and the unending glory they have won for their country. Shall their names and services, can we afford to let them, be soon forgotten? While memory holds her reign beneath the dome of thought these cherished names, these deeds of heroes, these untoward sufferings, are wholly ours to enshrine and to bless forever.

J. C. BRECKINRIDGE.

THE UNITED STATES NAVY UNDER THE NEW CONDITIONS OF NATIONAL LIFE.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, R. N.

No one without a personal interest in the issue of the struggle could have anticipated with more pain the approach of collision between the peoples of the United States and of Spain than I did. No one could have more earnestly desired, up to the last minute, that some way, other than the clash of arms, might have been found to lead out of the difficulty. I was very sorry for Spain. But I am bound to say that I was very sorry for the United States, too. There never was any question about her winning, though I did not anticipate so entire and hopeless a collapse as Spain developed. But the thought that was constantly in my mind, and over and over again found expression in words, was that the United States could never come out of the war as she went into it. She was about to feel, for the first time in her history, her real position in the world. Up to the outbreak of the war, she had always been able to assert herself in reliance upon her mass and weight, and her prospective rather than her real power. When, at rare intervals, she took her place in the councils of the nations, she was, as it may be said, self-contained. She so little dreamed of making sacrifices corresponding to the position she assumed, that she drew a great kingdom's revenue from the pockets of her people, to re-distribute it in the form of pensions to the enormous number of those, and of the successors of those, who had sacrificed themselves for her in the days gone by. In rewards to those she spent as much as Great Britain, not long ago, spent on her whole army and navy, pensions included. The accounts showed disbursements in 1897, in this behalf, of more than one

hundred and forty-one millions of dollars, when the sum allowed for the maintenance of the army was only somewhat over twenty-three millions of dollars, and of the navy only thirty and a half millions of dollars.

To be able to do these wonderful things was the result of self-containedness, and a real isolation. In many ways, perhaps in most ways, the condition was a happier one than can ever again show itself. Yet it was inevitable that the aspirations to which Mahan has given such eloquent voice in his essays, should at some time or other take active form. I am not at all sure that the words of this prophet have not, as ever of old, hastened the fulfillment of the prophecy. But I remember expressing my hopes to him, on the publication of his first great book, that his countrymen might long delay taking to heart the teaching he enforced.

But now that peace is close at hand, the end is that the United States is for the first time giving hostages to fortune, and taking a place in the world that will entail on her sacrifices and difficulties of which she has not yet dreamed. It is impossible to foresee what violent changes in the character and polity of her great Republic must come about before she can submit calmly and resignedly to those sacrifices which Great Britain has often kicked against, and which are to the nations of Continental Europe an almost intolerable burden.

So long as the Empire of the United States of America was contained in a ring fence of land and sea frontiers, she had, in all international disputes, the enormous advantage of unattackableness. No one could get at her from the outside with any hope of success. It was even impossible to apply to her the anaconda policy which was death to the Confederate States alone. She laughed at the idea of blockade, for the power which more than any other might be able to apply such a method of coercion, would, in applying it, wound herself more deeply than it was possible to wound her adversary. But with outlying territories, especially islands, a comparatively weak power has facilities for wounding her without being wounded in return which did not hitherto exist. Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the other islands in the Antilles which Spain is to cede; the island in the Ladrones, and such parts of the Philippines as may in the end pass to the United States, cannot in any case be held by her if she goes to war with

a country possessing a superior navy to her own. If she will accept the sacrifice of charging herself with the maintenance of a predominant navy, then these new possessions will have brought her additional strength, additional power of enforcing her views among the nations of the earth. But the military strength will come from the navy which is resolute and able to retain possession of the islands, not from the islands themselves, which the navy protects. But if this predominant navy is not maintained, the islands can only be sources of strategical weakness; putting a check on the aspirations to influence international councils, which we must certainly expect to see increased, and making the voice of the United States more hesitating, because of the ease with which her island possessions may be rent from her, and her consciousness of the fact. Had Spain possessed the predominant navy, the United States could never have contemplated, still less have succeeded in, her attack upon Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. In like manner, it will be hopeless for the United States to dream of retaining her new possessions in a war with a country which has a navy superior to her own. There is no plainer doctrine than that of the predominant navy, yet there is none which is less easily assimilated by statesmen; while even the highest authorities on such a point may fail to accept the doctrine in its fullness, in which way alone can there be a practical use in it. There is a natural hesitation in pushing such things to their extreme point, and yet I fear they must be so pushed, or let alone.

Thus Mahan in his powerful and stirring essay on "Hawaii and Our Future Sea Power," which is the keynote of the thoughts that fill "The Interest of America in Sea Power," writes with entire truth up to a certain point, and yet hesitates to accept the inevitable consequences. After setting out the aspirations for outlying sea-girt territory, which are at the moment spreading so widely among the nations, and after contemplating their consummation by the United States, he says:

"There is, however, one caution to be given from the military point of view, beyond the need of which the world has not yet passed. Military positions, fortified posts, by land or by sea, however strong or admirably situated, do not confer control by themselves alone. People often say that such an island or harbor will give control of such a body of water. It is an utter, deplorable, ruinous mistake. The phrase, indeed, may be used by some only loosely, without forgetting other implied conditions of adequate protection and adequate navies; but the confidence of our own nation in its native strength, and its indifference to the defense of its ports and the suffi-

ciency of its fleet, give reason to fear that the full consequences of a forward step may not be weighed soberly. Napoleon, who knew better, once talked in this way. 'The islands of San Pietro, Corfu and Malta,' he wrote, 'will make us masters of the whole Mediterranean.' Vain boast! Within one year Corfu, in two years Malta, were rent away from the State that could not support them by its ships. Nay, more; had Bonaparte not taken the latter stronghold out of the hands of its degenerate but innocuous government, that Citadel of the Mediterranean would perhaps—would probably—never have passed into those of his chief enemy. There is here also a lesson for us."

No language could more accurately express the reality of the case. It is impossible for a power with an inferior fleet to retain its island possessions in war if they are attacked by the power possessing the superior fleet. And that is a proposition not limited by geographical conditions. It was the power geographically near to Malta that lost it; it was the power geographically far from Malta that took it and held it. And the case is in no way changed by the transference of sea power from the agency of the wind to the agency of coal consumption. The Spanish difficulty from first to last was the want of a superior fleet. Cervera's coaling troubles only existed for a force which dared not openly meet the enemy. Distant operations only differ in degree to operations near at hand, when the superior fleet is concerned. The only real hindrance in such a case would be where there was no sheltered water in the vicinity of his objective unprotected by works so strong that it could not be possessed but after long siege. The new territories or appendages of the United States nowhere possess this advantage in defence, and it is impossible to doubt that if any of them are hereafter attacked by a power with a superior fleet they will fall. Not so rapidly or so easily as they have now fallen, but quite as certainly.

But Mahan feels the difficulty of facing the full import of the doctrine he has laid down. He would be glad to be quit of it if he could. But he can only escape by contending—in effect—that the position of the United States, in possession of a moderate navy, may stave off war. He cannot, I think, mean that if war were declared, an inferior navy could save Hawaii if it were attacked; nor can he, I consider, fully mean that Hawaii would not be attacked. But, in any case, it is not maintainable that Cuba and Puerto Rico would be secure against either attack or capture by a European power having a superior navy at the outbreak of the war, because the United States, with the inferior navy, is nearer

to those islands geographically. The leading authority on all these questions continues:

"It is by no means logical to leap from this recognition of the necessity of adequate naval force to secure outlying dependencies, to the conclusion that the United States would need for that object a navy equal to the largest now existing. A nation as far removed as is our own from the bases of foreign naval strength may reasonably reckon upon the qualification that distance—not to speak of the complex European interests close at hand—impresses upon the exertion of naval strength by European powers. The mistake is when remoteness, unsupported by carefully calculated force, is regarded as an armour of proof, under which any amount of swagger may be indulged in safely."

This view passes clearly from the strategical point, at which the first position was sketched, to the administrative and political. It is without question proper to change the point of view, but the new empire must not mistake the one for the other, or it will waste itself without avail. It might unquestionably be that a European power at war with the United States would be greatly hampered by the political necessity of retaining naval force in her own waters in observation, as it were, of the results of political changes in Europe, and might therefore be unable to face with undoubted superiority the naval forces which the United States, with but a moderate navy, might be able to detach for the defence of her new possessions or appendages in the Pacific, the West Indies, or the Eastern Seas. I scarcely think it can be doubted that Mahan's view in this matter will be the one which the Government of the United States will strive to adopt and preserve.

But will not the feeling among the people of the States be ultimately that which has for some years prevailed in the United Kingdom? Not so many years ago the average Englishman proposed to save his pocket, while he left it doubtful whether an attack by France alone might not rend his empire in pieces. Now, spasms of alarm seize us from the moment it is hinted that Russia and France together might find us only on an equality with them in the matter of naval force. It is becoming not uncommon to urge that we ought to be superior to any three naval powers, and I see at present nothing to bar a continued increase of naval expenditure but an instinctive outcry against the burden of taxation. It may be long before that burden will be really felt in the United Kingdom by those who express the public thought and raise the public voice because of the incidence of taxation. The burden is borne by those who are supposed to be

most able to bear it, and otherwise the general taxation is light. In this way the two hundred and twenty millions or so of dollars that go to defensive forces is as yet not felt, and the public voice is all in favor of still larger expenditure. How it will be in the United States it may not be so easy to say, but I feel convinced that it will be impossible to merge the strategical into the political situation, and that if the Administration should endeavor to use the latter in an argument to limit expenditure, the nakedness of outlying territories which have not a predominant navy ready to support them is likely to be more and more felt by all those sections of the people who are less financially pressed by increased expenditure, and that a great navy, maintained by great sacrifices, will be the result.

It has again been so plainly manifested that a nation with a preponderating navy is like a one-armed man, unless there be a considerable army behind it, that we cannot suppose that there will be contentment unless this end also is achieved. The military, or the warlike, spirit grows by what it feeds on, and a very large, perhaps an enormous, expenditure on what is neither army nor navy, will follow. And it will do so in spite of reason. The acquirement of outlying dependencies is a challenge to the world, and as it is felt to be such, so will the idea of defenceless coasts magnify itself. To onlookers the money spent upon the local defence of the United States coast ports seemed to be wasted in the Spanish war. The fact that there are increases in the power of the land and sea forces, and that therefore every port and every stretch of coast is thereby better protected, has in the British Empire an effect which denies reason. We cannot increase the expenditure upon the general defence of the Empire without stimulating the national thought to demand even greater increases in the local defence, and the greatest flaws in the chain of reasoning put forward to back the demand have little effect in checking the supply.

I do not think the administrative prudence which Mahan counsels will in the end make itself felt so much as the unreflecting claim for all kinds of expenditure, which can by any verbal process be twisted into the form of a defensive object. I fear, therefore, that between the certain fact that the new dependencies can only be retained by a predominant navy; the administrative endeavor to curtail an expenditure that it will be difficult

to meet; and the general turning of the public mind to military problems, and the alarm that surely accompanies such study; there is likely to be a great expenditure with but little apprehension of the real strategical position; so that there may come trouble, contention, waste of energy, and yet little real advance in strength.

But if it could be that there were a resting place short of a predominant navy—which I do not believe there is for a country with outlying dependencies—I think it would be found in the localization of a defensive navy.

So much error mixes itself with this idea as we have seen it put into practice, that a few words become necessary in explanation. The reason why an outlying dependency cannot be held in war except by a predominant navy is that the defence can never assemble locally a force equal or superior to the attacking force; and because the place will not be attacked except by such superior force. The attacking power estimates the force that is established, or may be established, locally in the dependency before the attack is determined on, and the force despatched for the attack will be vastly superior to the local force. If it were possible to locally defend every point liable to attack to such an extent as would convince an adversary that conquest would prove to be a loss to him and not a gain, then, indeed, local defence might prevent attack, though it could not prevent surrender if the attack were made. But the idea of so defending involves generally — perhaps always — a mathematical absurdity. The greater the expediture of men and money in the defence of any outlying point, so much the greater is the wound inflicted on the defending power by the capture of such point. Nations at war do not expect to always make a profit to themselves out of every combat. They are ready to lose by a conquest if the loss to the adversary is still greater; and the whole power of a nation which has the predominant navy may be judiciously and properly thrown into the attack of one point which is absolutely valueless to the attacking power, if the defence of it will produce exhaustion in the state of the defending power. We had a perfect illustration of this strategical axiom in the case of Sevastopol. There the whole power of England and France was thrown into the attack only because the whole power of Russia was thrown into the local defence, and it was certain that she was gradually

exhausting herself in the effort. Everyone now understands that had Russia evacuated the Crimea the moment the armies of England, France and Turkey landed, she would have done much better for herself than she did by attempting to hold out, and so becoming exhausted in the attempt to do that which is impossible, namely, to defend an outlying position locally.

Russia's exhaustion in this case proceeded from the fact that it was much easier for the allied powers to place a given force in the vicinity of Sevastopol, than it was for Russia to place an equal force to meet it. But because of the freedom of her land communications with Sevastopol, Russia was for a long time able to compete—though only by an exhausting process—in placing force opposite to force as the siege of Sevastopol went on. Had the Crimea been an island, Sevastopol must have collapsed in a week or two, as Santiago did, because there would have been no possibility of throwing in reinforcements to meet those which the allies threw in by sea.

We see, therefore, that it is utterly impossible to defend outlying possessions locally in the way that has hitherto been attempted, namely, by fortifications and garrisons, the strength of which can be estimated before the attack is made. The attack will not be made at all except by forces superior to the garrison, accompanied by appliances calculated as sufficient to subdue the defending works. It is also certain that expenditure, however great, on works and garrisons, will not prevent attack, because that very expenditure will make conquest seem desirable to the enemy. In like manner the localization of ordinary naval force—armored vessels and cruisers—will not be any more useful. The attack will be supported by naval forces of the same kind, but in superior quantity, and this will put such defense out of court.

In England thirty years ago we fell into a double mistake on this head. We imagined that in war our existence as a nation would not be threatened, even though, for want of a predominant navy, we could not keep the war out of our own waters; and, on the understanding that the war would inevitably come into our own waters, we built armored ships without speed or coal supply, as well as considerable numbers of gunboats with very limited locomotive power, each armed with a single armor piercing gun. There was more to be said for the latter coast defenders than for the former; for while the force of the former could be

measured and calculated on, so that a really superior force of the same kind could be prepared and dispatched to meet them, the cost of the one force being proportioned to the other, the only measure of the force of the gunboats was to take it gun for gun. The moment this was done it was seen that, for any given sum, the force of the gunboats was immensely greater than gun for gun in the ordinary ironclad, and that in any case the ordinary ironclad, with her battery of a few heavy guns, was the wrong sort of force to bring against the gunboats.

The fatal flaw, however, in the design of the gunboats was their want of locomotion. Unless they were assembled at the point of the coast attacked when the attack was made, they would be useless to prevent it or to ward it off, because they could not be assembled there in time. The only way to make them effective in defence would be to have them already in swarms at every point liable to attack. But this would have cost as much as to establish and maintain a predominant navy, and practically we have acted on that principle. We maintain the predominant navy, and we have abandoned the idea of coast defence vessels altogether.

Of course, we should be right in any case, even were the system of coast defence by special vessels of any class a sound one for those nations which cannot aspire to maintaining a predominant navy. But it is significant that though France and Russia do not hope for a predominant navy, and must expect that if they go to war with a nation possessing one the fighting will be in their own waters, they seem no longer disposed to add to their coast defence gun-ships and vessels. France, between 1875 and 1891, launched 14 coast defence gun vessels, and Russia, between 1863 and 1895, launched 15 coast defence gun vessels; but they are neither of them building any more.

But France, which has already 211 torpedo boats, is building, including destroyers, 46 more; and Russia, which has already 175 torpedo boats, including 1 destroyer, is building 28 more destroyers.

No one yet knows what these vessels, which are torpedo vessels first and gun vessels afterward, really mean, but it is universally admitted that their chief function is defensive and their chief time for operating is in the hours of darkness. It is not at all impossible that because this class of vessel put in so little appear-

ance on either side during the late war, there may be a tendency, especially in the United States, to discredit it. The question is whether it will be logical to do so. If we go back to a fundamental principle of strategy, we shall note that absence of information as to the amount and nature of the defence operates as a strong preventive of attack; and the very fact that we do not know how complete a real torpedo boat defence may be brings it markedly into line with the fundamental principle. We are certain that, apart from any effect which may have been produced on American naval officers' minds by their recent experience, the thing which is most feared by naval officers is torpedo attack in darkness. Great American commanders have spoken of this fear as one that cannot be contended against, and on all these grounds we arrive at the conclusion that, if it is to be possible for the United States to stop short of aiming at a predominant navy, the defence of her new possessions will be best entrusted to vessels using the torpedo as their weapon, and of a class something near the French sea-going boats. The great powers of locomotion possessed by such vessels removes the flaw which has attended all attempts at coast defense by gunships; the immense numbers that can be produced for comparatively small sums, combining with the dread that, rightly or wrongly, possesses the officers of gunships which are exposed to their attack at night, suggests very strongly that France and Russia are rightly adding to their stock of these vessels. It is not even certain that they may not prove a real defence of outlying possessions when the attack is supported chiefly by heavy gunships. No one can say yet that a swarm of torpedo boats might not destroy a squadron in a night attack, though the cost of the first and its exposure of men was very much less than those of the second. Quite possibly it might be held to be unsafe to anchor a fleet of transports at any point subject to torpedo attack at night. In either of these cases an expedition might actually fail, simply because a true estimate of the power of torpedo defence could not be made.

I think that, if the United States were to adopt this system, they might make their new appendages safer than by any other method short of establishing a predominant navy; but I cannot say I think my suggestion is likely to be adopted. I do not observe that nations generally go very far in the application of the rules of strategy in the classes of ships they choose to build. I

doubt if the United States will prove an exception. If Spain, instead of producing a navy like that of every other nation, only smaller, had spent half the money in crowding Cuban and Puerto Rican harbors with swarms of torpedo boats, it does not seem to me that the United States ships could have displayed the boldness and readiness that they did immediately after war was declared; and I cannot measure what the effect in the United States —or, indeed, all over the world—would have been, had a couple of capital ships succumbed to the attack of a group of torpedo boats. But Spain spent her money in producing a fleet without reference to her strategical position, and simply in imitation of larger navies. The money and men were absolutely wasted, and she would now have been in a better position had she never spent a penny or a man in that way. But I apprehend that the United States will in the end halt between two opinions. She will stop short of producing a predominant navy, but she will not stop short of aiming at one which has no special relation to her strategic position. I cannot but fear for her if ever the results are brought to the test. Therein, with other imaginings, lay my original qualms as I watched her stretching her arms toward Cuba. I trust that time will prove that they were groundless.

P. H. Colomb.

MANUAL TRAINING AND THE POOR.

BY ELLIOTT FLOWER.

"To a very large extent the benefits of manual training are lost to us because we begin it at the wrong end of the educational system."

This statement was recently made by a man who has given a great deal of attention—in fact, most of his life—to the subject under discussion. While it is unquestionably an exaggeration to say that we begin it at the wrong "end" of the educational system, the idea that he intended to convey is made clear by the further statement that "manual training does not reach those who are most in need of it; or, to be more accurate, those most in need of it fail to reach manual training." If that be the case, it ought to be easy to find it out.

The first question to be settled is: Who gets manual training under existing conditions? The second is: Who ought to get it? In answer to the latter question many advocates of that branch of education will insist that all ought to get it, or at least that all ought to get a certain amount of it; that the knowledge and training acquired in this way may be of incalculable advantage to the man who works principally with his head, as well as the man who works principally with his hands. Consequently, perhaps the second question should read: Who is most in need of it? Is it the boy whose tastes and mental ability put a profession within his reach, or is it the boy whose tastes and mental ability put a profession practically out of the question, while possibly a natural aptitude for mechanics makes anything in that line easy and interesting to him?

In discussing these questions it is my purpose to show, first, just how close manual training gets to the masses, and after that to consider the necessity of bringing it right down to them. To

that end I have looked into the requirements for admission to the manual training schools of various States, and have sought the views of those identified with both educational and philanthropic affairs, including State Superintendents of Education, and also workers in the slums. So far as possible, I shall let these answer the questions I have propounded; and I believe that what they say will show that most of us have been talking about the great good that manual training is doing without stopping to get the facts. Of course, there can be no doubt as to its value to those who get it, but it is probable that very few have stopped to think that it has been placed beyond the reach of more than nine-tenths of the children of the public schools. That is what confining manual training to the high schools means. More than nineteen-twentieths of the schools that have a course in manual training are maintained for less than one-tenth of the school population. Indeed, it is doubtful if the first fraction ought not to be larger and the second one smaller. And the strangest feature of it is that there seems to be little difference of opinion as to the value and necessity of manual training in the lower grades. In a few instances, a man who was requested to give his views has started out with a denial of the truth of the assertion that this form of education should be extended into the grammar schools, but he has usually ended by arguing for it.

Massachusetts furnishes as good an illustration of the condition of affairs as any State—in fact, a better one than most of them. She has given the subject a great deal of attention, and has a law that requires manual training to be a part of the course in high schools in all cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants. In addition to this, she has the outline of an ideal system of manual training, which has been made a feature of a report on that subject which has been prepared and issued under the supervision of her State Board of Education. It is as follows:

"The ideal system for a large city would seem to include provisions for the following:

"1. Elementary training in processes that belong to the manual or domestic arts, such as a competent teacher with adequate equipment can give under average school limitations.

"2. In the higher grammar grades, the departmental plan with a differentiation of work, the boys going to the shop and the girls to the kitchen—a plan that is favored if the work can be kept within the limits of the building.

"3. An independent high manual training school that in organization

and development shall not be impeded by the traditions and circumstances of existing schools, and that shall offer courses to the girls as well as to the boys.

"4. An opportunity for those taking full courses in an English or a classical high school to take manual training, so abridged that it may be carried comfortably in addition to their regular work."

That system certainly would bring manual training pretty close to the kindergarten, and would put it within reach of practically all scholars. It is furthermore in line with the views of Mr. Frank A. Hill, the secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, who has been connected with two of the best manual training schools in the State, and whose views, consequently, must carry a great deal of weight. Mr. Hill has this to say on the subject:

"My experience with the Cambridge Manual Training School and the Boston Mechanic Arts High School (I was head master of the English High School in Cambridge, and later of the Mechanic Arts High School in Boston) and my subsequent study have convinced me that a well-rounded education involves, to some extent, manual or motor education, and that such education should be free to all school children. There are endless varieties of such training, of course, and some are more precious than others; but training on the action side as well as on the purely sensory and reflective side is imperatively needed by every child. If the schoolboy did not get a good deal of wild, purposeless and unregulated exercise I do not know what would become of him. But the energy that would express itself in action must be gathered up, well-directed and utilized, if the child would make the most of himself, for the reaction of the activity of the mind is invaluable."

In view of the law, the "ideal" plan and the opinion expressed by Mr. Hill as the result of his experience, one would naturally expect to find Massachusetts especially favored in the line of manual training. But, unfortunately, theory and practice do not always go hand in hand. The report that advances the "ideal" theory also conveys the information that in only two cities is manual training carried below the high school grade. Salem provides a course in carpentry for boys of the grammar schools, and Springfield has introduced manual training into the highest two grades of her grammar schools. According to statistics of school attendance, which does not vary greatly in the different cities, Springfield has brought this branch of education within reach of about twenty-five per cent. of her public school scholars. That certainly is not a high percentage, but it is better than the ten per cent. average.

Practically the same conditions exist in New York, with the

exception that this training does not seem to be carried below the high school grades in any of the public schools of the State. In New York City there are one or two schools that bring manual training within reach of the very poor, but they are not connected with the public schools, and I shall discuss them later when I take up the work of philanthropists. So far as the public schools are concerned, State Superintendent Charles R. Skinner has made this statement:

"I think provision is made in nearly all the high schools of this State for a manual training course. More or less attention is given to it in the schools of New York City, and ample provision, I understand, is being made for establishing manual training departments in the new high schools now in process of erection there. So far as possible this training is open to all pupils, and when the boys especially are able to reach the College of the City of New York, which is in one sense a boys' high school, manual training is given to every pupil."

In other words, manual training courses are open to all—of the ten per cent. that get to the high schools. The other ninety per cent. must do the best they can without it. Mr. Skinner is rather cautious about giving his own views, but in quoting others he shows that the value of manual training in the lower grades is not overlooked, even if, as in Massachusetts, there is little of it except theory at the present time. Having explained what the State of New York has in this line, he continues:

"In a recent conversation with one of our city superintendents who has given this subject attention in the schools of his city, and who is very earnest in his advocacy of the system, he said: 'Manual training should be a part of the course of study for all children of all grades, because it is an essential part of any complete and symmetrical training, and because it will give to those who expect to enter any of the manual occupations an important part of the general preparation necessary for properly entering upon the special preparation for their trade or other occupation. Hence, I would first put it into the grade where all will get it. Our general courses have, in my judgment, been planned with special reference to those who are to enter clerkships or the professions. The great mass of people who must, and desire to, enter the manual occupations have a right to such an education as will fit them to take up the special preparation for these occupations. The public schools should not give special training, or instruction necessary for any occupation or profession until they can give it for all. In other words, we may not teach a trade, but we have as much right to do that as we have to train a physician.'

"Our superintendents differ in opinion with reference to the proper place for manual training in a school system. Many, like the one quoted above, believe in putting it in all grades of schools below the high schools. In this city (Albany) manual training is given little attention except in the high schools, the authorities believing that it should not be given generally to pupils in the grammar grades."

The authorities of the Albany public schools must be classed with a very small minority, but of course there must be a minority. If there were no difference of opinion at all, there would be little or nothing to discuss. The superintendent Mr. Skinner quotes expresses the views of the great majority, and very likely of Mr. Skinner himself. And yet this extremely valuable branch of education is beyond the reach of ninety per cent. of the school population of New York.

Pennsylvania undertook to introduce manual training into the grammar grades, but the plan had to be abandoned—not because it proved a failure or did not come up to expectations, but because the school attendance grew so that the rooms had to be used for other purposes. There are thirteen State normal schools that have manual training courses, Girard College with its excellent plant, and a few private or endowed institutions; but, as in all other States, little or no provision is made for the boy who does not reach the high school. Yet the value of manual training in the lower grades is fully recognized by State Superintendent N. C. Schaeffer, who has this to say about it:

"Among the ancient Hebrews every boy was expected to learn a trade. The boy Jesus worked at the carpenter's bench. Among the Athenians the father who neglected to teach his boy reading, writing, swimming, and a trade could not in old age claim the support of a son whom he had thus neglected. Lord Rosebery, in a speech at Colchester, ascribes the recent advance of Germany in manufactures and commerce to the fact that for thirty or forty years the Germans have been ahead of the English in technical education. With the inventive genius that is characteristic of the American people we would have little to fear if our youth were generally taught the application of science to the arts, and if they had an opportunity to develop their talent for mechanical pursuits. Even a jack-knife in the hands of a boy who has had instruction in manual arts will do much to develop his taste and skill. The schools can never be made much better than the people want them to be, and there can be no great extension of facilities for manual training until the people generally perceive the educational and industrial value of this kind of instruction."

Undoubtedly true. The feeling is widespread in some quarters that it is degrading to work with the hands, and everyone wants to stand behind a counter or learn a profession; but that false idea is rapidly wearing away, and, if educators are so nearly unanimous in their views, it ought not to be such a very difficult matter to convince the public of the public's needs. In any event, the masses cannot be blamed for not attending schools that have been put beyond their reach.

Manual training, as a part of the public school system, is sup-

posed to have made greater progress in the East than in the West, so the Eastern States must receive the most attention in this article. However, it would not be fair to neglect the Middle and Western States entirely. Wisconsin has a manual training school, of which she is justly proud, at Menominee, and State Superintendent of Education J. Q. Emery informs me that in this school manual training is extended to the grammar grades and has been so extended for years. Mr. Emery, however, denies the premises upon which I have founded this article: He says:

"I am of the opinion that for a young man desiring to make mechanics his life work, preliminary training tending to quicken and broaden his intelligence is of great value. Mind is the great pioneer force in all the world's work, and in my judgment a well trained mind is the most practical of all things. It can be put into constant everyday use. I cannot, therefore, agree with the statement that a boy with a taste for mechanics rather than professional or mercantile pursuits finds the education that would be of most value to him beyond his reach. It may be, however, that the special training schools need some readjustment to meet more fully the needs of such a case."

I have no fault to find with this general statement, but I do not see why such preliminary training should be confined entirely to those things that will have a tendency to make good clerks or professional men. Neither does Mr. Emery apparently, for he adds:

"In my opinion manual training should not be confined to the school of the grade of high schools. In my judgment, some phases of manual training should be brought within reach of those who, because of handicaps, never reach the high schools. A law of Wisconsin authorizes the establishment of manual training schools in connection with the free high schools of the State, and school districts that are authorized to maintain free high schools are, by our statute, authorized to maintain manual training schools. When maintained in conformity with standard fixed by the State Superintendent such schools receive State aid. While we start with the high school, it is our plan to extend manual training to the grades below the high school. There are some phases of manual training that it has not been found practicable to carry below such grades, but where the work is practicable I am heartily in favor of its being provided in the grammar schools."

This is another case in which the intentions are most creditable, but if this plan were carried into other lines—architecture, for instance—would not the advice of the architect be: "In building a house always begin with the roof and work down to the foundations?"

State Superintendent of Education S. T. Black of California gives his views in fewer words than any of the others, but there

is no chance for any misunderstanding. After stating that "manual training is permitted in all our public schools and is practiced in many of our cities and towns" (presumably only in the high schools, although Mr. Black is not very clear on that point); that there are several private institutions, and that "the University will soon establish the Wilmerding Trade School," he adds: "The State ought to give every boy an opportunity to receive manual training."

To quote any more State Superintendents would be merely a waste of space, so far as the purpose of this article is concerned. Enough facts have been given to show that, except in rare instances, manual training for the poor is a delusion, and that the importance of providing for such training in the grammar and even primary grades is very generally recognized and admitted by the superintendents. But, before taking up the views of those who are working in the slums, or in other ways giving their attention to the needs of the very poor, it may not be amiss to add a little to the force of these views by giving the result of an investigation made by organized labor in Detroit last winter. The representatives of labor complained that the trade schools were beyond the reach of the poor man's children, and two or three people promptly took issue with them. To prove to them that they were wrong, an invitation was extended to a committee of the Detroit labor organizations to visit a manual training school at Toledo, Ohio, which, they were told, was all that they could ask. The invitation was accepted, and the report that the committee made upon its return home was to the effect that the school was beyond the reach of grammar school scholars, and, further, that of sixty-five scholars who were personally interviewed, only one could be properly termed a poor boy. The rest were sons of "retired merchants, bank tellers, superintendents, managers, clerks and so on," to quote from the report. The committee had no criticism for the school, except that it did not fulfil the requirements deemed essential—it was not for the poor boy, and consequently its educational merits could do him no good.

When it comes to a knowledge of the needs of the poor there would seem to be none better qualified to speak than Mr. James B. Reynolds, of the University Settlement Society of New York, and Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago. Both are in

touch with that element of the population of the cities of which theoretical, and many practical, educators know so little, and both agree in regard to the necessity of placing manual training within reach of those who never get to the high schools. Mr. Reynolds has this to say on the subject:

"In regard to manual training in the public schools, I think it to be a radical defect of our school system that the rudiments of such training are not given in the primary and grammar grades. Of course, in the elemen tary schools no one would expect specialization, but a training in the use of the hands and the eyes and manual dexterity, such as is secured by the Sloyd system of training in Sweden, in my opinion, should be found in all our elementary schools. More than fifty per cent. of the boys in our public schools must earn their living by their hands, and yet the education in nearly all parts of the country is planned, if it has any particular value at all, to prepare one for a literary career. I use literary, of course, not in the technical sense, but to cover business and the professions. Education should not aim merely to develop the mind, but to fit boys and girls for life, and as life means work they should be prepared for work. Our public education is much too scholastic and needs to be thoroughly revolutionized."

The views of Miss Addams are well set forth in an address that she delivered before the National Educational Association in Milwaukee in July, 1897. In this she speaks particularly of the foreign element in our population—an element that has to be considered and that is responsible for many serious educational problems—and discusses it as follows:

"Let us take one of these boys, who has learned in his six or eight years to speak his native language and to feel himself strongly identified with the fortunes of his family. Whatever interest has come to the minds of his ancestors has come through the use of their hands in the open air; and open air and activity have been the invariable accompaniments of all their experience. Yet the first thing that the boy must do when he reaches school is to sit still, at least part of the time, and he must listen to what is said to him with all the perplexity of listening to a foreign tongue. He does not find this very stimulating, and is slow to respond to the more subtle incentives of the schoolroom. The peasant child is perfectly indifferent to showing off and making a good recitation. He leaves that to his schoolfellows, who are more sophisticated and who are equipped with better English. * * * If that little Italian lad were supplied then and there with tangible and resistance-offering material upon which to exercise his muscle he would go bravely to work, and he would probably be ready later to use the symbols of letters and numbers to record and describe what he had done; and might even be incited to the exertion of reading to find out what other people had done."

There could be no better argument than this for the point I wish to make. There could be no better description of what manual training ought to do in the lower grades. It should not be put there solely for the purpose of teaching the child how to make a wooden box or how to handle a plane. This is incidental

merely. It should be put there as part of a general plan of education; to interest the boy and hold him in school as long as possible, and to see that, whenever he may have to leave, he has the best equipment for the battle of life that is possible in view of the time limitations. The lower grades now prepare him for the upper grades, but that is practically all. The system is planned with a view to the future of the child who completes the full course, but with no thought of the one who does not.

Continuing, Miss Addams shows in her valuable paper how many a boy "not of criminal descent nor of vagrant parentage" goes to the bad because school life, as it is unfolded to him, repels rather than attracts, and never under any circumstances succeeds in arousing the slightest interest. And, speaking of the boy who goes from the school to the factory upon reaching the factory age, she pertinently asks: "Has anything been done up to this time to give him a consciousness of his social value? Has the outcome of the processes to which he has been subjected adapted him to deal more effectively and in a more vital manner with his present life?" She answers that it has not. "He finds himself in the drudgery of a factory, senselessly manipulating unrelated material, using his hands for unknown ends and his head not at all. Owing to the fact that, during his years in school, he has used his head mostly and his hands very little, nothing bewilders him so much as the suggestion that the school was intended as a preparation for his work in life."

To clinch these arguments, I do not think I can do better than to quote the opinions of J. F. Reigart, Superintendent of the Workingmen's School of New York, and of Gabriel Bamberger, formerly Superintendent of the New York School, and now Superintendent of the Jewish Manual Training School of Chicago. These gentlemen are qualified to speak in a dual capacity—as authorities on manual training and as earnest workers among the poor. They not only know what manual training can and ought to accomplish, but they also know what the children of the poor need and ought to have. In a recent talk with the writer, Mr. Bamberger said:

"The poor children generally leave school in the fourth and fifth grades, and consequently the manual training schools of the public school system are of absolutely no value to them. I have no criticism to make of the schools themselves. They are as good as it is possible for them to be under the circumstances, but they do not reach the people. The Chicago High

and Manual Training School I know to be an excellent school, but only a child that has been through the grammar school and has spent one year in the high school is eligible for admission to it, and that bars, I think, all but about three or four per cent. of the children who are dependent upon the public schools for their education.

"One great disadvantage that we labor under in trying to extend manual training is the belief, which is quite general, that it is intended merely to make a boy skillful and fit him for work at a trade. That is part, but not all by any means. The method of teaching is the main thing in manual training, and a school with a workshop annexed is not necessarily a manual training school. The first principle of it is self-activity—mental and physical. The aim should be to teach the child to think in the workshop—not merely how to do a certain thing, but how to plan it in first place. It should be combined with the other branches of education and all should have it. In time all will have it. But until such time comes our aim should be to see that the poor get it. It is always within reach of the rich, if they want it. The mistake is that we begin at the top and creep down when we should begin at the bottom and climb up. Manual training cannot be begun too far down. Indeed, the kindergarten is the place to start it."

How well this fits in with what Miss Addams has said as the result of her experience among the poor; also with the views expressed by Mr. Reynolds as the result of his experience! Mr. Bamberger speaks as one who has not only worked among the poor, but who has brought manual training down to their children and has seen the results. Mr. Reigart has had similar experience, and he says:

"To my mind the chief problem in manual training is not provision for manual training high schools, but rather provision for elementary education—education for those boys who never will be able to take the high school or technical course. And even in the case of boys who do go to the advanced schools it seems to me important that they should have the elements of manual training early."

Now I come to the question, why, if all are so nearly of one mind, manual training has not been generally introduced into the lower grades of the schools, and the answer must be largely conjectural. I have heard only one argument advanced for keeping manual training in the higher grades, and that was advanced by a personal friend as a suggestion rather than an argument. It was to the following effect:

"By affording opportunity at an earlier stage of education than that of completing the grammar school for the pupil to acquire a trade or craft, will you not actually tempt him to abbreviate his education, instead of leading him to carry his preliminary training to a point of which it surely ought not to fall short?"

To this suggestion I have two answers. In the first place, I am of the opinion that the effect of taking up manual training

earlier would be just the reverse of that suggested, as I have already explained. I think it would hold many children in school who now leave in the fourth and fifth grades. In the second place, I hold that the educational system should be planned with a view to the greatest good of the greatest number; and to show about what proportion of the students now get any good—or, to be more accurate, reach a point where it is possible for them to get any good—out of manual training as it is now placed in the public schools, I will quote some figures from the Chicago Board of Education. I am told that these figures do not vary greatly in the large cities, and I use Chicago as an illustration merely because I happen to have comparatively recent figures for that city.

On January 1, 1898, the enrollment in the first grade of the primary department of the Chicago public schools was 42,372, and in the first grade of the high schools it was 3,624. That demonstrates, with sufficient accuracy for the purposes of this article, that not quite 8½ per cent. of the children who begin their education in the lowest grade of the public schools ever reach the grade in which manual training becomes at all an important factor. When I say this, I am aware that Chicago has a manual training course in the seventh and eighth grades of the grammar schools, but it is an elective course—taught in only three or four buildings, to which such scholars as wish go once or twice a week —and does not at all answer the purpose of a manual training course, as those who believe in such a course understand it. And even in the seventh grade only about 25½ per cent. of the first grade scholars get to it, according to the figures in the monthly school report. So I maintain that, if the idea of putting manual training at the top is to hold out an inducement to children to remain in school, it has proved a miserable failure and ought to be abandoned.

Another reason advanced for the comparatively little attention paid to manual training in the lower grades is that the workingman has suffered from the "universal optimism" that prevails, and is inclined to think that his boy never will have to work with his hands to earn his living; that he will be a professional man or a merchant. There may be some truth in this, but I am more inclined to think that the workingman has been so busy earning a living for himself and his family that he has not given the mat-

ter much attention; that he has taken for his son what was given to him (being told that it was the best there was to be had) and let it go at that. However, there are indications, as in the Detroit case I have quoted, that he is beginning to wake up to the exigencies of the situation, and the chances are that he would help rather than hinder any effort to put manual training within reach of his son. He certainly has taken very kindly to the few experiments that have been made.

Still another reason that I have heard advanced for the present condition of affairs deals entirely with the private or endowed institutions. It is asserted that, in many instances, they have not succeeded in getting in touch with their intended beneficiaries; that the men who have had the active management of some of them have been more anxious to have high grade schools that would rank with colleges or technological institutes, than to cater to the needs of those for whom the schools were intended. In support of this assertion it is pointed out that it is not an uncommon thing to find the children of the rich and the well-to-do getting into very close proximity to the slums, in order to take advantage of a school which was founded, and whose location was chosen, with a view to putting good manual education within reach of the poor; and I cannot deny that this assertion carries a good deal of weight in an argument of this description.

In any event, it seems to be very generally agreed that manual training should be put within reach of the poor; that, as matters are at present, only about 10 per cent. of the school population derive any real benefit from it; and that, as a general proposition, the other 90 per cent. stand much more in need of it. It would seem to me that Boards of Education should give their earnest attention to the matter—not as a side issue, a fad, a special study; but as a necessary and very important part of the educational system. And the man who next undertakes to endow a manual training school might "fill a long-felt want," if he would take pains to see that it is put within the reach of those who cannot pay for a course, and who have neither the time nor the inclination, owing to the necessity of earning a living, to spend eight or nine years in preparing to begin it.

ELLIOTT FLOWER.

THE MINIMUM CAPITAL OF A NATIONAL BANK.

BY THORNTON COOKE.

THE effort to amend the National Bank Act by permitting the organization of smaller banks is an admission that, under the act as it stands, banking facilities in the less populous districts of the country are inadequate. It is a tardy recognition of a condition that has existed for thirty years. When the South began its efforts to repair the desolation of war, and the West began its splendid growth under the stimulus of railroads and free soil, they found it nearly impossible to organize national banks. The total of national bank note circulation had been limited by the National Bank Act to $300,000,000; and nearly all of it had been allotted, contrary to that act, to national banks in the Northeast. To redistribute the privileges of issuing notes was impracticable, and the efforts of Western and Southern Congressmen were directed toward removing the $300,000,000 limit. It was enlarged to $354,000,000 in 1870, and was removed altogether by a clause of the Resumption Act.

The complaint of inadequate banking facilities continued, however, and in times of financial distress became sharp. In 1893, it was voiced in leading reviews by Mr. Shearman, of New York, and by Comptroller Eckels. Its justice is recognized by the present Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Gage, who stated in his report of last December that "many communities are deprived of the aid of banks of issue and burdened with onerous rates of exchange and interest charges." No time need be lost in proving a fact so generally recognized—that either the West and South have not banks enough, or that their banks are not of the right kind.

The remedy oftenest suggested for this condition is the organization of national banks with smaller capitals. The fact that no rapid growth of national banking in the West and South fol-

lowed the repeal of the limit on the total national bank circulation, is commonly accounted for by saying that new communities cannot support the smallest national banks possible under existing law. The proposition to reduce the minimum capital required for a national bank to $25,000 gained favor rapidly, among bankers at least, in the early years of this decade. In 1895, the American Bankers' Association at its Atlanta Convention unanimously approved it. In 1896, Mr. Eckels advocated the change in his report, and, finally, Mr. Gage incorporated it in the financial measure submitted last December to the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

Ordinarily, there could be no doubt of the wisdom of a plan so indorsed. It would seem, however, that the bankers, the Comptroller and the Secretary have overlooked material facts, or have not seen how to avoid the difficulties arising from them. These facts seem to discredit the adequacy of the proposed reduction as a cure for the evils complained of.

There are already more small banks in the newer sections of this country than the proposed reduction of minimum capital could place in them. They are State and private banks, too small to be strong, too weak to perform banking functions with the highest efficiency, and yet as large as local capital available for banking will permit.

Some months ago the writer was led to examine carefully the official returns of State banks in Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas.* These five States form a compact group, sufficiently large and sufficiently varied to warrant inferences from studies in its statistics. Thorough study and tabulation of the returns of other States have not been possible; but the facts apparent at a glance through any bank list testify to the general validity of the inferences appearing below from the returns of the group named.

There are 1,247 State banks in the group. Of these, 116 are capitalized at $50,000 or slightly less, and 89 have larger capitals. It is astonishing to learn, however, that 785 banks, practically two-thirds of all, have capitals of not more than $20,000 each. Few have even so much as that. There are 633 banks whose capitals do not exceed $15,000, there are 451 that have no more than $10,000 and 112 have each $5,000 or less. Of the 785 banks of

* The tables then prepared may be found in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for October, 1897.

which $20,000 is the maximum capital, no less than 653 are located in towns of not more than 1,000 population.

It is not to be supposed that many of these small State banks in small towns would increase their capitals to $25,000 to become national banks, although it is conceivable that the few $20,000 banks might do so. In a few cases, the prestige of "National" in a bank's title might bring enough new business to offset increased taxation. Owing, however, to the larger proportionate amount of additional capital required, a sufficient number of the smaller banks would not follow the example to affect the situation appreciably, even if the circulation feature of national banks were made more attractive by permission to issue notes to the par value of bonds deposited for their redemption.

The returns of the 380 private banks in this group are not capable of accurate analysis. Many exaggerate capital to attract business. Many conceal capital to avoid the high taxation of Western boom towns. In other cases, not all of which is really the capital of a bank is ordinarily employed in it. The whole capital becomes apparent only in crises, when the proprietor throws into the bank, to strengthen it, funds usually invested elsewhere. It cannot be known that computations from the private bank returns would be trustworthy; and they will not be given here. It should be said, however, that if they were used they would support the conclusion reached from consideration of State bank returns. The reduction of the minimum capital of national banks to $25,000 would have almost no effect in extending banking facilities in new communities.

To fix the minimum at one-half its present amount would place a premium on the reduction of capital. There are many $50,000 national banks that will reduce their capitals one-half if Mr. Gage's bill is enacted. They will have to call in loans to do this, but their deposits will not be materially affected. The percentage of profit on the remaining capital will naturally increase, especially as the decrease in the supply of loanable funds will permit some advance of interest rates. A greater incentive to such reduction in the West, however, will be the desire to escape taxation, which in Western towns is very high because of the bonded indebtedness incurred ten years ago on the exaggerated property valuations of that time.

At the last meeting of the Kansas Bankers' Association the

suggestion was made that the minimum ought to be reduced to $10,000. It is evident from the figures given above that $10,000 banks are within the reach of small towns. Probably national banks of that size would be generally organized in the West and South. But the force of the chief objection hitherto raised against the reduction to $25,000, that it would impair the safety of the national system, so obviously increases with the amount of reduction proposed that the minimum will hardly be set at one-fifth of what it is now.

Such a great reduction of the minimum is therefore impracticable, and it appears that more conservative legislation authorizing national banks with capitals of $25,000 would be followed by an immediate reduction of banking capital, hardly offset by the few new banks organized, or by the slightly increased capital of existing banks that would become national banks. Our newer communities would have still to depend upon State and private banks, too few in number, too small in capital, to inspire confidence, and in most States without efficient supervision to prevent mismanagement. It is evident, therefore, that the remedy proposed is inadequate for the correction of the evil.

Yet the need of good small banks exists and hampers the economic development of the nation. Is it not to be met by increasing minimum capital instead of diminishing it, and by permitting strong banks to establish branches? The system of branch banks is, of course, familiar. It existed long in this country, and since the general revival of interest in public finance its operations in Europe and Canada have been frequently explained. Only its perfect adaptability to the wants of our West and South need here be stated.

It goes without saying that only strong banks, banks with large capitals, will be permitted to establish branches. A strong bank could maintain a branch wherever there was business enough to pay the salary of one man. Little State banks are frequently manned by the cashier alone, who is also bookkeeper and discount board, and is, moreover, without the advice and assistance that the head office would give to a branch manager. Branches would profit by little economies impossible in small independent banks. The expense of stationery, furniture, collection charges and express rates would be materially reduced through the head office. Deposits might be expected to increase

greatly. Knowing that the resources of the entire bank would be at the command of the branch in time of danger, timid people would deposit savings that now repose in hidden stockings and buried chests. Thus the ideal efficiency of a banking system—the thorough collection of the savings of a people for use in business—would be realized.

It is argued sometimes that the adoption of the branch system would diminish the whole capital employed in banks. Yet, if this were true, business would not be unfavorably affected. The reduction would come healthily, if it came at all, from the growth of the depositing habit and from the more economical distribution and use of banking capital. The probability is, however, that increased deposits would induce the establishment of new banks and branches, instead of the withdrawal of capital from banking.

The profit of branch banks in foreign countries results largely from their circulating the notes of the parent banks. In this country, too, the highest efficiency of the branch system will be reached with authority to issue circulating notes based upon bank assets. No other system of note issues is elastic; no other is cheap enough to permit the establishment of profitable branches in small villages. Bank notes issued against assets are, in effect, deposits. A branch manager will not have to wait for profits until people bring him their own money to loan. He can begin to lend notes, which is practically to lend deposits, the day he opens his office.

Illustrations of the desirability of elastic bank note issues are commonly drawn from the movement of crops. The illustrations here to be given are based also upon the revived cattle trade of the States whose bank returns have been discussed above.

After moving toward the frontier in the eighties, cattle are coming back to Kansas, Missouri and the States north of them. Spring and fall the railroads are busy hauling them in from Texas, Colorado, and even from Montana. It is cheaper to bring the cattle to the feed than to send feed to the cattle. A very large proportion of these imported cattle, as well as of the "native" cattle raised in these States, are sold in small bunches on credit, notes being taken, to mature at the end of the feeding or grazing period. This cattle paper, as it is technically known, is made in such quantity that it is beyond the capacity of the local

banks to handle it all. Yet it is the local banks which alone are thoroughly acquainted with the makers.

The revival of the cattle trade in the Missouri valley makes it once more true that every Western State, like every Southern State, has a diversified industry. Suppose each State well supplied with banks on the branch system, issuing currency when needed upon the security of their own assets. In the late summer, exchanges in the grain-raising districts of the Western States increase. Branches in these localities would lend a good deal of money to pay for extra help at harvest time, to pay threshing bills and to enable farmers to wait for prices of grains to rise. Under the present system this money comes from the East, and its movement causes appreciable stringency there. Under the system supposed, it would be furnished by the local banks, in the form of bank notes.

Early in the autumn, other farmers in each State require funds to buy cattle—either "stockers" to be fed through the winter on sorghum-cane, corn-stalks, millet-hay or Kafir corn; or "feeders" to be fattened on Indian corn or cottonseed. The independent local banks soon exhaust their own funds. The need for more is clumsily met by rediscounting cattle paper with banks in large Western cities, and the city banks in turn are usually forced to borrow in the East. Still, the demand is not met; and the natural customers of local banks find it necessary to borrow from live stock commission merchants at the great cattle markets. If the supposed banking system existed, however, all cattle paper could be handled by the local banks, whose intimate knowledge of local conditions and borrowers would enable them to handle the paper safely. There would simply be a moderate issue of notes, and a great transfer of funds from branches in the grain districts, where most of the crop is moved by this time, and where deposits are pouring in.

After Christmas, the demand for cattle money is more than met through the payments of notes secured by mortgages on the fattened cattle that are going to market. Funds from this source would be distributed under the branch system to aid in beginning farm operations in the spring. Pastured cattle are ready for market, if at all, before the grain crop begins to move rapidly. The grain districts would receive help at this time, and the circuit would be complete.

As many illustrations of the operation of the branch-and-issue system of banking could be given as there are States in the West and South. Each State of these sections is so large and so varied that transfers between branch banks would take place everywhere, although each parent bank were permitted to establish branches in its own State alone. Professor Dunbar believes that permission should be so qualified. Mr. Eckels would allow branches only in towns of 1,000 population or less. Some Western country bankers maintain that branches should be established only within a comparatively short distance of the parent bank. This last restriction, however, would interfere with the peculiar usefulness of the branch system, and Mr. Eckels' limitation would keep strong banks out of considerable towns, while allowing them in hamlets. These objections do not apply to Professor Dunbar's suggestion, and it should be provisionally adopted. Jealousy of the "Money Power" is intense, and it is well to allay the fear that Eastern financiers might organize an effective banking trust. It may be hoped that after a trial of the branch system, with no bank operating in more than one state, the permission to establish branches may be extended.

A great economic gain would appear from the first, however, and it would involve a political gain. The farmer who sees money rates tightening unreasonably just when he wants to buy cattle or to move his crops, and who knows that the interior cities where his banker rediscounts are but secondary money centers supplied by the East, lends willing ear to vituperation against Wall Street. If, instead of currency shipped from New York, the farmer could handle good bank notes issued at some nearby village branch, he would overcome his dangerous jealousy of the East, and would cease to prescribe free silver where only adequate banking is needed. It would then be safe to let strong banks cross State lines.

The necessary conclusion from the present inquiry is that the minimum capital line should not be lowered, but raised. Each of the strong banks thus to be secured should be permitted to establish branches in the State where its head office is located. With this permission must go authority to issue notes based upon assets. Several plans for making such note issues safe are familiar.

The changes outlined would improve the national banking

system even in the States where it is now strongest; for in their rural districts is felt, though less acutely, the same need of small banks that exists in new communities. The modifications would also permit the general introduction of the system in the West and South, and its operations would then aid in the economic development of those sections, would go far to remove present sectional distrust, and would stamp out cheap money heresies.

THORNTON COOKE.

LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN FRANCE.

BY WALTER B. SCAIFE.

FRANCE being the only great European republic, its quadrennial election of its Chamber of Deputies can scarcely fail to interest Americans. That is in France the only national function of universal suffrage, as both the Senate and President are otherwise selected. In choosing his candidate, the French voter is placed in a much more difficult position than his American confrère. First, he has the embarrassment of more complicated sentiments and desires seeking political satisfaction; and, secondly, he has to select from a greater number of candidates, who represent as many shades of opinion, rather than two or three clearly defined policies. With an ardent desire for liberty, Frenchmen combine a strong hereditary instinct for a paternal government; they have established a republican form of legislation, while retaining a monarchical form of administration; they condemn monarchical extravagance and indulge in republican prodigality; and, instead of developing a self-government based on individual initiative and effort, they appear to cultivate more and more dependence upon the state. Under such circumstances, the voter's duty is plain, to weigh carefully and judge conscientiously among the numerous candidates and platforms offered to his choice. But, perhaps owing to the very difficulty and effort of choosing, the indifference manifested is great, and the proportion of non-voters disheartening, having reached almost thirty-three per cent. of those registered.

Before entering upon the details of the recent campaign and election, it may be well to recall a few general facts, a knowledge of which is necessary to the understanding of what is to follow. The Chamber of Deputies consists of 581 members, each elected by a *circonscription* or district. However, neither law nor custom

requires the deputy to be a resident of the district which he represents. Primaries and nominating conventions are equally unknown; as, practically, any voter of twenty-five years of age may nominate himself, simply by depositing with the proper authority, not less than five days before the date of election, a "duly legalized declaration" to that effect. Shortly before the election, every voter receives from the Government a "voter's ticket," containing his name, address and number in the public register, which ticket serves to identify him at the polls. In view of the simple method of nomination, the number of candidates easily becomes excessive, and the obtaining of an absolute majority vote impossible. Accordingly, two voting days are provided. If, on the first day, one of the candidates receives a majority of all votes cast, which at the same time is not less than one-fourth of the number of registered voters, the election is final. Otherwise, a second election, called *ballottage*, takes place two weeks later, on which occasion a plurality vote suffices.

As everybody is free to nominate himself, the list of more than 2,000 candidates includes men of every description—prince and peasant, millionaire and proletaire, employer and employed, doctor and lawyer, soldier and civilian; and a statistician of the curious reports among the candidates 17 hunchbacks, 3 one-armed men, 1 without legs, 94 lame, 12 stammerers, 6 deaf, 2 blind, 3 paralytic, 1 dwarf and 2 giants. Instead of party platforms, each candidate publishes his own "profession of faith," with the to us astonishing result that perhaps no two of them are identical. The variety of aims and promises exhibited by these documents seems to include every possible governmental policy, from an imperial *coup-d'etat* to armed revolution, from monarchical monopoly to universal confiscation, from clerical absolutism to nihilistic anarchy. Furthermore, there is not wanting a certain ambiguity, not to say jugglery of words, in these candidatorial enunciations, and one writer at least contends that equivocation was the characteristic of the campaign. "Republican" has lost all definite signification, and is employed by men representing most diverse views of public policy; while "patriot" is equally appropriated as party watchword by monarchists and socialists. One of the former declares in his platform that France "is dying because of desertion of her traditions, and that the elective *régime* is killing her as it killed Poland." On the other

hand, the socialists contend that the only national balm is to be found in their doctrines.

One of the strangest phenomena of the recent campaign is the active part officially taken by the Roman Catholic Church. It had its candidates, its official organs, its professions of faith, its campaign fund, and its cheers of victory, like the other party organizations; and was especially directed against "the Jews and the Freemasons, these public poisoners." In its principal organ, *La Croix,* was published a list of contributions to its campaign fund, which reached the respectable sum of 165,000 francs; and this does not include the large sums said to have been personally expended by the rich and titled candidates of the Church. Even political sermons are alleged to have been preached from the pulpits, and the political posters of M. Turrel, Minister of Public Works, posted inside, as well as outside, the churches. Special prayers were offered, and special fasts and communions recommended to the faithful for the success of the cause; and I read in *La Croix* of May 26: "St. Michael and Joan of Arc have completed their work in our department and driven out all the radical and Freemason schismatics."

Another fact of the political struggle here strikes an American with peculiar force, and evokes surprise, not to say astonishment. We are accustomed to the sight of Masonic badges worn by thousands of men; Masonic funerals hardly awaken curiosity; and the triennial conclaves of the Knights Templar are welcomed by every city, without our ever associating the ideas of Masonry and politics. But here in France the stranger is not shown a Masonic temple as one of the architectural ornaments of the city, nor do I recall ever having observed a man wearing a Masonic badge. Moreover, there is no political party avowedly Masonic; and all that one learns of the order is from its enemies, who call the Masons the party of the "little chapel," in contradistinction to their own great cathedral. Yet the Masons are the constant object of attack, in the political articles of the monarchical and clerical press.

The programmes of all parties promised more or less extensive legislation tending to improve the lot of the masses, whose votes are necessary to election. It resembles an auction sale, where the bidding ran high, with this difference, however, that many of the bids were not taken seriously. Naturally, the socialists were the

most ardent in this movement, and their professions of faith advocated such extreme measures as repudiation of the national debt, government ownership of all natural monopolies, and the abolition of all taxes, to be replaced by a single progressive income tax, from which incomes of less than 2,500 or 3,000 francs were to be exempt. They, furthermore, demand pensions for old and disabled laborers; and the revision of the constitution in such form as either to suppress the Senate, or to have it elected by popular suffrage, or at least to subordinate it to the Chamber of Deputies.

The first ballot, that of May 8, having resulted in the election of 401 deputies, there remained 180 seats to be filled by the *ballottage,* with two weeks for the campaign. Now appears what, in the French practice, most nearly approaches party discipline. Every candidate leans either toward the Right or the Left in politics; that is, his sympathies are more or less conservative or radical, clerical or socialistic. The first election, having failed to give a majority vote to any one candidate, has nevertheless designated the respective favorites of the Right and Left, and, either by previous arrangement or by the force of public opinion, the other candidates are expected to withdraw from the *ballottage,* and to recommend their former supporters to vote for the candidate least inimical to their views. During this period of two weeks, the political fight waxes hotter and hotter, candidates and voters alike realizing that final victory or defeat for four years to come is at hand. If the voter cannot be represented precisely as he wishes, he will accept the best he can get, rather than let a man still farther from his views represent his district. This final party manœuvering explains a number of the late elections, which otherwise would be incomprehensible. Though a monarchical party still exists, it is no longer considered dangerous. But, on the other hand, the open entrance of the Catholic Church on the political arena has aroused its opponents to shout "clerical danger!" while the steady growth of the socialistic party has excited a real fear of collectivism. One of the telling campaign documents was a map of France showing the increase of the real estate holdings of religious congregations, from 800 million francs in 1881 to 2,000 millions in 1898; and affirming that their aggregate wealth reaches 10,000 millions. Hence, the non-clerical voters were called upon to oppose the Catholic party, and the state to con-

fiscate this wealth. On the other hand, the Catholic party demands that all the faithful vote for its candidates, who will work for the abolition of the laws governing education and religion, in order to remove all restraint on the activity and ambition of the Church. Accordingly, the liberals joined forces with the socialists, to resist the clericals; the conservatives went to their natural allies, in fear of the extreme socialist; and "clerical danger!" and "collectivist danger!" became the rallying cries around the respective standards, for the final election, May 22. Under such circumstances it may be easily understood how, for example, in a district where nearly every family possesses a patch of ground, a socialist was nevertheless elected by an overwhelming majority; and how, by contrast, some former socialistic strongholds were captured by clerical sympathizers, if not by extreme clerical candidates.

Aroused by Zola's attack on the army, another element appeared more strongly than hitherto, occasioned some hot disputes, and caused a number of candidates to assume the designation of Anti-Jews and Nationalists, who on May 8 drew out a vote of 233,000, or about three per cent. of the whole number of votes. The movement was especially strong in Algeria, where the Jews are numerous and where usury is said to reach the seemingly impossible figure of one hundred per cent. per month !

To an American observer, perhaps the strangest characteristic of the short campaign is its exclusively personal character. For, though each candidate has his committee to attend to printing, collecting campaign funds and organizing meetings, it is the candidate himself who is expected to do practically all the public speaking and writing of his own campaign. And M. Goblet having accepted the aid and support of some prominent party leaders, it was considered a grave political error, and is said to have added votes to the majority of his opponent. Not only must the candidate "develop his programme," *i. e.*, explain in detail his profession of faith, by a public talk in every hamlet and corner of his district, and promise to secure unlimited local and personal favors from the central government, but he must drink with the men and pay their drinks, flatter the women and kiss the babies. One man, called the Automobile Candidate, is reported to have addressed 106 reunions in ten days. The café is recognized "as both the club and parlor of the workingman," and the saloons as

"political and professional centres—centres which the candidate will assiduously frequent." Here are held many of the campaign reunions, of which often only friends of the candidate are apprised, in order that the meeting may pass off quietly, and the candidate appear to have the unanimous support of the neighborhood, if not of the entire district. However, opposing candidates sometimes conduct a canvass of public debate; but experience proves the danger of such meetings ending in noisy confusion, if not in violence.

There remains perhaps the greatest of French methods of political propaganda—the poster. During the campaign, electoral placards are free of taxation, and the country is literally covered with posters, large and small and of many colors, with their manner of expression as varied as their character. While some are dignified appeals to reason and patriotism, others are farcical, and a few decidedly vulgar, although these last are not by any means confined to one party.

It is generally agreed that the French nation is advancing in its political education; and the republic seems to be an established fact, notwithstanding almost universal criticism, if not active discontent, in regard to it. However, family position and personal influence still count as moving factors in an election, and accusations of government pressure and the use of money are loud and numerous. But the recent campaign was, in fact, more a contest of principles and less a struggle of men for popular favor than its predecessors; and, with all its imperfections, it was, on the whole, conducted in a peaceable and businesslike manner. Hence, we may conclude that the people at large have shown themselves capable of self-government, based on self-restraint and the orderly expression of their political convictions. Whether the representatives they have chosen will prove themselves worthy and capable is an entirely different matter.

On election day the polls are open from eight in the morning till six in the evening; but, contrary to our system, the voting must take place in a room where the ballot box is on a table, round which it is possible for the public to circulate. The superintendence of the voting is in the hands of an electoral commission, in which the government and the various candidates are represented, and which is provided with a numbered list of the voters residing in the precinct. The voter presents his voter's card; his

number and name are read aloud and marked off on the list, and a corner is torn off the card to show that it has been used. His folded ballot is received by the president of the commission and deposited by him, without marking or examination, in the ballot box. As to the ballots, they must be white, and free from all distinguishing marks on the part visible when folded; otherwise, they may be either printed or written, and of any reasonable form and size.

At six o'clock the polls are declared closed, the double-locked ballot box opened in the presence of the public, and the ballots counted out, without examination, into large envelopes, one hundred to each, except the last. These envelopes, sealed, are then distributed to several tables, occupied by representatives of the different parties, who have been invited by the president of the electoral commission to assist in the counting, and have been provided with forms for recording the result. The counting is proceeded with at once; and blank, null and disputed ballots returned in a sealed envelope for final decision by governmental authority. From each table the partial count is reported to the commission, who then make up the vote of the precinct, which is declared to the waiting public and transmitted to the prefecture for revision four days later.

Among the surprises of the late election were the defeat of Jaurès, Guesde and Goblet, all recognized leaders of ability on the Left; the Government loss of Delpench, an assistant secretary, and André Lebou, the talented Minister of Colonies, and the conservative loss of Rochefoucould, who has sat for many years among the deputies. All parties had individual gains, as well as losses, but the only party which really gained ground was the socialist. However, to a foreign observer, perhaps the greatest cause of surprise is that a thinker and writer of international reputation, like Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, should receive only 2,082 votes, and be distanced by a socialist with more than a thousand majority. What better illustration could be had of the fact that the people demand a representative who will voice their sentiments and vote as their delegate, rather than a representative who will think for them?

A curious fact is revealed by a study of this campaign and election—that, although the entire country expressed discontent with the present order of things at the opening of the campaign, the election did not create a Chamber essentially different

from its predecessor, which was admitted on all sides to be defective in many desirable qualities. More than two thousand years ago, Aristotle taught that democracy is necessarily a government of mediocrity; and modern politics constantly prove the accuracy of his judgment. How can it be expected that a government by the masses will rise to the intelligence of the few? A government of the masses certainly aims at the greatest good of the greatest number, for they are the greatest number. But this desideratum of modern state life is only reached in a roundabout fashion, *i. e.*, by the interaction of a large number of mediocre representatives instead of the directing intelligence of one or more great specialists. The latter form is no doubt capable of the highest development, but history has shown the almost unavoidable pitfalls to which it is subject; and, accordingly, modern tendency is toward a government by the people, which may not manifest the highest intelligence; but, on the other hand, will gradually elevate the intelligence and well-being of the masses, as none of the old systems has ever done. At least, such is the hope of all friends of republican rule; and it remains for the United States and France to prove to a skeptical world the possibilities of such a form of government.

WALTER B. SCAIFE.

PILIKIAS.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL L. A. BEARDSLEE, U. S. N., RETIRED.

THE title is an Hawaiian word, a very expressive and comprehensive one. Its meaning is troubles—troubles of all degrees, big and little, short and lasting. Has death taken from a man a loved one, or has a man simply met with slight misfortune; in either case he "has a *pilikia.*" As pilikias need be neither great nor lasting, the term seems a suitable one to characterize the various impediments and obstacles which must be encountered and overcome by the United States in its process of assimilating into orthodox citizenship, in which we shall govern them by and with their own consent, the heterogeneous lot of new relations that we have acquired by our annexation of the Hawaiian Republic.

This Republic was one in which magnificent distances prevailed. Its people were and are scattered over eight islands, widely separated by deep and frequently rough channels, crossed by no cable, and communication between them is difficult. These people, according to the latest census—that of 1896—number 109,000, racially grouped as follows:

Natives	31,000	Chinese	21,600
Half-breeds	8,500	English	2,250
Japanese	24,000	Germans	1,430
Portuguese	15,000	Other nations	1,500

And of Americans but 3,086.

The numbers, especially of the Japanese, have undoubtedly increased largely since the census was made.

It will be quite a difficult matter to harmonize these varying elements of population. Fortunately, in regard to a very large proportion, it will not be necessary to do so. It is probable that a great alteration in the status of the Japanese, Chinese and Portuguese will not be attempted. The Japanese and Chi-

nese are scattered over all of the islands, working the sugar cane. They will remain subjects of their own governments, act as those governments indicate through their diplomatic representatives, and questions that may arise in regard to their status will be settled between their countries and ours, by diplomacy. There is little fear of a combination between them. They are antagonistic to each other. In Honolulu a few of the better class of Japanese are lawyers, physicians, teachers, editors, printers, merchants and artificers.

The greater proportion of the Portuguese have colonized in Honolulu, selecting high and almost useless land, on the approach to Punch Bowl and the mountains. They now own many cozy cottages, covered with flowers and vines, a church and schools, and they have nearly monopolized certain branches of agriculture. They supply all Honolulu with flowers. Their interests are cared for by a diplomatic agent, and there is no fear of their joining forces with the Japanese and Chinamen.

Eliminating these three races, which I have grouped together on account of their numerical preponderance, we have but 56,000 people to manage. A further elimination of the 3,000 Americans reduces the number to less than half of the actual population of the islands. We have remaining but 53,000 possible citizens.

But of the Americans, English, Germans and other nations—8,200 in all—quite a number must be classed with the half-breeds, for they are the husbands of the half-breed women, the fathers of their children, and thus subject to their influence. Allowing, therefore, for two years' natural increase and for this addition, the half-breeds may be considered as being at least ten thousand strong.

It should be said that, except as quoting from an official document, the term "half-breed" should not be used. There are half-breeds, referred to as such, but they are of the lower class, crosses between Asiatics, South Sea Islanders, and other disreputables, and Kanaka women of low degree.

The race in regard to which it is proposed to give some facts, call themselves, and are so called by those who respect them, *half-whites*, in which term the word "half" has lost its numerical significance and might better be rendered *part*. Half-breed is an offensive term, half-white is not.

It is probable that a large proportion of the English, German and other nations will remain true to their own countries and that they will, as in our other cities, be simply foreigners living with us, obedient to our laws, but not claiming citizenship.

With these eliminations accomplished, we have but about 40,000 people, from whom pilikias may be expected, and that is about the number of natives and half-breeds. If we can obtain their consent to be governed by us, the problem is solved, and the principles announced in our Declaration of Independence maintained.

That we have not obtained the full and free consent of these people seems to be a fact. Circumstances which occurred on and before Annexation Day, the twelfth of last August, indicate this very strongly. A short time before, protests against annexation had been filed with both governments, by political societies. On the day when annexation was consummated, of the great number of the best of Honolulu people who, through social or official standing, were entitled to places on the great platform built on the steps of the executive building—formerly the palace of Hawaii's monarchs—to witness and participate in the ceremonies, but one of the three principal classes into which Honolulu people are divided was present in any force, those, namely, who affiliated with or supported the party of which the government was formed. The other parties, the natives and half-whites, and the Royalists, took no part, and among them were people whose official and social standing are such that their absence could not have been the result of accident. There were at the time in Honolulu the ex-Queen Liliuokalani, the ex-Dowager Queen Kapiolani, the ex-Princess Kaiulani, and in the list I have before me as I write, I cannot find their names nor the name of any of the prominent Royalists, nor of a Hawaiian not attached to the government.

The band of Hawaiian damsels who were to have lowered for the last time the Hawaiian flag, as the government band played for the last time officially the Hawaiian *ponoi*, would not lower it. The band refused to play the *ponoi*, and loud weeping was the only music contributed by the natives. Very evidently, there was discord, and, as evidently, the breach which had been made by the events of 1893 was not yet healed, the opposing factions into which the Hawaiian people had then been

split had not coalesced. Beyond question, a large body of those who were to be governed did not consent to the new governmet.

Undoubtedly, there were many different reasons for this unhappy state of affairs. The object of this paper is to point out and discuss one of these reasons; others may be touched upon incidentally.

The Hawaiian loves and hates strongly. He loves his country, his monarchy, the throne, and him or her who occupies it. Whatever may be the sovereign's character, he is loyal to his monarch. They loved and were loyal to their late queen, whom, whatever may have been charged against her as faults, or even crimes, they considered a good woman and a good queen, for she was intelligent, queenly, dignified and charitable. They did not believe that she had committed any wrong. To them, even if admitted, the faults charged were venial, even virtues. There was a universal feeling that when she was dethroned she was wronged, and throughout the land prayers to the true God, and to the false gods, were offered for her restoration.

A vast majority of the half-whites shared the views of their Hawaiian relatives. Many of them were in sympathy with those who attempted by revolution to restore the queen. Some joined those in revolt, and quite a number contributed funds. Clearly all of the natives, including the half-whites, were firmly convinced that their government had been taken away from them by violence without cause, and most of them think so to this day.

I have just received a letter from an educated Hawaiian lady, a teacher, a member of one of the few native families who gave their allegiance to the Provisional Government. She writes under date of August 19 from Maui: "Well, our islands are annexed; but the bitter feelings of the Hawaiians are still the same, and they still hope for the queen to be back on the throne. I feel very bad for them, but there is no way of giving them a plain explanation."

In addition to the reasons which they share with the natives, the half-whites, especially the ladies of the upper class, have a reason peculiarly their own which actuates them strongly in their opposition to annexation and which, although based on hypothesis alone, has strength. This is the apprehension that when, as a result of annexation, there is an influx of American

people, society will be first disorganized, and in its reorganization they will suffer the loss of social position; that, for the first time in Hawaii, they may be discriminated against on account of race and customs; that, for the first time, a color line may be drawn, so that the brown blood in their veins, of which many are prouder than of the white, will be to their detriment.

To appreciate the force of this apprehension, one must have lived in Honolulu; have seen how completely life is occupied by social functions—balls, dinner parties, swimming and boating parties, picnics and luahs; one must have known, through personal experience, the high position in society held by half-white families; one must have met and enjoyed meeting them on terms of perfect social equality; one must have entertained, and been entertained by, educated and refined people in whose veins the brown blood prevailed.

I can see no reason why they should be less proud of their brown blood than of the white. Many of the mothers of the present generation were daughters of chiefs, noblemen, and even, in some cases, of royalty. Their white blood started with the unknown sailor who, tiring of the dull life of the whale-ship, enchanted by his surroundings in Hawaii, and by the charms of the Kanaka girls, married one of them, and sought a life of ease and pleasure among them; begot children, and thus started a new race, the daughters of which, more comely than their pure native relations, have been sought as wives by other white men arriving later as teachers, or on business or in search of health.

The children of these couples have, in all cases, received the education furnished by the schools and colleges of the island, and they are good ones; while, in some cases, they have been sent to the United States or Europe, from which they have returned educated and cultured. Some of the fathers have grown into power. They have been sought as advisers by the native monarchs, and since a constitution and legislature came into being they have taken their part in the government. Not infrequently, the wives brought with them fortunes in the shape of many acres of land, the value of which, though trifling at first, increased an hundredfold after the discovery that the soil was well adapted for the cultivation of sugar cane, and artesian wells had disclosed the fact that, but a few hundred feet below the

surface, an abundant and apparently inexhaustible supply of fresh water suitable for irrigation could be had.

To these men the preservation of the monarchy insured success, its destruction involved risk of loss. They were not numerically strong, but, through marriage to native or half-white, they had acquired great influence, and they more or less openly declared themselves Royalists.

On the other hand, there was an almost equally small, but a much more powerful, body of men—the Americans—who, although in comparatively few cases natives of the United States, were very loyal to the country and flag of their fathers. They were the sons and daughters of the American men and women who came to the islands in the early days, not sixty years ago, as missionaries to teach and Christianize the natives, and guide and help them in emerging from barbarism. These descendants have remained in the islands, and, while loyal to their fathers' flag, as attested by a flourishing branch of the Society of Sons of the American Revolution existing at the islands, were equally loyal to the work of civilizing which their fathers had started. They built schools and churches, and as a result the Hawaiian people are a civilized race and largely Christians. They have won the love of the natives by their good offices, their respect and confidence by the honesty and cleanness of their lives. To them, also, fell the duties of advisers to the monarchs. They held unbounded influence over the natives until, a few years ago, for reasons which few of the natives can or will comprehend, they became identified with those who dethroned the queen, and out of their number the Provisional Government was constructed.

Said Liliuokalani last winter in Washington to a friend of mine: "I cannot understand why those missionary boys, Sanford Dole, Albert Judd and Sam Damon, who were my playmates and grew up with me, should have taken my country from me."

However much the act complained of was necessary and proper, it is Liliuokalani who has the ear and love of her countrymen, the sympathy and confidence of 40,000 natives of Hawaii, and it is to her voice alone they will listen. They do not understand what has taken place, and they will never understand it without her aid. Could she but be brought to accept the situation, could she but learn that her personal loss is her country's gain; could she be persuaded that in taking Hawaii the

United States has conferred great honor and benefit upon her people, she, with a letter "To my People," could solve the problem. Every Hawaiian would think it a letter to himself personally, and in loyalty he would obey. Then that pilikia would be *pau* (finished).

One of the sources of apprehension of the half-whites, is a fear that certain of their customs would not be approved of by ladies from another country. Undoubtedly they have customs, natural to them, to which they have been wedded from childhood, and which are different from those of people who have spent their lives in more inclement climes. But in these customs, peculiar to themselves, there is no wrong, only a difference due to their early training.

They do wear in public the *holoku,* a garment not differing greatly from a Mother Hubbard, the most comfortable and best adapted to the climate. They do adorn themselves with *leis* of flowers, they gallop astride their steeds over the mountains, they enjoy surf canoeing and sea swimming. They do love to relax from their formal society life and full dress dinner parties, and, visiting the homes of some of their Hawaiian relatives, they indulge in the delights of a *luah,* where they can—arrayed in *holokus* and flowers, hair unbound, feet bare or slippered—recline on the mat-protected ground, eat *poi* seaweed and fish, and other indescribable Hawaiian dishes, with the aid of their fingers alone, listen to the sweet music of the *eukalili* and native voices, and watch the beautiful, graceful, swaying dance of the *Hulah* girls, in which there need be no impropriety or vulgarity, although, because in olden times it was danced by naked women (in those days they were naked and not ashamed), it has earned a bad reputation. *"Honi soit qui mal y pense."*

Said a Hawaiian lady to me, while discussing with her the expected advent of the whites: "We don't want them. They will come and look down on us, and think we are no better than niggers. They will sneer at our customs, and hold up their hands in horror at the idea of a *hulah.* They will expect too much of us. They will forget how short a time it is since we were Kanakas, and how vain it is to expect us to utterly forget and throw over the habits of our childhood. My father was a Kanaka, and my mother was a Kanaka, and I sometimes wish I had stayed one in everything, as I am in blood. They lived until I was a young woman,

and do you think that, when I got leave from school to go and spend a few days with them, I went in my school dress and carried my school manners, to shame my relations? No; I lived as they did, and was as good a Kanaka as any of them. And when they prayed to Pele, or other of the gods I had been taught were false, do you suppose I lectured them and put shame on them? No, indeed!"

In that rather excited speech there stands out at least one good point. We expect too much of them when we attempt to judge how good citizens they may become, when time shall have carried them further from their ancestors. If it takes a third generation to develop a gentleman from a peasant, we should not expect that in the second generation a Kanaka will be so greatly transformed as to become a first-class American citizen, although many of them have qualified. Why should we expect that of them more than of a large proportion of our immigrants from Europe?

The first and most important step to that end will be to win their confidence and regard. That step cannot be taken while their sovereign, still in their hearts, is in their opinion a wronged woman, a martyr. If our government could but throw completely aside the feelings which circumstances produced and justified in the small body of good men who constituted first the Provisional Government, then the Republic of Hawaii, as against the queen they have dethroned, and treat her and those who supported her, as the representatives of over 40,000 people, with justice, kindness and consideration, and, recognizing the fact, that the loss of the throne meant to the queen great pecuniary loss also, would, as far as justice demanded, recompense her for her loss, the *pilikia* would be forever ended. *Pau Aloha.*

L. A. BEARDSLEE,

BISMARCK AND MOTLEY.—WITH CORRESPONDENCE TILL NOW UNPUBLISHED.—II.

BY JAMES PEMBERTON GRUND.

To the question "Do the Americans know what they are fighting for?" Motley made in his next letter an eloquent response; in which he gives in burning words the reasons that induced the men of the North to take up arms—"To preserve the existence of a magnificent commonwealth traitors are trying to destroy. If men cannot fight in such a cause they had better stop fighting for evermore." He evidently suspects that the warmth of his feelings has led him into some exaggeration of expression this hard, practical German, never sentimental when national interests are concerned, though he can be very tender at other times, will instantly pounce upon. So he says that possibly he "had better throw his letter into the fire."

Motley defends himself against the charge of laziness in not writing, brought against him by Bismarck, and urges in extenuation that, though an American diplomatist in Vienna has a certain amount of spare time on his hands, he is an "historical *gratte papier* as well, with a couple of volumes a year to turn out." He refers feelingly to the recent death of his aged father and to the death of the noble Wadsworth, killed at the head of his division in the battle of May 6th of that year. Bismarck must have been interested in the fate of General Wadsworth; and the heroic death of an American who could march in the defence of his country at the head of 1,000 men mustered on his own estates must have strangely appealed to one in whose veins ran the blood of a long line of feudal warriors.

VIENNA, 28th May, 1864.

MY DEAR OLD BISMARCK: It was a very great pleasure to hear from you again. It is from *modesty* that I haven't written—I thought that your time was so taken up with Schleswig-Holstein and such trifles that you wouldn't

be able to find a moment to read a line from me. So I refrained on principle. Certainly I mean to come and see you in Berlin as soon as I can find a good opportunity. It isn't quite fair, however, for you to think me such a lazy fellow as you do. It is quite true that the relations between the United States and Austria are not very complicated; and I haven't, therefore, an overwhelming amount of diplomatic business on my hands just now—but you must remember that I am also a historical *gratte-papier* by profession, and that I write a big octavo volume every two years. I am like one of the *Kunstreiter* in Renz's Circus, always astride of two horses at once, going at full gallop. One of my steeds is called the Sixteenth Century, the other the Nineteenth, and I have a good deal of trouble to keep one leg firm on each. Besides, my duties of a reporter to my government of all that is going on in this blessed old Europe of yours are not light, for you know as well as any man living how much the perturbations of our continent have to do with the great affairs of yours. You may be sure that John Bull wouldn't have been found with such a nose of wax in the Denmark business, if he hadn't felt how dangerous it was for him to be a belligerent in a great European war, *with the United States neutral*, after he had been laying down theoretically and practically that it is the chief business of a neutral to fit out, arm and man ships-of-war in his ports to plunder and burn the ships of one of the belligerents.

The practical application by us of these English rules would have destroyed the commerce of Great Britain in two months and have brought destruction upon the Empire. But, as you say, politics be hanged, and I didn't mean to say as much as I have already said.

About coming to Berlin. Hardly a week goes by but my wife is trying to send me off to see my old friend Bismarck. God knows that it would be the greatest delight to me to do so and I certainly shall contrive it sooner or later. Just at this moment I am sad. A little while ago I received the intelligence of the death of my father, and although he was a very old man (nearly 83), yet he was healthy and vigorous and might have lived several years longer. We all know that such events are in the course of nature, yet when they come they are great afflictions. You may well suppose, too, that the great war in our country does not tend to make us very gay. Every post brings the news of some dear friend killed. My eldest daughter left us a few days ago with an intimate friend of ours, Mrs. Wadsworth, on her way to make a year's visit to America. On the morning of their arrival in Paris they read in the telegram the death of General Wadsworth, her husband's brother, killed at the head of his division in the battle of the 6th May. We have many near relatives and friends in the Potomac army now fighting sanguinary battles every day, so that we almost shrink from looking at the lists of killed and wounded in the American papers when they arrive.

I feel hopeful, however, that this year may be the last of the war on a great scale. If *we* succeed it will be the last, for the rebels confess publicly that if they are driven from Virginia their power of resistance is gone. There is no doubt of it. They cannot reinforce their present armies, and as to their finances they are a mere joke. They laugh at the very idea of ever paying their debt or redeeming their currency. It takes thirty dollars of what they call their paper money to make *one* dollar in gold. That is enough to say about *their* resources. Our new tax bill, passed almost unanimously, will give *us* four hundred million dollars a year. If *we* fail in this campaign (which I don't expect) then the war will last two or three years longer.

There is no *possibility* of our giving up. No result to the war is possible, imaginable, except the triumph of the United States Government and the *entire* suppression of the mutiny, whether it takes us one year longer or ten. If anybody tells you that the United States Government, if unsuccessful in the present campaign, will negotiate for peace or dream of recognizing Jeff Davis and his Confederacy, tell him that he is an ass. There is exactly as much chance of Austria's recognizing Kossuth as President of the Hungarian Republic.

You asked me in the last letter before the present one "if we knew what we were fighting for." I can't let the question go unanswered. We are fighting to preserve the existence of a magnificent commonwealth which traitors are trying to destroy, and to annihilate the loathsome institution of negro slavery, to perpetuate and extend which was the sole cause of the Treason. If men can't fight for *such* a cause they had better stop fighting for evermore. Certainly, since mankind ever had a history and amused themselves with cutting each other's throats, there never, in the course of all ages, was better cause for war than we have—and there isn't a child in the country who doesn't feel this. There, I suppose I had better throw this letter into the fire—I have bored you unmercifully, when you would much prefer that I should chaff.

Once more—politics be hanged—what are your plans for the summer? You have got it all your way in the North Sea. By the way, I consider myself the real founder of the Austro-Prussian alliance, as I told Werther the other day. Now that you have nothing to do but amuse yourself and snap your fingers at old Pam and Johnny, are you going to any watering place? My wife says to me every day:

> "Bless me, did I ever? No, I never
> Saw a man grow so yellow. How's your liver?"

and wishes to send me off to Carlsbad or the devil knows where to drink waters. I hate watering-places—I hate dyspeptic, broken-down diplomats pottering about and cackling of the ailments of their own and their country's constitutions. But if *you* were going anywhere, don't you go to Gastein again. Are you likely to come through Vienna?

Rechberg will probably be at the station waiting to fall upon your neck and embrace you with tears of joy. And my *Wenigkeit* will not be far off. But I forget; you are such a swell that you always have to take your King with you—*Ego et Rex meus*, like Cardinal Wolsey—and this is an impediment to smaller mortals like me.

It will give me infinite pleasure to be with you again. Pray give my kindest regards to Madame de Bismarck. I never forget all her kindness and hospitality in those, to me, most delightful visits to Frankfort.

Alas, that that period, too, should be melting into the past!

As to Logier, I am sure that his ghost still haunts the Friedrich Strasse No. 161, and will not be laid until you and I go up into the first floor front together and exorcise him. After that we will proceed to Servet's, and put our legs on all the chairs in the restaurant.

Good bye, my dear friend.

I will write again soon without waiting for a reply—for I know how tremendously hard at work you are.

It will always be a great pleasure, however, to get a line, if ever so short a one. My wife ventures to greet you and yours without yet having a personal acquaintance.

Where is Keyserling? Do let me know if you have heard of him. I haven't had news of him since we parted in Frankfort.

Ever most affectionately yours,

J. L. MOTLEY.

A little memorandum—which please make a note of. You can tear off this last page for the purpose.

A very respectable American, a friend of mine, and employed at this moment and for several years past in the Chancery of my legation, is a fanatic for Beethoven—an ancient fiddler of whom you have heard.

He is writing the life of the said Beethoven. He wishes to consult the royal archives at Bonn, Düsseldorf, and various places in your realms in order to elucidate his subject. He will make a formal application for permission to do this, through our Minister at Berlin, Mr. Judd. His name is Alexander Thayer, and I vouch for his respectability in every way.

Please let him have this permission when it is applied for in due form, and by so doing oblige your old friend of Colony times, who doesn't sing any better than when he lived under a king.

P. S.—When you write, please send me two or three of your *carte de visite* photographs, with your name written under each. My children wish very much for them for their albums."

The postscript of this letter shows that Motley did not forget his countrymen in the pursuit of pleasure in the society of distinguished foreigners, as has been sometimes falsely charged against him. Needless to say that the required permission was obtained.

In a letter to his mother, written from Vienna, and dated July 27, 1864, a couple of months after the dispatch of the letter to Bismarck above quoted, Motley speaks of Bismarck's being in Vienna to negotiate the terms of peace with Denmark. It is difficult to imagine now, after the glorious campaigns of the Prussians against Austria and France, what a tremendous sensation the successful campaign against the Danes created throughout Germany in 1864. The storming of the entrenchments at Dueppel was undoubtedly a brilliant *fait d'armes;* but who now remembers that little more than a skirmish? Then it was in everybody's mouth. The reason is that, with the exception of the part played by a couple of Prussian army corps in suppressing the Baden insurrection of 1848, the Prussians had done no serious fighting since Waterloo; their military prowess was, therefore, an unknown quantity. In a speech in the North German Parliament *against* the Poles, Bismarck paid an unwilling tribute to the valor the Prussian Polish regiments displayed in the attack on Dueppel. I have been told by an eye witness of the storming, that the Poles were harangued before the attack not only by their officers, but by their priests (for the Polish

priest is about as warlike as the Spanish *padre*), who held up the crucifix to them, telling them that the road to salvation led through the ranks of the enemies of their king. The excitement of the troops is said to have been something fearful to witness. They shouted and stamped upon the ground in their frenzy, and when the word to advance was given, swept everything before them.

"He dined with us yesterday," writes Motley, "*en famille*, asking us to have no one but Werther, the Prussian Minister, here that we might talk of old times and be boys again . . . He is as sincere and resolute an Absolutist as I am a Republican. But that doesn't interfere with our friendship, as I believe that Prussia is about as likely to become a Republic as the United States to turn into a Military Monarchy."

In another letter to his eldest daughter, dated August 16, Motley writes that "the only ripple we have had on our surface is when the bold Bismarck made his appearance," when they "drank three bottles of claret (not apiece) for dinner, and remained at table, to the amazement of the servants, until half past nine." To linger over the walnuts and the wine is not a Vienna custom. The Vienna newsmonger announced the next day that "Sir" Motley, the American Minister, had given a gala dinner to Bismarck, adding an imaginary list of guests, with not one of whom Motley was acquainted, even by sight.

The next letter of Motley to Bismarck is dated Vienna, January 15, 1866, about five months before the battle of Sadowa crowned the edifice of German unification under Prussian leadership, which Bismarck had been erecting, stone by stone. The mission of Bismarck to the Diet of the Bund at Frankfort had been one long struggle with Austria, who, by bullying some of the smaller States and cajoling others, had secured a much stronger following at Frankfort than Prussia. Austria bribed, intrigued, and made a liberal use of the subsidized press. She was not nice in the choice of means, and when Bismarck saw this he knew that she must be fought with her own weapons. He did so and with fair success. "Were all these decorations won in front of the enemy?" said an Austrian diplomatist to him after he returned from Frankfort, pointing to the crosses on his breast. "They were, indeed," replied Bismarck, meaningly; "in front of the enemy." The "enemy" was Austria.

When the little chicken of the Schleswig-Holstein war hatched the enormous egg of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, there was but one cry from end to end of the Fatherland—"Bismarck is a traitor. He is about to shed German blood!" As Bismarck once said: "If I had failed in 1866, I might have ended the whole business with a pistol shot." This brought to my mind a story of him told me at Baden-Baden in 1868 by a charming English lady, the wife of a French diplomatist, Comte de La R——d. Bismarck, when Minister to Frankfort, came to Baden occasionally, and now and then staked a few louis on the roulette. If he won he let it double again and again until he had won a considerable sum. When remonstrated with he said: "*Madame, au jeu comme en politique et en amour, il faut toujours jouer le tout pour le tout.*" He well knew that if he lost his stake in 1866 all was over with him. "If I had gone back to Berlin after a Prussian defeat," he said, "the old women would have put sand in their stockings and clubbed me to death."

As in 1864, in 1866, as afterward in 1870, he played *tout va à la mâsse*, and won. His luck has been stupendous, be it asserted without detriment to his great genius. Who was it said that "no one should reproach a general with his good luck, since his good fortune is the fortune of the State?" It is equally true of a great statesman.

There is a passage in a letter of Motley's to his wife, written from Varzin in 1872, that finely illustrates this fact, of which the Prince himself was well aware:

"Bismarck said he used, when younger, to think himself a clever fellow enough, but now he was convinced that nobody had any control over events—that nobody was really powerful or great, and it made him laugh when he heard himself complimented as wise, foreseeing and exercising great influence over the world. A man in the situation in which he had been placed was obliged, while outsiders, for example, were speculating whether to-morrow it would be rain or sunshine, to decide promptly it will rain, or it will be fair, and to act accordingly with all the forces at his command. If he guessed right all the world said 'What sagacity; what foresight!' If wrong, 'all the old women would have beaten me with broomsticks.' 'If I have learned nothing else,' added the Prince, 'I have learned modesty.'"

Motley's letters to his family, written when the war of 1866 was in an early stage, show that his Viennese surroundings did not blind him to the likelihood of Prussian success, nor did he share the pessimistic views of the situation voiced by Bismarck's countrymen of all shades of political opinion. The only men in Prussia who backed up Bismarck in the war of 1866 were the army men, and when he declined to reap *all* the fruits of victory in order to secure the friendship of Austria for a future occasion, even these turned their backs on him, thinking he was sacrificing the true interests of his country. Among these was the Crown Prince, afterward Emperor Frederick the Third.

Motley writes to his daughter on June 20, 1866: "The hard cutting instrument, which is now personified in my old friend Bismarck, may do its work by cutting away all obstacles and smoothing the geographical path to Prussia's great fortune. Bismarck is a man of great talents and of iron will. Probably no man living knows him more intimately than I do. He, too, believes in his work as thoroughly as Mohammed or Charlemagne, or those types of tyranny, our Puritan forefathers, ever believed in theirs. He represents what is the real interest of the whole Prussian people, from King William to the most pacific *Spiessbuerger* of Potsdam. They all want a great Prussia. They all want to Prussificise Germany. Only they want to do it *pacifically.* God save the mark! As if it were possible to make an omelette without breaking eggs!"

In the letter that follows, Motley begins by expressing regret for the recent illness of Madame de Bismarck, always so kind and considerate with her husband's old friend. Then there is a line or two recalling their early friendship, their lost youth. None of the letters these two great men exchanged is without a touch of sentiment. Motley is determined to see Bismarck once more, "before I am too old and crabbed to be fit company for one blessed like you with eternal youth." He sounds a note of triumph anent the issue of the American war that has verified his predictions to his friend, and makes a sarcastic allusion to the readiness of Lord John Russell to settle other people's quarrels.

VIENNA, January 15, 1866.

MY DEAR BISMARCK.—I was deterred from writing you a line to wish you and yours a Happy New Year by reading in the papers the distressing intelligence of the illness of Madame de Bismarck. Werther assures me,

however, that now all danger is past, and I write therefore with a lighter heart to congratulate you most sincerely on what I doubt not is her complete recovery. Countess Bismarck was always so kind and gracious to me, and received me so like an old friend because I was your old friend, that I have felt keenly anxious about her. I know full well how much sorrow her danger must have caused you. God grant that she may be fully restored and that you may be all well and happy together. Pray give to her my most sincere remembrances and best wishes. Your children have long since forgotten my existence, and my little friend Marie is now a young lady going to make her conquests in the great world.

I suppose that you will hardly find a quarter of an hour to write to me —otherwise it would give me great pleasure to hear how your dear wife is, and how you are yourself. I observe, however, that your *abgeordnete* are coming together to-day--so that you will have plenty of leisure and nothing to do but to write to me.

I fear that the billing and cooing between Prussia and Austria is not now so fervent that there is any chance of your coming here again very soon, and there seems to be but little prospect of my getting a holiday at present, so as to beat up your quarters in Berlin.

Nevertheless I am determined that I will see you once more before I get too old and crabbed to be fit company for one blessed like you with eternal youth.

I won't talk politics. You hate them and I look at them with a gentle indifference. You see that I did not mislead you in regard to the American war, about which Europe made such an infernal ass of itself. That was the only politics about which I ever pretended to know anything, and I believe you were one of the few Europeans who ever cared to know my opinion (which was that of every loyal American), and who thought that an American might possibly know something about his own country. People in general were content to drop their buckets into those wells of truth, the *Times* and the *Moniteur*, and now they have found out at last that the Great Republic—disagreeable as it is—is not dead, but a fact to be dealt with in the coming centuries on this planet. So they are very bilious at being disturbed in all their little combinations. But it does no good. They must try to get over their *katzenjammer* as well as they can.

I have said much more of politics than I had intended.

I shall refrain from giving you any advice as to how you are to deal with Schleswig-Holstein. *If you have never thought on that subject*, write to Lord Russell—he will tell you all about it. He was always ready to instruct our Cabinet at Washington. You have *my* consent to do as you like. Do you remember what the "formal old fop" of a parson in "The Antiquary" used to say to Miss Griselda, much to the indignation of her brother *Jonathan Oldbuck?*

"Madam, I drink to your inclinations—provided always they be virtuous."

Well, I drink to your inclinations without that proviso.

I am very busy myself with the politics of the 16th and 17th centuries, and am always amused at seeing how very much they resemble those of this age. The world is a cat always going after its own tail.

Do you ever hear of Keyserling? He wrote me a letter about two years ago and I answered him with another. He asked me about American affairs, and on that hint I spoke—at unusual length--so that I fear he shrinks from bringing another such infliction upon himself.

"Ah me! when shall we three meet again,
In thunder, lightning, or in rain?"

We are passing here a very retired winter. Vienna society moves round in its preordained zodiac obeying its elemental laws. There are the same balls, dinners, and drums as in past years.

* * * * *

If you ever write—which I hope but have hardly a right to expect—pray remember the promise. It will give them very great pleasure. If you write your name at the bottom it will make them still happier. We have one of Countess Bismarck, which she was kind enough to give me in Frankfort. If she can spare us another we shall be grateful—and one of your children.

"Once more, hoping that all will go well with you and yours in this and in the coming years, and that Madame de Bismarck will be entirely re-established in health, I remain

As ever, my dear Bismarck,
Your sincere old friend,
J. L. MOTLEY.

My wife desires to be most kindly remembered to you.

The next letter is from London, dated August 2, 1869. Motley has been recalled from Vienna by President Johnson on the score of charges of "flunkeyism" and subserviency to foreigners brought in a letter written to the United States by a gentleman named McCracken. This letter is forwarded to Motley, who very properly disdains to take any notice of it, and forwards to Washington instead of the desired explanation his resignation. Mr. Andrew Johnson simply observed: "Let him go." This is what Oliver Wendell Holmes says of the incident:

"But no caution could have protected him (Motley) against a slanderer who hated the place he came from, the company he kept, the name he had made famous, to whom his very look and bearing, such as belong to a gentleman of natural refinement and good breeding, must have been a personal grievance and an unpardonable offence."

There is nothing to add to this; Dr. Holmes has said all.

His opinion of Motley he expressed in this wise: "There was no society to which Motley would not have added grace and attraction by his presence. And to say that he was a welcome guest in the best houses of England is only saying that these houses are always open to those whose abilities, character, achievements are commended to the circles that have the best choice by the personal gifts which are nature's passports everywhere."

Motley, after a long search, found a house that suited him in the London residence of Lord Yarborough, not far from Lord Salisbury's town house.

LONDON, August 2, 1869.

MY DEAR BISMARCK:—I can't resist the impulse to write to you once more, although I am sure that you will never answer me. I don't know how many letters I have written without getting a reply. Nevertheless I have the confidence in our old friendship to feel perfectly sure that you have not forgotten me, and that I should find you, whenever I have the good fortune to meet you, the same as of old.

I have been here since June 1. I think it highly probable that you may have noticed in some of the newspapers my appointment as Minister to this post, and very soon after my arrival here, Count Bernstorff brought your two sons to me at an evening party, and I assure you it was a great delight to me to see these two young old friends, whom I knew so well when they were children in Frankfort, and the eldest of whom is about the age of ourselves when we first became friends in Goettingen. They only passed through London, leaving, so they told me, the next morning. I wish that I could have had them under my roof. Alas! at that time—and also at this time—I have *no* roof. Up to this moment I am houseless in London—living at an hotel and awfully tired of such a life.

We have been house hunting without success two months long. The Republic which I have the honor to represent does not provide as comfortable quarters as Prussia House, in which our excellent friends the Bernstorffs are so delightfully established. We have no Legation Hotel, and each new Minister on his arrival, must provide himself as best he can.

My girls are now away at the seaside, and my wife and myself are going to look at three different houses this morning—probably to decide that not one of them will do.

I was extremely distressed at leaving Europe last year without seeing you. I had made a hundred plans for so doing, but they all failed. I had set my heart on seeing you once more and looked forward with delight to the possibility of finding you in Berlin and enjoying the spectacle of my old friend in the very central point of his power, from whence the radiation is so brilliant, so creative, so invigorating to this fatigued and battered old Europe.

How I should like to talk with you of all your immense achievements, with which the world rings, and of which history will always be proud. You cannot gather, I am sure, with what deep interest and sympathy I have watched your splendid career. But I have no idea of taking a flight at this moment into the regions of the *haute-politique*. Nor will I say anything of my own task in these eternal Anglo-American matters—rolling the stone of Sisyphus. As I once before observed to you, I think, grocers never eat figs in private life. I had a letter from Canitz a few days ago, giving me news of you. I hope sincerely that you are recruiting your strength in the vacation which you are taking. Pray give my affectionate regards to Countess de Bismarck, although she so persistently refuses to answer my letters, also to Mdlle. Marie, who has long ago forgotten her *oncle d'Amerique*. Pray try and let me have a line to show me that you have not entirely forgotten me. Always sincerely your old friend.

J. L. MOTLEY.

Five days after the date of the last letter, Bismarck writes a charming letter (in German) to Motley from Varzin, and expresses the hope that he and the ladies of his family will visit the Bismarcks there. In answer to Motley's reproach that he

is a bad correspondent, he playfully says: "That I have not answered your letters must be true since you say so, but it seems improbable, and the consciousness of my virtue is so strong in me, that I had almost rather doubt the regularity of the North German Postal Service, which is under my management, than believe in my personal negligence. 'Doubt that the stars are fire,' but do not doubt of my virtue." He speaks of the facilities of modern traveling. "Give your arm to madame, your wife, and jump into a cab. In twenty minutes you are at the railway station, in thirty hours in Berlin, and in half a day more here. It would be charming. We will once more be as jolly (*lustig*) as in the old days. Please come. Fling all cares and worries behind the stove. You're sure to find them all intact when you go back. Come arranged for a short time or a long one, but the longer the better. I have so set my mind upon it that if you don't come I shall be ill, and that might have the most disastrous effect on politics."

This kind invitation Motley was unable to respond to until April of 1872, which was his last meeting with the friend of his youth. In a touching letter, in answer to the invitation which is subjoined, Motley expresses his regret at being unable to come to Varzin. He then quotes some German verses showing that human life may be summed up in the one word "abstinence." He expresses the hope that Bismarck will not turn Europe upside down next summer, as he wishes to travel in North Germany with Mrs. Motley, and also that Bismarck may not, by changing the map of Europe, shake Motley's reputation as an authority in geography, on which he prides himself. Motley will try to come next year. Alas, next year was 1870, the year of iron and blood. The map was changed with a vengeance, and Motley had to forget a good deal of his geographical knowledge.

LONDON, August 13, '69.

MY DEAR BISMARCK:—Alas and alas! Why must everything be impossible which we hunger and thirst to do?

"*Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren*
Das ist das ewige Gesang.
Das taeglich in den Ohren klingt."

Nothing in the world could be half so tempting as to get into that cab—*Sammt F. Gem*—and plunge into the Pomeranian wilderness, tomahawk and carpet bag in hand. But first without *Urlaub*, I can't leave my post—and before I could get it you would be gone from Varzin.

Your letter was so friendly in its invitation, and the two charming little

postscripts signed "Johanna" and "Marie" added so much to its eloquence, that I resisted only with a very severe struggle. But in melancholy seriousness, I cannot come this year. But the first step that I make out of this kingdom will be to come to see you. It will be next year at some time, for I mean to write for an *Urlaub* and keep it in my pocket and wait to see when it will be most convenient for you to have me, either in Berlin, Varzin, or where you will.

Meanwhile, a thousand thanks to you and the Countess and the Countess Marie for your kind invitation. My wife joins me in affectionate regards to them as well as to yourself. She will not admit that she is unacquainted with them, having heard so much of them from me.

As I hope that you don't mean to amuse yourself by turning Europe upside down next summer, I trust that one will be able to travel in North Germany then. Moreover, I have always prided myself on my geographical proficiency, and on knowing about the rivers, capitals and political boundaries, mineral productions, and religious arrangements of Europe.

I am studying the new maps, or mean to do so when I have bought them—so please let Europe alone for a year or two, otherwise I shall "trust in ignorance" for the remainder of my days.

The season is over—London has gone out of town. My wife and myself are all that remain at present out of a population of four millions—the last of the Mohicans—and we leave to-morrow morning for a few weeks in the country.

Remember that I mean to invite myself next year. *Nimm es nicht uebel* that it was impossible for me to accept your invitation now, and don't revenge yourself by refusing to see me when I do come. *Tausend herzliche Gruesse an die gnaedige Frau Gemahlin und* Countess Marie.

Always your true friend,

J. L. M.

Motley's next letter answers one of Bismarck's dated Varzin, August 7, 1869, in which he makes a strong appeal for the retention in Berlin as Minister of the United States of the late George Bancroft, whose recall French and Hanoverian intriguers were endeavoring to bring about. The Prince was always a great friend and admirer of Bancroft, and unless my memory betrays me, there is a capital oil portrait of him at Friedrichsruh, and I was told that as it was desired to show him some mark of esteem, and he could not accept a decoration, he had been presented with a full length oil portrait of the King, afterward the Emperor William I. I believe that the late Mr. Washburne, Minister of the United States in Paris, during the war of 1870, who took the German residents there under his wing in the absence of their own ambassador, was made happy in the same way. Bismarck writes on September 19, 1869, to Motley that he has been notified from Paris that Bancroft was to be recalled, because he did not represent the United States in Berlin with credit.

"No one in Berlin," he says, "will share this opinion." He states the high esteem in which Bancroft is held in literary circles and at court, and the confidence reposed in him. The fact that he has never concealed his kind feelings toward the German government has earned him the enmity of its enemies at home and abroad. The secret service money of the deposed King of Hanover and of the Elector of Hesse, as well as of certain foreign governments not kindly disposed toward Prussia, have been used to procure attacks upon him in the press in Europe and presumably in America. "No one," he adds, "who is a friend of America or of Germany, or of all those who see with pleasure the fraternal relations existing between two nations, cultured and free, can have had any share in these intrigues." He is one of the most popular men in Berlin. "If thou still hast the old kind feeling for the city that thou knowest from contemplating it from the window of old Logier's house, do what thou canst to prevent our losing him." There is much more, but the little allusion to the rooms they occupied together as college lads clinched the matter, and Motley did his best to fulfill his friend's wishes, as the following letter shows. He and Bismarck always addressed each other as "thou" in German, which is only done by the most intimate friends.

As General Badeau had been General Grant's private secretary, no better person could have been intrusted with such a delicate mission as the laying of Bismarck's letter before the President.

LONDON, September 27, 1869.

MY DEAR BISMARCK:—Your letter of September 19 was received a day or two ago. It so happens that General Badeau, Assistant Secretary of this Legation, was just going to America on brief leave of absence. I accordingly translated the portion of your note referring to Mr. B., and gave it to him to be placed before the President and Mr. Fish, Secretary of State. In this way your strong remonstrance and enconium will produce the greatest effect, and I have also taken care that your letter should be most carefully and confidentially kept private.

General Badeau sailed yesterday, and will be in Washington within ten or eleven days. I should add that I have never heard at all of the intrigues to which you allude. Whenever I hear from Badeau or anyone else on the subject I will let you know.

How much I regretted not being able to visit you in Varzin! It would have been so jolly for us to turn ourselves into twenty years old again for a brief season.

But it was and is absolutely impossible for me to leave at present. In the first place I have no leave of absence, and in the next place I have mountains of work. Moreover, I am still in search, not of the best of Republics

(that is already found), but of the most comfortable of houses—and that is most difficult to find—brick and mortar being very dear in London and very bad.

Every house that I have thus far inspected has the dirt of ages accumulated in every room. We have all been living in an hotel, four months long, except with an intermission of a few weeks of country visiting.

You will not think me exaggerating about my work when I tell you that there are but two Secretaries of Legation, one of whom, as I said, is away on leave.

I have written to the Secretary of State asking for a discretionary leave of absence. I expect to get it, and when I see my way clear of business (if so blessed a time should ever come) for a few days or weeks, I shall invade you at Berlin. It will be the most agreeable holiday I could ever imagine for myself. Give my kindest remembrance and regards to Countess Bismarck and the Countess Marie, and to your sons if with you. Believe me always, Most sincerely your friend, J. L. M.

My wife and the girls join in kindest greetings. Suppose you should generously and magnanimously fulfil your often given and broken promise and send those photographs with your signature to my womankind.

To this friendly request for his photograph, Bismarck answers from Varzin on October 10, enclosing three of his *cartes de visite.* "Feeling very proud that your ladies wish to see me photographed, I hasten to send to you two melancholic civilians and a fat, melancholy gentleman who seems not at all concerned in all the plague that ministers and parliamentary life are subject to." He expresses the wish that he may receive the photographs of the ladies of Motley's family in return, which the Countess Bismarck is very anxious to have. "If you send them," he says, "such an act of benevolence would increase and fortify my domestic authority." He thanks Motley for his prompt action in the Bancroft matter. "They write to me from Berlin that in his own opinion his position at home is a safe one, but it is a fact that French influence is at work against him, and that at Paris they believe they have been successful in upsetting him." Bancroft was only sent to Berlin as Minister in 1868; this was in 1869, so that the French must have lost no time in finding out that he was not their friend. The sentence, "in Paris they believe they have been successful in upsetting him," showed Bismarck's consummate knowledge of human nature. He understood General Grant's character, knew his attention would be called to the passage, and felt sure that if anything could keep Bancroft at Berlin, that would.

The writer of this article remembers that when the arrival of Bancroft was announced, one of Queen Augusta's suite came

to a member of his family, and asked which one of Bancroft's works it would be best for the Queen to read before the new minister arrived; of course the answer was "The History of the United States."

In giving Bismarck a few items of gossip from London, Motley refers in feeling terms to the death of George Peabody. In the end of the letter he laments the days of his youth: "*Wo ich noch selbst im werden war,*" and refers to some old joke of their college days, always sure to find a responsive echo in Bismarck's breast.

LONDON, November 7, '69.

MY DEAR BISMARCK:—I did not intend that a month should slip by without a reply from me to your kind letter of October 10, with thanks for the photographs, which gave immense delight to us all.

I waited day after day for some *carte de visite* of myself, but it is only within a day or two that I have been enabled to lay the inclosed grizzled head at the feet of Madame de Bismarck and her fair daughter.

My wife has no photograph, and resolutely refuses to have one done. Inclosed is one of my second daughter, Mary. Susie has none at present. When there are any I will send one. I now consider myself justified in claiming strenuously the heads of all your family. I am sure they will not have the heart to refuse us. Also pray add one or two more of yourself.

Lily (my eldest daughter) magnanimously gave one of those you sent to a lady at whose house we were visiting, and who is a great admirer of yours. She is, moreover, a young and beautiful person.

We are at last in a house, and a very pleasant one—with windows opening on one of the great parks.

London is delightfully still and empty, so that I can imagine myself in the country.

I wish you would drop in upon us as you did that evening in Vienna—for alas! I see no present possibility of my leaving my post.

One of my secretaries has gone home on leave of absence, and the other, as well as myself, has so much to do that it will be impossible to get a holiday for a long time to come.

Our republican system does not allow of a dozen secretaries to each legation—so that a great deal of routine work comes upon the chief.

I wish I could see my way to an invasion of Berlin, but the project must be deferred. It is, however, a doomed city, for I am determined to enter that capital in triumph or perish in the attempt.

The sensation of the week in London has been the visit of the Queen to the city to open a bridge. It was a civic affair and doubtless most loyal and gorgeous. The dip. corps fortunately were not invited to turn out on the occasion—so that I am unable to give you a glowing account of the festivities.

Our great philanthropist, George Peabody, is just dead. I knew him well and saw him several times during his last illness. It made him happy, he said, as he lay on his bed, to think that he had done some good to his fellow creatures.

I suppose no man in human history ever gave away so much money.

At least two millions of pounds sterling, and in cash, he bestowed on

great and well-regulated charities, founding institutions in England and America which will do good so long as either nation exists.

He was never married—has no children—but he has made a large number of nephews and nieces rich. He leaves behind him (after giving away so much) I dare say about half a million sterling.

Good-bye. Write soon again. It is so agreeable to hear from you—if only a line—it makes me young again.

"*Gieb mir doch die Zeiten wieder*
Wo ich noch selbst in werden war."

Pray, sir, is your name Joyce—J-o-y-c-e ?

Kindest regards to Madame de Bismarck and all your household, in which mine join. Ever thine, J. L. M.

Motley pays Bismarck the tribute, among others, in a letter to Lady William Russell, of possessing the most undaunted courage. When the Prussians entered Paris, Bismarck saw that when the men in the mob recognized him, they scowled at him furiously. He at once rode up to the wickedest-looking one, asked him civilly for a light for his cigar, thanked him, and received a polite bow in return. When the late John Morrissey saw a "bad man," a gambler who had threatened to shoot him on sight, standing at the bar of the Grand Union in Saratoga, he walked up to the bar quite close to him, poured out a tumbler of ice water, drank it and walked out without once looking at the man. "In a case of that kind," said John, in the hoarse whisper peculiar to him, "I always think it best to come straight to the front." So it was with Bismarck, and John was a bit of a Bismarck in his way; while the Prince in his younger days was gifted with tremendous physique and a readiness to "box without the muffle." He gave a fearful thrashing once in a Berlin beer hall to a man who wantonly insulted him. He himself told me that he received a queer compliment near St. Petersburg from a Russian *Istvochik* or cabman, a very rough fellow indeed, as they all are. The Prince hired him to take him out of town to a village near by, paid him, with a handsome gratuity, and dismissed him. The man, however, was dissatisfied, remonstrated and finally became insolent and even threatening. Bismarck seized him, turned him around, and with one vigorous kick sent him flying down the entire flight of stairs. The man got up and, while rubbing himself, glanced at him not without admiration. "*Is naschi*," he said, "one of us?"

JAMES PEMBERTON GRUND.

(*To be Continued.*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ORGANIZED SELF HELP AND STATE AID IN IRELAND.

THE Committee of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society has just issued to its members the report of its work and progress during the year ending March 31, 1898. A map is published showing the distribution of the societies formed under its auspices: and, attached thereto, is a scale giving the number of societies and their aggregate shareholding membership for the years 1889 to 1898. Only the heads of families take shares in the societies; so the number of persons benefited is at least five times as great as the number of shareholders. The figures are:

Year.	No. of Societies.	Membership.
1889	1	50
1890	1	50
1891	17	850
1892	25	1,050
1893	30	1,250
1894	33	1,650
1895	67	3,800
1896	110	10,120
1897	148	14,290
1898	243	27,322

In the year's returns the societies are classified, as to objects, as follows:

Dairy and Agricultural societies	136	(13 of which have auxiliary separating stations).
Agricultural societies	77	
Banks	15	
Home industries and poultry	13	
Federations	2	
	243	

Upwards of forty more societies have been organized since the period to which the report relates.

The significance of the above figures can hardly be exaggerated. They tell the story of a movement advancing at a rapidly increasing rate of progress. It has been extended to each of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, has been applied to every branch of the farming industry, and to those home industries which are needed to supplement the revenues of agriculture and stock raising. Alike in agricultural production and distribution, it has succeeded in adding to the volume of business, and in saving for the producer some of the profits hitherto abstracted by the middleman from the dis-

organized farmers. It has enabled poor cultivators to escape from the clutches of the usurer by obtaining for the individual the benefit of the credit of the association. All these results have been produced on a scale which hardly justifies us in asserting that we have passed beyond the experimental stage. But the experiments have been tried under the most varying conditions, and their uniform success indicates that they are the foundation of an economic revolution in Ireland of the most far reaching character.

Those who have taken up the movement—who have put into practice the principles of co-operation which the original society preaches—have learned to look upon the business of their lives from a new standpoint. They analyse the conditions with which they have to deal, and see that the Irish farmer, confronted with a world-wide competition, has only one advantage left to him over his competitors, viz., nearness to market. Of this advantage he has been deprived by his failure to organize his production and distribution as his continental neighbors have done. He sees, none too soon, that his failure to understand and adopt co-operation has resulted in his remaining as much behind the age as an individual as he is out of date collectively. He has made but little advance in his knowledge or in his methods. Science has not come on to his farm, and he is only now raising himself by the efforts to which the Organization Society is rousing him out of a veritable Slough of Despond. Already the eagerness for information, the readiness to apply it to practical ends, and the social machinery through which it can be so applied, are manifesting themselves as the first fruits of the organization movement, and point to better things.

So far we may congratulate ourselves that we are entering with spirit into the competition of the age. We are determined to rely mainly upon the resources of self help. But, in order to compete on even terms with foreign producers, we need to have our voluntary efforts supplemented with a reasonable measure of State aid. The report of the Recess Committee, which attracted more interest in America than among our own legislators, which even found an honored place in the Annual Report of the United States Minister of Agriculture, defined the narrow limits of the required assistance. Those responsible for the Irish Government would have acceded to this request from Irishmen of all parties, and they even introduced in the spring of 1897 a measure to give effect to these recommendations. But it was not seriously promoted in Parliament, and now our highest hopes are that our urgent needs for that technical education and information which the Government alone can supply will be favorably considered by the Parliament of 1899. If we are again disappointed, I feel confident that, before the century is out, the Irish "Grange" will be powerful enough politically to compel legislative and administrative attention to the needs of the Irish agriculturalist.

Such briefly is the position of organized self help and Government assistance in the Emerald Isle.

HORACE PLUNKETT.

CABLE CUTTING IN WAR.

WHEN the Atlantic cable was first successfully laid and operated, an exchange of congratulations between the Queen of England and the President of the United States was telegraphed under the seas, and President

Buchanan in his message used these significant words: "In this view, will not all nations of Christendom spontaneously unite in the declaration that it shall be forever neutral, and that its communications shall be held sacred in passing to their places of destination, even in the midst of hostilities?"

Thus, the first long submarine cable was barely put in good working order before speculation was rife as to the ultimate effect of this new agent upon the wars of the future. A new, and probably dangerous, element was introduced into the naval problem, that was already difficult enough to solve, and England, in particular, as the chief shipping and naval country of the world, recognized the value and importance of the cable as a powerful engine for war, as well as the greatest nineteenth century civilizing agent. Constructed in the interests of peace and commerce, the cable nevertheless became a formidable friend or enemy in times of war. The nation which controlled the cables would hold the key to the whole situation, and it was reasoned by those in power that the isolation of a nation by cutting or holding the cables would be a blow to an enemy equal to the defeat of a whole fleet of armor clads.

Although not a cable laying nation, and with a strangely apathetic policy toward projecting new lines of submarine telegraph in the past, our war with Spain has demonstrated that the Washington authorities were keenly alive to the importance of cutting or controlling the cables connecting Cuba with Spain. Of the many naval problems which this modern war is expected to solve, that of testing the relative value of cables in deciding the fate of combatants is not the least. The isolation of Cuba from Spain was one of the first steps undertaken by our naval authorities, and the success of the work has demonstrated its feasibility.

From a strategic point of view, the cables are therefore of inestimable value, and if earlier in the conflict the United States had severed all communication between the blockaded island and the mother country the war would have in all probability been shortened. A nation shut off from communication with the rest of the world is effectively blockaded, but, so long as cable messages can be transmitted back and forth, the most rigid blockade of ships is somewhat doubtful in obtaining the desired results. Uncertainty is an evil that works insidious harm, and an isolated nation is weakened by being cut off from its fleet or army operating in distant fields.

In April of 1884 there was held in Paris a "Convention for the Protection of Submarine Telegraph Cables," as it was called, and all of the great powers were represented; but the result of this convention's whole work was of little real value except for the agreement to protect the cables in times of peace. In fact there was displayed a decided tendency to restrict any interference on the part of a nation at war with another from cutting the cables to facilitate naval or military operations. By the adoption of Article XV., the convention put itself upon record as refusing to interfere with the rights of belligerents. The article in question reads: "It is understood that the stipulations of the present convention do not in any way restrict the freedom of action of the belligerents."

There is little doubt but this is the true expression of opinion of most of the great powers, and there would be greater difficulty in securing an agreement among the nations of the world to regard cables as neutral in times of war than in obtaining signers to the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, abolishing privateering. In view of her world-wide control of the cables, England would reap the greatest benefit from such a treaty among the European

nations, and it is just her supremacy on the high seas and her control of the cables that would make the other powers refuse to subscribe to any such agreement.

Cable cutting for war purposes has never figured greatly in modern conflicts, but this has been due to the fact that the need has not yet been felt. Practical experience in this line may be said to begin with the present war between Spain and the United States. In the war between Peru and Chile, cables were freely cut along the coast of South America, and the effect this produced on the course of the war was important. When England bombarded Alexandria, the lines were cut by Arabi's troops which crossed Egypt and formed the principal means of communication with India, China and Australasia. But this was of little moment, as there was another line for sending communications through Persia and Russia.

Since the bombardment of Alexandria, England has constructed a ring of cables around Africa, America, and India, and she is much better prepared to keep in communication with her fleets and colonies scattered all over the world than ever before. England's policy of building and controlling cable lines has been co-extensive with her work of constructing docks, repair shops, and coaling stations in all parts of the world. In fact, the latter necessitates the former. Without the use of the cables to communicate with her outlying provinces, and to direct her fleets, her extensive coaling and naval stations would lose half their value. Once isolated from the rest of the world by the cutting of her cables in times of war, England's vast navy would be crippled beyond ordinary conception.

But the interesting question that is receiving special attention now is, How could she protect the cables from the enemy's fleets? The present war has demonstrated the practical ease with which cable-cutting plants can be fitted out, and also the effective work that can be accomplished in cutting cables even under the very guns of the enemy. Admiral Dewey's fleet had little difficulty in picking up the cable at Manila and cutting off all direct communication with the rest of the world. Similarly, the cable cutting ships sent down to Cuba performed their work with comparative ease, and without loss of life. England to day owns thousands of miles of submarine cables, and in the event of hostilities breaking out it would be quite essential that she should protect these to conduct the war successfully.

Sir Charles Dilke, an authority on such matters, has publicly declared that all the British cables following the trade routes would be patrolled by war vessels, and thus be protected from the enemy's cable cutting ships. But the stupendous size of such an undertaking in times of war may not have been carefully considered. Unless engaged in a war with a far inferior power, a nation is apt to require most of her warships for fighting purposes, and it would be no easy matter for even Great Britain to find a sufficient number of cruisers to patrol the lines of her principal cables without seriously weakening the fighting squadrons. Moreover, a swift cable-cutting ship, such as our converted cruiser "St. Paul," could easily slip behind a patrolling cruiser at night, and grapple for a cable. Most of the Atlantic cables which cross from America to England reach the latter country by way of the English Channel, and at this point they lie in water varying from 40 to 100 fathoms, a depth which seems to invite cable cutting from the enemy at the first outbreak of hostilities.

While not owning or operating any of the great submarine cables, the United States Government has such an extensive seacoast that great

quantities of subaqueous cables, crossing rivers, lakes, bays, and other small bodies of water, have been laid by it to connect forts, telegraph stations, and other important places. The demand for these small cables by both the Government and the Western Union Telegraph Company has been so large that cable making plants have grown up in this country, and they have the necessary appliances for manufacturing all except large ocean cables. Two or three firms are capable of turning out a mile of subaqueous cable in a week.

Naturally, cable laying ships, and all modern scientific equipments, have been constructed on a proportionate scale. Had no such industry been in existence in this country at the outbreak of the war, it might have required considerable time and money to manufacture or import the apparatus necessary for grappling and cutting cables, and for splicing and laying them to new points. Cable laying, cutting and splicing represent a special branch of science, and engineers have to be trained for this work as for any other. A cable laying ship must have all the facilities for splicing in mid-ocean, and for grappling for broken ends at any reasonable depth. The cost of a complete outfit runs up into hundreds of thousands of dollars. England has cable making plants and cable laying ships that represent a single investment of five million dollars.

But this is merely a natural consequence of her policy of cable laying. In her international system she operates fourteen long ocean cables, nine of which belong exclusively to her; in her home system she owns 102 separate lines; ninety-three in her Indian system and nearly fifty more in Canada, Australia and her other colonies. These aggregate an enormous mileage of cables that must be protected in a war period; but, as many of them ould be abandoned without interfering materially with direct communication with her colonies, no attempt would probably be made to patrol the full list.

The other countries of Europe own or control a number of cables, which in the event of a war would either seriously handicap them by the necessity of patrolling them, or would afford a strategic advantage over the enemy that might decide the issue. Norway, for instance, owns 225 official cables, but as they merely cross bays and rivers along her rugged coast, and are mostly short ones, they would not be of so much importance to the country in times of hostilities. France on the other hand operates fifty-two separate ocean cables, some of them being the most important in the world, and she would find it a stupendous undertaking to control them in a war with England, the United States or any of the European first-class powers. She would require a good sized fleet of cruisers to patrol the cables and keep the government in communication with her outlying colonies.

Germany operates 45 cables of more or less importance, and Italy claims ownership to 38, mostly of little international value. Spain has a part ownership in nine, Russia eight, and Brazil twenty-two. All of the other countries possess exclusive or part ownership over a few minor cables along their coasts or inland bodies of water.

The strategic value of controlling the cables in a war has been fully demonstrated in the present conflict, but it has not been made equally clear whether costly ownership of such cables at the beginning of hostilities is of any particular advantage. It is said that England could isolate many countries by seizing the cables at one end; but it is equally true that an enemy with a good fleet of cable-cutting ships could soon isolate England from her colonies. Owing to the great number of her cables

in all parts of the world, it would take some time to do this, but the work could be accomplished in due time by an energetic enemy.

Distant colonies and coaling stations require ownership of cables, and if the United States Government decides to hold the Philippines it must be only a question of time before it will become imperative upon her to construct a cable there *via* Hawaii. Already the question of building a cable to the latter country has been agitated so generally that it is more than likely that either our government or American capitalists will eventually construct one. A Pacific Coast cable connecting our country with China and Japan is felt in many quarters to be only a question of time. The present war will probably expedite plans for building it. British capitalists stand ready to construct such a cable, and it is only the practical prohibition of the United States toward such a British scheme that holds the matter in check for the time being.

GEORGE ETHELBERT WALSH.

DANGER OF POLITICAL APATHY.

GOOD citizenship requires that we devote much attention to public affairs. It is the only way in which we can hope to conserve our liberties, protect our families, and perpetuate free government. No man can be a good citizen in theory alone. Citizenship demands action. It has to deal with conditions. A man may profess much love and admiration for our federal union, our institutional politics, our bicameral legislature, our independent judiciary, or the many other distinguishing parts of our system, but if he fail in actively supporting them, both by word and deed, he is but a sojourner here—not a citizen.

The support of government consists not alone in the payment of taxes. Money never made a free state, nor has it ever maintained one. Wealth may free us from the worry of many temporal concerns, but it cannot sever us from society and those social institutions which form the basis of all liberty, happiness and financial security.

A great many men of wealth display no personal activity in politics. The cares of business engross their whole attention. They seldom attend their party primaries, and many do not vote; they are citizens by proxy. When they desire the accomplishment of any political purpose, however good, a professional politician or lobbyist is employed to do the work for them, while they go on making money. Lord Bacon truly says that gold has sold more men than it has ever bought.

The greater portion of our recent political ills, and particularly the enormous corruption and dishonesty which seem now to pervade legislation and politics in general, may be directly ascribed to the fact of so considerable a number of our *quasi*-citizens remaining aloof from politics. Some of them seem to merit the remark of Thomas Jefferson, that "merchants have no country. The spot they stand on does not constitute so strong an attachment as that from which they draw their gains." Aristotle says that commerce "is incompatible with that dignified life which it is our wish that our citizens should lead, and totally adverse to that generous elevation of mind with which it is our ambition to inspire them." It is unfortunately true that men in mercantile pursuits are too apt to measure all things by standards of pecuniary value. Their mode of life will naturally induce this habit of mind, unless precaution is used to guard against it. There is

nothing singular in the fact that the rich man's contribution to politics is usually in the form of a campaign fund.

Where there is a business man who has no time for politics there is usually some person looking after his interests for him, and that person must be paid. Even though hired for good these mercenaries seldom accomplish the permanent good that is wrought by men who work from principle. Like soldiers of fortune, they stand ever ready to overturn the work of their own hands. A man who must be hired to work for a righteous cause will ultimately become so depraved that he will never work in behalf of right unless he is hired to do so; his moral sense is dulled, and he no longer discriminates between right and wrong, supporting either with equal facility, in compliance with his employer's will. This corrupt state is undoubtedly the condition of many in America to day. They may be found in political conventions, in the halls of Congress, in our State Legislatures, and in most municipal assemblies.

We have, for the purpose of illustration, supposed the hired lobbyist or politician to be employed in a good cause. As a matter of fact, these men are usually employed for evil purposes. And, although their cause may be just, they will seek to aid it by every species of dishonesty. They work in dark and crooked ways.

Every man should realize that the government under which he lives is a personal charge of the highest nature, and one involving the gravest responsibility. Where bad government exists the people have none but themselves to blame, for in them alone is the remedy. They are the fountain of all legitimate power, the ultimate source of all governmental authority. They may make government, or mar it. Government never neglects the people unless the people first neglect the government.

It will be seen that in those countries which have suffered most from bad government, a great portion of the citizens have been poorly versed in public affairs, or have been lax in the discharge of those duties which are demanded by good citizenship.

No citizen has a right to criticise public affairs, or bewail evil conditions which may exist, unless he is willing to work, as all citizens should, to better those conditions. Let him ask himself if he has done his own duty before he laments the fact that others have failed in theirs. Let him be certain that he understands the duties of citizenship in his country. Few perfectly understand their obligations as citizens, although the subject is one to which every freeman should devote careful study. They would then be capable of active and intelligent effort, and would perceive the folly of idle criticism. They would then know that liberty, like all things truly valuable, cannot be gained or kept without great effort, and that it remains not long with the undeserving.

Good laws and good constitutions are desirable, but even these can be available for the public good only when sustained by an earnest and active patriotism. The strongest bulwark of popular security cannot endure, if we permit the vermin of political apathy to pierce its walls, and thus open the sluices to the flood. The damage may be slight at first—imperceptible, perhaps—but the silent forces of destruction are ever at work. The constant pressure of the waters soon widens the mole-hole into a crevasse.

So it is with the forces that struggle against our free institutions. Unrelaxing and persistent, their tireless energies are ever exerted, and the smallest aperture may precede the cataclysm.

Our ancestors have left us civil liberty. They obtained it at great cost. It is worth preserving, or it is not. If it is, every citizen is in duty bound to work toward that end. Those who affirm that our liberties are not in danger, evince surprising ignorance of the nature and history of the rights of man. Civil liberty is always in danger. It is so from its very constitution, being in its perfection but an equipoise of contending forces. It is endangered by the very power that gives it being. It is as susceptible of harm as the plant whose tender buds are drawn forth by the temperate beams of springtime, and withered by the summer sun.

Let us not augment our perils by closing our eyes against them. Our dangers are the greater because internal. To outer foes we present a solid front. But with what are we to oppose that intangible spirit of indifferentism which saps our energies at home? Political activity alone can oppose it—that ceaseless, vigilant and honest political activity which is ever prompted by a lofty patriotism.

SPEED MOSBY.

FANCY WORK OR NATURE STUDIES.

THE prevalence of abortive effects in art through the medium of fancy work is pathetic, though from an anthropological point of view it is an interesting contribution to the study of woman, for it shows her tireless energy in doing something. Yet the amount of useless needlework bric-a-brac that is yearly produced is frightful, and since sewing-machines have been invested with skill in embroidery, the monstrosities in art which are heaped upon shop-counters and from there carried into homes, have spread over the country like miasmatic exhalations towards the beautiful.

The first impulse towards the inchoate mass of fancy work which marks a girl's career is now received in the Kindergartens, through the braiding or weaving of strips of brightly colored paper. In defence of this ingenious method of occupation it is urged that it promotes the perception of harmony and color, and is also useful in furnishing inexpensive Christmas gifts. The little child sends a braided paper-mat to her grandmother, who returns thanks for the innocent offering in a printed note which deludes the child into thinking that she has wrought a meritorious deed (and she truly has), but which also impairs her sense of relative values, artistic or moral. From paper-mats she progresses to hairpin cases, etc. A young girl, who had been brought up to send such annual testimonials of respect to an aged friend, had them all restored to her when she was eighteen and in charge of a table at a fair. She examined them tentatively, commiseratingly, until she recognized that the articles had been the work of her fingers. Indignant at this betrayal of friendship she concealed their origin, but was compelled to offer them for sale. They were purchased as a job lot for a distant mission by a philanthropic woman, who, attracted by their cheap price, neglected to inspect them carefully. The receipt of them was soon acknowledged by a missionary, who remonstrated against the bestowal of such job-lots, as they set a bad example in neatness, color and design to his people. The unfortunate young girl, who had made them, was only one of the thousands who are beguiled into fancy work through the fictitious necessity of making presents, a Christmas obligation which is one of the causes that have led to this mania for fancy work, through which most women pass as regularly as when children they had measles.

Another cause is the innate desire for self-expression, that, when one has neither literary nor journalistic ability, is apt to vent itself in freehand and conventional designs for fancy work, or in original coloring by embroidery silks of what some one else has designed. Even if such designs belie the laws of growth in a flower or of perspective in landscape, conventional treatment of nature is supposed to justify such treatment; at least the phrase sounds artistic. Women tired with constant plain sewing or fussy dressmaking are rejuvenated by fancy work and restored to a belief that life is not all drudgery. To them it is akin to music, for by stitch and color they bring out the meaning of the artist as by tone others translate the thought of the composer. Such women ornament their homes with their work. Stiff sofas are believed to acquire graceful contours from embroidered ends of material strung across them; tables are encumbered with scarfs and mats, chairs are bedraggled with "creations," as one happy woman called them, who counted eighteen pieces of her work in her one small parlor.

Just here comes in the pathos of fancy work. It is an honest expression of the longing for the beautiful and of the eternal feminine energy that used to vent itself in hemstitching and knitting. The workers are ignorant of their limitations and contented in their delusions. Magazines and newspapers are largely responsible for this state of things, as they are for the sway of patent medicines. Women editors of women's columns entice women into endeavors to adorn their homes with these travesties of beauty. One of the latest efforts, which is hung over a parlor looking-glass, is a chain of heavy paper flowers, whose pistils and stamens, of unnatural size, are constructed of embroidery silk, and whose petals are painted or embroidered. Because it is so much more sociable for two women to sit down together to embroider than for each to read separately a trashy novel, the charm of such work is increased.

A third cause is the desire to add to one's income, or the need for self-support. Everywhere the Women's Exchanges are filled with useless fancy work, often well done, which is not always sold. For the last few years there has been a steady effort on the part of these Exchanges to raise the standard of work, but they are still deluged with what no one appreciates except their maker. The Decorative Art Societies are careful to hold themselves aloof from Exchanges or Unions and in the quality of their goods are far ahead of them, chiefly because artists are on their Committees and work is judged by the canons of art and not by the taste of interested friends. Below the Exchanges rank County Fairs (though they are noticeably improving), which often have as *chef d'œuvre* a bedquilt of microscopic pieces sewed together on a kaleidescopic plane surface. Religious emblems are also conspicuous among them, the cross and crown, the anchor and Bible, as they have been in floral bedding in the Public Gardens of Boston. Only an erotic sentimentalist is helped heavenward by such designs. That women win prizes for them and occasionally sell their contributions at Exchanges entices others into trying, just as the gainer of the lucky lottery ticket wins at the expense of those who lose even what they invested. It is better not to earn a little extra than to earn it at the expense of art, and it is better to be self-supporting by making what is really needed than by adding to the stock of surplus fancies.

But here again we are confronted with the pathos of fancy work, for much of it is wrought by invalids and women who rob the night of its hours

of sleep, to add to their pittance through such work. Often they are misled by the advertisements of "Work at Home," which they imagine offers them rare opportunities of earning in safe and secluded ways. Such advertisements deceive the worker, who sends her money, receives material and returns it finished, only to find that it is counted as unsatisfactory and that she has lost time and money without redress.

If fancy work were restricted to embroidery, the evil in its misuse might wear itself out, just as fashions vanish, but it is a movable term or occupation which, invoking art on its behalf, poses before the public as expressions of the beautiful or as opportunity for self-support. It has its artistic side in imitations of Bayeux tapestry; its noble purpose in High Church embroidery—alas for the congregation which each Sunday views a calla lily wrought as if it were a flat flower!—its exquisite tracery in laces and its coarse imitations in crochet edgings for cotton skirts; though it is absurd that fine work done with a hook commands a less price than when executed by the needle. But when doylies, centre pieces, and lace work can only be wrought by the aid of magnifying glasses, the public should be as opposed to their sale, though offered at Decorative Art Societies, as it now is to tight lacing from hygienic reasons. The loss of eyesight is too often due to needle work when the worker was young and unaware of any strain upon her eyes. High prices are paid for doylies which serve as subjects for conversation at dinner parties, but the more exquisite the work the greater the injury to the eyes of the worker, and the less philanthropic does it seem to encourage its manufacture.

Under the term fancy work is included in descending values all kinds of worsted tidies, "creations" of lace and ribbon, monochromatic pictures and badly decorated china, till one would gladly return to ancestral pewter and undraperied apartments. Hopefully considered, these variations in art are signs of growth rather than of degeneration, while the pathos of the situation raises it into the dignity of a social problem, for we are still in bondage to the desire of proving our originality by fancy work. When we can forget that we have anything to prove regarding ourselves; when we can value our time and eyesight as the means for enjoyment of art and literature; when our friends no longer feed our vanity by over praise of poor work, and by advising the ignorant, sequestered worker to send her wares to city exchanges, we shall see that fancy work, honestly done for useful purposes, may be one of the portals to art, but not art in itself, as now so many believe.

It is from our schools and libraries, however, that is coming the reaction against work, which is already beginning to cease in several small towns, where there are libraries with *popular* books. The intellectual life of Women's Clubs is also an unprotesting but effective agent against it. Chief, however, as agents in this reaction are the Nature Studies in our public schools and Chautauqua Circles. Collections of minerals, woods and insects and other objects are slowly taking the place of the embroidery case. Nature is much more interesting when it is dissected than when it is embroidered, and observation of the living creature or insect is as good for home topics as the shading in silk of a flower. Drawing, even in the Public Schools, still more in the nature development of Art Schools, is pleading for reverence for Masters in Art rather than for an ignoble individualism. It will not therefore be possible for the young girl of to-day, trained in nature studies and skilled in geometrical drawing, to commit solecisms in fancy

work which her mother does. If she is still addicted to embroidery, her productions will be artistic additions to the ever growing fund of home adornments.

Sloyd, which is now as womanly a pursuit as bicycling, is also an important factor in fostering exactness, neatness and utility, and offers a more serviceable range of Christmas presents for admiring elderly relatives than cheap embroidery. The use of the needle is coeval with human life, but nature-studies and Sloyd are limiting its vagaries, and showing that adaptability to purpose and exactness in execution are necessary in any mode of self support or for any permanent enjoyment of the work of one's hands.

KATE GANNETT WELLS.

HOW CAN HOMICIDE BE DECREASED?

EVERY American reader must have been profoundly impressed by Professor Cesare Lombroso's recent discussion of the increase of homicide in the United States, by the appalling revelations which he makes, by his masterly treatment of the whole great problem, and by the practical wisdom of the remedies which he recommends. While probably few would pretend to such a knowledge of scientific criminology as would warrant them in an attempt to criticise the learned Professor's theories, it may be admissible to suggest two or three amendments growing out of actual experience and close observation in the very midst of the conditions at which he looks from an outside standpoint. An inside view by no means lessens the seriousness or the complicated character of the situation, but it suggests several considerations which seem to have escaped the sharp eye of the Italian criminologist. It points out very distinctively three great causes of the disease to which he has made no allusion and for which he has suggested no remedy.

1. It cannot be denied by anyone at all familiar with our conditions of life in America, that one of the chief factors which have contributed towards the increase of homicide has been the pardoning power lodged in the highest officials of our state and municipal governments. We feel quite sure that a close inquiry would reveal the fact that the hope of pardon after conviction in the courts of law has been distinctly present in the minds of many criminals, as likely to secure immunity from punishment. So long as it is possible for a convicted criminal, on whose behalf every artifice of legal delay and trickery has been exhausted in vain, to secure a pardon from a corrupt governor by bribery or by some powerful political influence, or to win one from a soft-hearted governor by the persistent pleading of friends and family, just so long and so far will the might and majesty of the law be unrecognized by the lower elements of society and a visible loophole left open for the escape of the criminal from justice. A cursory reading of our newspapers and a slight examination of our criminal records will make it abundantly evident that here lies one of the chief hopes and consolations of our criminal classes.

2. A frightfully large proportion of our homicides have women as their victims, a result, as we believe, of their helpless position in America. The exigencies of our business and social life either leave them alone at home or force them to go freely abroad, and in either case make them peculiarly liable to violent assaults. The widely scattered populations of our country

regions and the congested crowds of our city slums offer unusual opportunities to lustful brutality. On our western plains, in mining and manufacturing regions, where the foreign element is large, and especially in the Southern States, where the black race predominates, and where large numbers of men are employed in domestic duties, the helplessness of women reaches its maximum. It may be safely said that no woman in our Southern States is ever entirely free from the danger of assault. This is the chief cause of the greater prevalence of homicide in this section, and, at the same time, of the frequency with which lynching is resorted to. It cannot rightly be left out of sight when the causes of homicide are being sought.

3. Another element in the problem which must not be forgotten is the low standard of professional honor which is tolerated in our criminal courts. It is a notorious fact that practices prevail in them which would not be permitted in our other courts of law; lower standards of professional morality have been allowed to establish themselves there. Lawyers openly use dishonest means for the defense of criminals which would be instantly ruled out from any other court, and yet their offences are overlooked and condoned, and the sacred cause of justice suffers. Until public opinion demands of all lawyers employed in the defense of criminals a purer practice and a higher standard of professional integrity, we must expect the crime of homicide to increase in our midst.

But now let us turn to the remedies which Professor Lombroso prescribes for this dangerous disease which afflicts our body politic. As has been indicated above, we should add several others to the excellent correctives proposed by him.

1. The pardoning power ought to be strictly limited or altogether abolished. Even in the hands of an upright and conscientious public servant it may, and often must, defeat the ends of justice. When entrusted absolutely to an unscrupulous politician (ignorant of law), to a weak and timorous character, or to a big-hearted and impulsive man of the people, it is a dangerous power. Under all circumstances the knowledge that it is to be exercised must weaken and undermine the public sense of the inflexible force of law.

2. We need to consider whether modern modes of life do not involve peculiar danger to womankind, and whether they cannot be so reformed as to secure for her greater safety from criminal assault. We ought also to provide better police protection for her, such as would reasonably guarantee the speedy capture of any assailant upon her honor. Finally, we should demand such prompt and summary execution of our laws against criminal assault as will impress all who are tempted to the commission of this crime with the certainty of severe punishment.

3. We must secure (by bringing to bear an enlightened public opinion upon our criminal courts) a higher standard of professional morality. We cannot afford to be careless in this matter, involving, as it does, our very dearest interests as citizens and the dignity of the law. Men who lend themselves to unprofessional trickery and deliberately undertake the defeat of justice ought to be ostracised and openly condemned, not only by all good lawyers, but by all decent citizens, and their offences ought to be made amenable to law.

4. One of Professor Lombroso's remedies is, in our judgment, hardly heroic enough. It cannot be that he is fully aware of the aggravated nature of the disease. American "yellow journalism" has gone to unheard-of

lengths in the publication of criminal intelligence. It exerts an enormous influence in the development of crime and has become a menace to the security of our individual and national life. Its pages are the most powerful incentives to crime, and are quite as injurious to the welfare of our people as are the open doors of the brothel and the saloon. If we can regulate the one by law, we can and should reach and control the other by the same instrumentality. The time has come when journalism must be restrained by the strong hand of the law. The true "freedom of the press" will not thus be abridged. There is no liberty guaranteed by our national principles to any man to endanger the life, liberty, or happiness of his fellow-citizens in order to gratify his own greed of gain. A bill lately before the legislature of New York provided that "any person who conducts a paper which corrupts, depraves, degrades, or injures, or has a tendency to corrupt, deprave, degrade, or injure the mind or morals of the public, or of its readers, or of the people among whom it circulates, is guilty of a misdemeanor." Such a law, wisely framed and with heavy penalties attached, should be enacted and enforced in every State of the Union.

5. We cannot but feel that, after all, Professor Lombroso has omitted all mention of the most needful and effective of all remedies for the prevention of homicide, namely, the Christian religion. Surely it must be acknowledged that Christianity has been the most consistent and powerful champion of the sacredness of human life which the world has ever seen. All the world over we can measure the value and safety of human life by simply determining the hold which Christianity has upon the people in that locality. It has been abundantly proved in all ages that a high degree of civilization does not guarantee safety of life and limb. The histories of France and Rome are eloquent upon this theme. After all that has been said and done, the only force which can be depended upon to control the settlers of our new lands, the alien multitudes of our immigrants from foreign shores, and our half-civilized millions of emancipated slaves, and to restrain them from crime, is the Christian religion. Until this is brought home to them in all its purity and power, the terrible crime of homicide will continue to be a blot upon the fair face of American civilization.

WYLLYS REDE.

BOYS' CLUBS.

MAY I, as well as Mr. Sanborn, occupy a little space in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, with a discussion of "Boys, and Boys' Clubs?" Only through open discussion, and much comparing of notes and experiences, will it be possible to discover some satisfactory system for running our Boys' Clubs, and until this system shall have been found, I cannot believe the last word on education has been spoken.

Mr. Robert Herbert Quick says that the fourfold results of education are (or should be) virtue, wisdom, good manners and learning. It is clear that the greater part of the time spent in schools must be devoted to learning only, for, although at the present time no more facts are taught there than are necessary, yet complaints are often heard that children in school are "crammed" and overworked. Where, when, and how, then, are virtue, wisdom, and good manners to be taught those children particularly whose families, or whose surroundings, make these things exceeedingly difficult of attainment.

Let us suppose that we gather together eight or ten boys between the ages of twelve and thirteen years. We give them the use of a large room, and we provide them with a few games. The room becomes to them a tiny world, in which there are many opportunities to be found by those with imaginations, and many limitations visible to all. The boys have here the same rights and opportunities, and are equal in everything but natural endowments. Each boy can do what he likes to amuse himself, up to the point where he interferes with some other boy's effort to do the same thing, or where he damages property in the room; and each game must obey the same law and adapt itself to the requirements of other games, and to the limitations of the room.

All games—but particularly rough ones—teach many valuable lessons to the child. In them all self control and sweet temper are necessary. In the quiet games are learned, as Mr. Sanborn has said, concentration and application.* In rough games the first precious lessons in co-operation are learned, for a boy can be made to see that his side is less likely to win if he plays only for his personal glory. He learns, too, that it is better for his game, as a whole, if the weaker and more stupid players are helped and encouraged rather than snubbed and put out of the way.

When eight or ten boys have a place in which they can play, and a grown person with them who never interferes and yet who shows them how it is practicable for all to do what they want to do, it is probable that other boys in the neighborhood will also wish to enjoy these advantages. The question then arises, ought we to let in all indiscriminately? As Mr. Sanborn has said very truly, it were better to leave them to their not altogether vicious street life, than to "coop them (the boys) good and bad together within four walls, *unless somehow—by force of rigid discipline, persuasion, and affection, it matters not how, they are trained in the essential qualities of right living.*" The street *per se*, indeed, does not exert an evil influence, and it has, in its great space and comparative fresh air, an advantage over any room. But, when the "good" and the "bad" are "cooped together" or thrown together anywhere, it is sure to be bad for the "good." I do not agree with that part of Mr. Sanborn's sentence which I have italicized.

Mr. Sanborn will agree, I think, that the "essential qualities of right living" are virtue, wisdom, good manners, and learning. Rigid discipline rarely produces virtue or wisdom, even though it may aid good manners, and to rely on affection alone—although it must exist as a matter of course between the boys and their director—to produce the desired qualities, would result, I fear, in frequent failures. In the first place, instead of "cooping the good and the bad together," it would be better to keep out the bad; and, in the second place, the best system for teaching the "essential qualities of right living" to those boys—by no means angels—who are allowed into the club, is to give them a system of self-government.

One may say, quite justly, how can one decide who is bad and who is good? Truly it is a difficult question to answer. But for a Boys' Club I

*I must dispute the correctness of his statement that inapplication and irresponsibility are characteristics of "poor children." Our slums in all cities are populated with refugees from many lands, and their children's characteristics vary with the race to which they belong. For instance, after eight years' experience among the children of Polish and Russian Jews in New York, I should say that inapplication and irresponsibility are not by any means noticeable deficiencies among them.

should say without hesitation, keep out those boys who steal or gamble. Boys who are incapable of love, gratitude or pity—they are very rare, happily—are more truly bad than the thieves and gamblers, who are usually more the result of environment than of inborn viciousness. But, for a Club, it is better to keep out boys of the latter class for several reasons. In the first place, stealing and gambling are the commonest sins indulged in by street boys, and they are by far the most dangerous in their results. But, above all, the danger to a Club in admitting such boys is, that stealing and gambling are very contagious. The boys already in the club, however, must be made to understand that the so-called "bad boys" are not barred out from the Club as a punishment. A self-righteous attitude on the part of the members would be worse than the bad habits they condemned. They must know that a Club exerts a great influence in the neighborhood, and that this influence can only be a good one if the Club records itself on all occasions as being opposed to such dangerous practices as stealing and gambling.

Although a good Club will have a great influence with outside boys, within its own four walls it does its most important work. The boys who are admitted as members, although they do not steal or gamble, yet need to be taught the "essential qualities of right living," and, as I have said before, a better means to accomplish this end than rigid discipline, persuasion or affection is self-government. When new boys apply for admission this event brings about a condition of affairs in which the simple playing of games no longer fulfils the requirements of club government. The problem of what to do with these applicants is the first, which requires more than the brief suggestion of the director and the momentary attention of the Club. Out of this problem grows the necessity for their having a government of their own. If the boys are to have real self-government they must be given the chance to discuss their problems, and cast their votes. Therefore, after their games, an hour is devoted to a business meeting, which is conducted entirely by the boys.

The most apparent virtue of the business meeting is the power to cure the shyest boy of his self-consciousness. In talking, as the boys are impelled to, before a number of people on the interesting, and often exciting topics concerning the Club, the most nervous boy soon gains confidence and fluency. To be able to express one's ideas in public is an accomplishment of great practical value to every man and woman in this country, but there is a higher end to be obtained through this means. Parliamentary law, without which an orderly meeting is scarcely possible, is the very embodiment of justice and good manners, while the necessity for making, unassisted, wise decisions in the questions of the Club, develops, in a certain degree, wisdom. Prof. J. R. Seeley, in his *Lectures and Essays*, says: "Train and perfect the gift of speech, unfold all that is in it, and you train at the same time the power of thought and of intellectual sympathy."

I will quote an experience which shows how, through the constant friction and polishing of the social life of the Club, such virtues as the boys possess grow slowly to be of finer and more sensitive quality. It was the custom in one club for the boys to organize each year an entertainment. All the boys had tickets to sell for this performance, and it was their custom to attack strangers from up town, friends of their parents—in short, anyone whom they could beguile into buying one or a dozen tickets, quite regardless of whether their victims intended to use these tickets or not. As

the entertainment was solely for the benefit of the boys' own club, their director disapproved of this method of levying contributions. She dropped a hint to that effect, but it fell on deaf ears. So she waited. Two years later, one of the more thoughtful boys rose at the meeting and protested against this manner of selling tickets. "It isn't exactly dishonest," he said, tentatively; "I guess it isn't high-toned." And the Club as one man agreed with him, and the system was abolished.

In this short article it would be impossible to do more than suggest a few of the possibilities of a Boys' Club. I believe, however, that some day volumes will be written on the subject, and that the ideal club will be a recognized and necessary factor in every child's education.

WINIFRED BUCK.

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THE FAR EASTERN CRISIS.

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

In order to appreciate the commotion in Eastern Asia, which is in various ways agitating the whole world, it is essential to bear in mind that it is the product of two predominant factors, to which all collateral agencies are subordinate and accidental. It is no new problem which has been suddenly sprung upon the world, but only the *dénouement* of one which has been anticipated for fifty years and more. Nor is there any lack of prophetic record buried in government archives, in old periodicals and in shelved books. If there has been a slackening of categorical forecasts in the last few decades, it is simply because the voice grows weary of crying in the wilderness.

The two generative factors in the Far Eastern development to which we refer are, of course, Russia and China, which possess between them, in an altogether peculiar degree, the procreative properties which evolve great events. Each is, in many essential respects, the complement of the other. In bulk they are approximately well matched; in territorial contiguity they are joined by 3,000 miles of common frontier. These primary physical conditions admit of the freest interaction of their correlative forces. Russia possesses the vigor of youth, and is constantly and preternaturally aggressive. China is decadent, paralyzed and fatalistically passive. These are ominous contrasts, but they by no

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means exhaust the catalogue. China is a rich possession. Russia is comparatively poor; her civilization is primitive; she has not reached her full stature, and she is confident in her own power to dominate and appropriate the resources of her gigantic but inorganic neighbor. Given the juxtaposition of two such human agglomerations, might it not be said that Nature herself was working for their fusion? The temptation to intermingle is, in fact, irresistible. As the barbarians looked down on degenerate Rome, so do the modern Goths regard with wistful eye and watering mouth the defenseless sheepfolds of the Chinese. China lies like a vast terrestrial depression with a body of water pent up alongside of it; and therein lies the essence of the Far Eastern question.

No doubt the active stage of this chronic question which has recently startled the world was hurried on by the aggressive proceedings of third parties. Japan it was who first disturbed the equilibrium, and brought on an acute phase of the malady. The subsequent action of Germany, renewing the disturbance before it had had time to subside, created a fresh eruption. Both these inroads, lawless and unprovoked as they must be considered, were made because of the helplessness of China, and whatever plea of political justification may be claimed for either of them hangs upon the hypothesis that they were only anticipations of the aggressive action of Russia. It was the calculated movements of that power and the known impotence of China that determined, and will continue to influence, the proceedings of the other powers.

Before either Germany or Japan had been called into being as world powers, the Far Eastern problem which occupied studious observers was substantially the same as it is to-day. The forecasts of two serious students of contemporary history published between forty and fifty years ago have recently been cited in the English press. The authors happened to be both British Consuls in China, Sir Rutherford Alcock and Mr. Taylor Meadows, men who were too far in advance of their own generation to attract the notice they deserved. The two men had little in common, and they arrived at their one conclusion independently and by somewhat different roads.

Their prognosis was singularly confirmed by another equally good authority, also in advance of his time. This was the late

Edward Cunningham,* head of the leading American firm in China, a gentleman distinguished for the catholicity of his views, no less in the conduct of ordinary business than in matters of interest to the community of which he formed a part. It is deserving of mention that it was Mr. Cunningham, in his capacity of chairman of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, who organized and raised the funds for those journeys of scientific exploration undertaken by Baron F. von Richthofen in 1870, which have shed so much light on the material condition of the Chinese Empire. For these explorations have supplied the data for all geological, mineralogical and strategic speculations about China on which the discussions of the present day are founded. It must be conceded that the man who so clearly grasped the prospective value of such discoveries as to be willing to pay for them "cash in advance" was no mean authority on the political evolution of the section of the world with which he was personally acquainted. What Mr. Cunningham thought of the relations between Russia and China in 1869 was lucidly set forth in a memorial which he presented to the United States representative, on the subject of a revision of the Chinese treaty which was then under consideration.

"As for a policy of 'generosity' as affecting the destinies of the Empire in the interests of the people, one smiles either with contempt at the credulity, or admiration at the audacity, of such an exponent of their principles. These views of the progressive tendency of the Chinese rulers of today are, of course, asserted in the interest of these rulers, as, if foreign nations could be brought to believe them, they would leave the Chinese to develop in their own way. There being in truth no will, there would be no way; but still, as regards the rulers alone, they would be relieved from pressure and so gain their immediate object.

"Whether they would gain ultimately depends upon the disposition of Russia. If China stood isolated in the world, the forbearance of all might be an advantage. Shouldered as she is by so powerful and aggressive a neighbor, it may be that the only effective protection for the present dynasty is in the intimacy with the other western powers.

"If it can be made to appear that the Russians have the will and the power to occupy China, it will be granted that there is at least a strong likelihood of that great event coming to pass. As to the will there is no proof, of course. One can judge by analogy. They have extended themselves in Asia wherever they have had an opportunity, and they have recently conquered and annexed the Kingdom of Bokhara at great cost, completing the extension of their dominions in that quarter to the borders of British India, a boundary which they must accept as final in that direction. The difficulties in that enterprise were greater, and the advantages not to be

* Mr. Cunningham met his death, at the hands of an Italian poacher, within his own grounds, near Milton, Mass., in 1889.

mentioned, as compared to those to be incurred or gained in the acquisition of China. In the actual direction of this empire they have taken and occupied with forts within a few years the great tract of country lying between the Amoor and the present frontier, without any advantage in the region itself to attract them, and apparently only for the object of reaching nearer to China proper. They obtained a valuable port upon the coast, but that they could have had without the costly annexation of so great a territory.

"They have more young men learning the Chinese language, in one way or another, than all the other Westerns together, and they push their traders into the country with a pertinacity quite uncalled for by the exigencies of their trade.

"Finally, there lies before them a prize unparalleled in the history of the world. A nation of, at least, 200,000,000 of industrious, energetic and ingenious people, ripe for conquest, and capable, when conquered, of giving inexhaustible supplies of excellent soldiers and sailors; a nation poor, indeed, in resources, at present, but capable of a miraculous resurrection under an energetic rule. A country full of natural wealth, with an immense area of fertile soil already under cultivation; with a system of navigable rivers unsurpassed in the world; a coast abounding in fine harbors, and commanding this side of the Pacific; a dominion reaching to the tropics and including in its wide embrace every climate and almost every valuable production of the earth.

"It is impossible that, with their antecedents, their settled policy for centuries, the Russians should fail in desire for such a prize as this. As for the power, unless succored by other Western nations, the country would lie defenceless before the assault of 50,000 men led by a general skilled in modern war. Such succor, if it came at all, would probably come too late. By occupying the western and northwestern provinces under one pretext or another, and with the declaration that it was provisional and temporary, they could finally reach the coast and have possession of the main strategical points, with 200,000 or 300,000 Chinese soldiers under arms and in effective condition, before any European power would have concluded to intervene. Their conclusions then would be uninteresting.

"In view of this greatest of hazards, it would seem to be the natural policy of the government to cultivate as close relations with other Western people as possible; to introduce them into the country; to accept their inventions and improvements; to obtain foreign arms and equipments; to train an army to the European standard of effiiciency and under European officers. These are the steps which would be pressed on the Chinese authorities by their well-wishers, and sedulously followed up, if they wish them to maintain even their present position.

"It may be, however, that with great interests of humanity, foreign representatives may not have the prosperity of the present dynasty and government really at heart. Of this I do not pretend to judge. They may feel that nothing will elevate the Chinese people and place the country fairly in the path of progress and reform, but the government of a Western power. It does, indeed, seem impossible that any real good can come from the selfish and apathetic race of rulers that now misgovern the country, and in the interests of the millions who suffer from their incapacity or perversity, foreign powers are perhaps bound to withold advice or suggestion that may delay the hour of deliverance. If such is the case, no course seems so wise as to leave them as much as possible to such seclusion as they can keep, and to their present narrow policy. With no Western influence but Russia in the interior, and no advisers but their antiquated maxims, they

will drop the easier prey into the lap of their vigorous neighbors—a friend or enemy, as he chose to take the part, and as circumstances recommend.

"Whether Russia will do good or evil to the world at large when she has an army of 2,000,000 on the Pacific, and a revenue to match, is a further point for consideration, but much beyond my province to discuss. I only express my conviction that such a course of things is not only possible but likely, if the Chinese inclination to resist progress and to hold Western nations at arms' length is allowed to control events."

And now within thirty years we see the almost literal fulfilment of this prediction.

A short reference to the occasion of Mr. Cunningham's memorial will help to elucidate the whole Chinese question as it stood then and as it stands now. The Treaties of Tientsin, concluded in 1858, contained a proviso that their terms might be revised in the Tariff and Commercial Articles, at the instance of either party, at the end of ten years. The British Treaty, being the first in importance, was in process of revision, for which great preparations were made during 1867 and 1868. These preparations took, partly, the form of memorials from the various mercantile bodies dotted along the coast and rivers of China. But the terms of the Chinese Treaties with all the Western powers were such as to render it virtually impossible to revise one without revising all, because of the "most favored nation" clause, which entitled each power to claim whatever might be granted to any other. The obvious effect of this proviso was to vest the power of veto in the smallest state that had made a treaty with China. Consequently, the British negotiation necessarily assumed a cosmopolitan character, the representatives of other powers being kept informed, point by point, as progress was made, as well as being frequently consulted in advance. Hence, there was nothing out of the way in an individual American merchant's communicating his views to his own Minister for the use of the British Negotiator, and it came about quite naturally that Mr. Cunningham's Memorial formed part of the voluminous record of the negotiations archived in the State Department and in the Foreign Office.

The revision of the treaties at that time hinged upon one fundamental question, which had been seriously pondered by the British Government, with the result that a mature decision had been arrived at respecting it. The true bearing of that question is more clearly perceptible now than it was thirty years ago—

for it has not really altered, but remains essentially the same question. It was simply whether pressure should be applied to the Chinese government, either to secure fulfilment of existing treaties or to induce reasonable concessions in the revision of them. Up to that time, nothing had ever been obtained from China without pressure, and the general consensus of opinion was that nothing ever would be obtained without it, not even redress for outrages and injuries. Pressure had always succeeded; persuasion never. Lord Elgin had left it on record that the Chinese yield nothing to reason, everything to fear; and the drama which has been played in Peking during the year 1898 has afforded daily accumulating proof of the truth of that famous dictum.

It was morally certain, therefore, that no revision of treaty—except in a retrograde sense—would be effected by mere argument. It was with this knowledge that the British government entered on the revision campaign. The Chinese, on their part, also fully realized the conditions under which they entered on diplomatic negotiations which they could not openly decline, and, a very unusual thing for them, they made preparations for it, whether on their own initiative or on the prompting of their foreign advisers may remain an open question, though the form and manner of the defensive preparation might be safely assigned to a foreign origin. But, however that may be, at an early stage of the revision proceedings, the Chinese government resolved to send an envoy to Europe and the United States, for the purpose of persuading the treaty powers that the case was precisely the reverse of that stated by Lord Elgin. The envoy was, in fact, to inform the governments of the West that the Chinese would yield nothing to fear, but everything to reason! The agent appointed, or, rather, the spokesman of the two Chinese envoys who formed the mission, was the Hon. Anson Burlingame, at that time Minister of the United States to China. He sailed from China to San Francisco in 1868, and thence proceeded to Washington. He was completely successful, and induced the United States government to make a kind of convention with him which practically consisted of two provisions; one, that the United States would under no circumstances apply pressure to China; the other, that China would employ Americans to build their railways. Mr. Burlingame proceeded next to London, and

converted Lord Clarendon to the same passive policy toward China, obtaining from him a similar self-denying declaration to that which had been given by the Secretary of State in Washington.

The effect of these gratuitous declarations on the negotiations in Peking was marked and instantaneous. The hope of any liberal extension of the treaties was extinguished. The British Minister told his government so in plainer terms than are altogether usual between servant and master. "If it was difficult," wrote Sir Rutherford Alcock, "to negotiate for large concessions before the assurance authoritatively given by your lordship's communication to Mr. Burlingame, * * * it is now out of the question to hope for more than has already been conceded. * * * Strong in the assurance of two of the great treaty powers, * * * it is quite certain that no further progress can be made at present." In other words, "you have stultified your agent, frustrated his efforts and given away the interests of the country." The position was at last recognized by Lord Clarendon himself, who, in the autumn of 1869, wished to abandon the negotiations over which two years' labor had been expended, in the hope that, when the time came for other powers to revise their treaties, Great Britain might retain an "open door" to profit by their negotiations.

The point of all this is that it is the policy dictated by Burlingame* and accepted blindly by the cabinets of Washington and of London, which has been followed by the two countries for the last thirty years. And it is this particular policy which has brought China to the verge of anarchy and disruption. For it was a public renunciation of influence over the government. On the most favorable view that could be taken of it, it was a negative, sterile policy; devoid of authority; a law without a sanction. It was ruinous to China, because the withdrawal of the powers who had an interest in the preservation of that country left her open to the designs of those powers whose interests, or at least desires, lay in a contrary direction. While England has been fettered by her self-imposed total abstinence dogma, the destroyers of China have been free to revel in the prosecution of their schemes. Which is the actual position to-day.

* It was Mr. Burlingame's plea for a policy of "generosity" that Mr. Cunningham alluded to in the opening sentence of the extract from his Memorial above cited.

The recovery of British influence is no child's play, for it means a reversal of the policy of a whole generation of statesmen. It is like gathering up water that has been spilt on the ground. This gives us, perhaps, the best key to the attitude of Her Majesty's government during the present year. It was in the position of a steamer in a fog, called on suddenly to reverse the engines, and running on to one obstacle while hurriedly avoiding another. Lord Salisbury himself pleaded this excuse at the Union Club, that his government had been taken aback by the rapid progress of events, and that it was no easy task for them at a moment's notice to discard the policy of Cobden, which had been the law of the land for half a century. There was something pathetic in the naïve confession that the dead hand of Cobden was still paralyzing the government of Great Britain, condemning it to conduct the business of the country on pious theories, which forbade it from taking any account of accomplished facts, and from adapting its course of action to the new developments of the world's life.

Of course, a wider sense is here given to the convenient term "Cobdenism," than the mere abolition of custom houses. The Cobdenism with which Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour and their supporters are so deeply infected extends over the whole field of national economics, and it has a serious meaning for all democratic countries. The events which are transpiring in distant parts of the world are putting popular government on its trial. England is in fact feeling the strain of a new conflict, which will shortly be felt in a less, though constantly increasing, degree in the United States also. So long as the interests of a nation are kept within a ring-fence, no device of man could be more conducive to the happiness and prosperity of a community than government by the people. "What favor can we show you?" said Sir Robert Peel to the merchants of London. "Let us alone," was the city's manly response. The legislation of England during the present century has been a continuous demolition of the barriers which checked the free action of the people; and it is not to be doubted that, under the perfect liberty thus accorded to them, the national prosperity has made remarkable strides. Industrial and commercial progress in the United States has, of course, from the nature of the case, been vastly more rapid, and that in spite of sundry self-imposed re-

straints on trade from which the British people are free. The system that conduces so greatly to individual enterprise and wealth is no less conducive to the collective good of society at large. Cobdenism, if we may continue to use this convenient term, besides being faultless in theory, is also triumphant in practice, so long as no disturbing element intervenes.

Where the scheme fails is in the fact that, on the great chess-board of the world's trade and politics, disturbing elements do and must intervene, in this case turning a domestic success into a foreign failure. Cosmic evolution itself has brought about conditions wholly unforeseen by Cobden, and still unrecognized by his disciples. Industrial and commercial competition have entered on a new phase. The isolated efforts of innumerable individuals are now opposed by compact forces marshalled by powerful governments. In their struggles with such combinations, traders and manufacturers who go a-warfare on their own charges must expect to be worsted. Adventurers, who enter the field with the whole machinery and resources of their national governments not only at their back, but in the van of their enterprises, possess advantages such as an organized army would possess against a host of volunteers. The full disclosure of the new species of international competition has been reserved for this present year, and the theatre of the discovery has been that great unexploited field of commerce, China. There we have seen, in a variety of aspects, the victory of action over inaction, and we have seen the superiority, in certain spheres of competition, of governments which lead their people, over people who lead their governments. While the rulers of Russia, Germany, France, and even Belgium, have been heading national crusades of productive enterprise in China, the governments of Great Britain and the United States have held aloof, and allowed rights and claims to be established to their perpetual exclusion and detriment. The British government has had nothing to oppose to these aggressive movements but Cobdenic maxims treated as if they were axioms of geometry, such as the "open door," "equality of opportunity," and so forth, which were never more than empty phrases, the survival of a state of things that had passed away. Ministers have again and again defended their inaction by pleading the novelty of the situation and the absence of precedents. The principle of non-interference with industry and

commerce, and of leaving everything to individual initiative, no doubt fits like a glove the theory of popular government; and the principle of *laissez aller*, in relation to other nations, is one which lends itself easily to academic defence, while offering no offence to abstract morality. The only objection to these principles is that they do not harmonize with the facts of national life.

In this mercantile world in which we live everything has to be paid for, and government by the people for the people forms no exception to the rule. Priceless as are its benefits, a price has still to be paid for them, and part of the price is incoherence, slowness of collective action, vacillation and ignorance in dealing with international affairs. The most prosperous countries are, naturally, those in which the citizens have no leisure for public questions which lie remote from their daily life, and who are only too content to resign their international interests to the governments of their choice. Hence, a breach of continuity in the management of affairs, the government waiting for the people and the people for the government. Thus vital national interests fall between two stools. This lapse of responsibility is easily traced in Great Britain, where the initiative, in former times exercised by government, has been step by step surrendered, as the tide of pure democracy has risen, so that now, when an emergency arises, there is no one ready or competent to deal with it. The state then is in the condition of an emigrant ship in a hurricane, left to the helpless devices of the passengers. The United States is in a somewhat similar predicament, with this difference, that, their interests being mostly at home, they have not as yet suffered visible injury for the neglect of their concerns abroad.

Observe now in what a different position such countries as Russia and Germany stand, whose governments hold in leash the national forces, military, diplomatic and political, in readiness to strike at a moment's notice, with no popular voice or even national impulse to wait for. Republican France, even, enjoys a freedom of action scarcely inferior to her autocratic neighbor, for the people expect no consideration in foreign or colonial enterprises, which are consequently left to the discretion of the executive government and to the initiative of official adventurers. When, therefore, the Far Eastern question was opened by the

Japanese war, these powers promptly cleared for action, while England remained wrapt like a mummy in the cerements of a worn-out policy, unable to move hand or foot to safeguard her interests—actual or prospective. The fetish of non-interference in China had no chance against the energy of powers who were inspired by a passion for aggression. Under the sway of this passion, China is being carved up like a sirloin of beef, as if there were no vitality in her. The ambition of Russia soars far above the mere military occupation of Manchuria or of the provinces of Northern China. She makes straight for the brain centre of the empire, paralyzing its functions. She is loosening the keystone of the arch, in order to find her account in the *débris* of the structure. The process of disruption is in full action. In view of this, France, Germany and Japan are in haste to secure as large as possible a share of what they consider to be a crumbling building, before the northern Colossus engulfs the whole.

But none of these powers has paused to consider what the disruption of a polity embracing 300,000,000 of Asiatics really means; for, even in the cynical and un-Christian epoch in which we live, only professed anarchists would be so anti-human as to lend a hand to accelerate such a calamity. In their greed for gain, however, the spectacle of a helpless nation and an effete government is too strong for moral restraint. We know something of what anarchy in China means, for we had experience of it some forty years ago, when hundreds of its cities were converted into cover for wild beasts, and tens of millions of lives were destroyed without cause. The commercial nations have the strongest interest in preventing the recurrence of such colossal devastation. Putting their motives on the very lowest and, therefore, the more lasting grounds, a depopulated country is of no use to the trader. On the other hand, China kept on her legs is a living mine of wealth to all those nations who are interested in the prosecution of honest trade.

The commercial nations, *par excellence,* are the Anglo-Teutonic, whose interest, in spite of an occasional freak of hot-blooded Kaisers, or the like, is not to break up old "China," but rather, if possible, to rivet the cracks in it. By the introduction of such improvements as railways, steamboats, mining and manufactories, by the infusion of the Western spirit as a new nervous force into the country, and of Western principles

of action, the resources of China, in men and material, would be rendered capable of providing fertile employment for white men for centuries to come. This is the great undeveloped estate which the present generation of Anglo-Saxons have to leave to their ever-increasing offspring, an inheritance richer far than all the prairies and all the gold mines in the world, because crowned with a wealth of humanity of the most efficient quality, an enormous hive of industry only needing direction, and with capacities for consumption commensurate with their unrivalled powers of production. Had the British and American people been sufficiently alive to the value of this prize, when China was thrown into the crucible in 1894, they would have insisted on their governments safeguarding those precious interests, and not permitting the Chinese Empire to be sequestrated at the hands of the despotic and military states of Europe. What has been done cannot be undone, but the rapid progress already made in disintegration furnishes an imperative reason for conserving what is left. The practical question is, how is this to be done?

China is in the condition of an invalid whose life can only be saved by transfusion of healthy blood. The system has to be cautiously and carefully revived, not by violence, but by tact and patience. A new order has to be evolved out of the present chaos, under which the prosperity of the nation may advance *pari passu* with the legitimate interests of the foreign peoples who seek their fortune in the country. The desideratum cannot be more intelligibly indicated than by saying that it is foreign capital and foreign enterprise that are needed to preserve and to fertilize this valuable field of commerce. China wants her communications to be opened up, her industries organized, her hidden wealth brought to the surface, her natural products utilized. And as, according to the traditional order of procedure of the English-speaking races, as well as of their Teutonic and Scandinavian kinsmen, the enterprise of the people precedes and draws after it the protection of their governments, it follows that the infiltration of capital and skilled direction into China is the proper lever by which the governments of Great Britain and the United States may be moved to interest themselves actively in the welfare of that country. Only by such a policy can the predatory powers be kept from ravaging the country and precipitating anarchy and red ruin among the largest pop-

ulation on the face of the earth. Every line of railway, therefore, every steam factory, every hole dug in the ground in the interior of the Chinese continent, under either British or American auspices, is a solid gain to the whole commercial world. It is "effective occupation" of the genuine kind, the only kind of occupation that will save the territory from being staked off into exclusive areas, that will keep the door open for the free intercourse of all nations. Consequently, the concession of a railway between Canton and Hankow to an American syndicate is an event of happiest augury, just as every step taken toward connecting Western China with British India contributes to the establishment of free intercourse for all. Such concrete material interests lie at the root of national policy, and constitute the surest means of compelling the attention of our governments to the course of events in China. From whichever side we regard them, these are conservative as well as progressive measures; like mercy, twice blest, benefiting the people of China by opening out fruitful channels for their labor, while at the same time affording productive fields for the creative energy of the West.

Far Eastern affairs have never loomed large before the people of the United States, for the simple reason that their business connections there were by comparison infinitesimal and practically stagnant. A sympathetic interest in Japan was, indeed, aroused on the opening of the Island Empire through the instrumentality of an American naval squadron and a capable diplomatist, and a fair amount of genuine business has sprung up between the two countries. But still the æsthetic has prevailed over the commercial relation with Japan, while in China American diplomacy has been mainly occupied in damming back the flood of Chinese immigrants which was supposed to be threatening the interests of white labor. But a vast change has come over the scene during the last six months, and never was it made clearer that a nation's course is marked out for it by circumstances often unforeseen, than in the revolution which the events of this year have made in some of the fundamental dogmas of American policy. May we not say, "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will," when we see the United States, by the necessary sequence of her own acts, forced into the position of an oceanic and an Asiatic power? The course marked out for her by philosophical students of the map of the world, to which she

seemed indifferent if not coldly averse, has been suddenly forced on her by the inexorable logic of events of her own making. Henceforth, her status as mistress of the Philippines and of the Sandwich Islands imposes on her the necessity of taking a hand in the game that is to be played in the Western Pacific. Fortunate that the question was not delayed until the gates of China were closed and the resources of that empire parcelled out among the anti-commercial nations! The Pacific Ocean acquired a new significance for the United States when the Spanish war broke out and while the battleship "Oregon" was rounding Cape Horn. That was an object lesson which came home to the least imaginative. It doomed the old ocean thoroughfare. It brought the Isthmian Canal within the range of practical politics, it gave a new turn to American speculation, widened the national outlook—in a word, it made the United States a world power *in posse*. Fortunate, we say, that all this happened before China had been disposed of (for without China the Philippines have no meaning), since it confers on the United States the dignity of a great mission as well as the opportunity for great national enlargement. China is a world necessity, and civilization cannot afford that she should become a mere carcass round which the vultures of the world shall gather.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

NATIONAL PUBLIC HEALTH LEGISLATION.

BY U. O. B. WINGATE, M. D., SECRETARY OF THE WISCONSIN STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.

THE perpetuity, greatness and happiness of a nation depend upon the health of its people. The physical and mental strength which characterized Greece is well known. For centuries, she repelled every invader from her shores. "She defied, and at length overthrew, the mightiest of existing empires," and finally subdued all the world to her literature, language, arts, and manners. *"Mens sana in corpore sano"* is an old apothegm. Physical debility must be followed naturally by mental weakness, and what applies to the individual units of a nation must apply to the nation as a whole.

There is nothing in the body or mind of man that is not within the purview of medical science. The medical profession has always been engaged in the development of preventive medicine, as well as in the application of the means of cure; and this work renders that profession one of the most unselfish that can be followed, for it is ever striving to prevent conditions which, if left to themselves, would result in wealth to its practitioners. Men are ever willing to pay for cure, but reluctant to pay for prevention; hence, the physician is always liable to go unrewarded for his most valuable services. The profession, at the present time, is manifesting, in a higher spirit than ever before, the purpose of suppressing infectious diseases, and this comes about largely as the result of a more perfect knowledge of the causes of disease. This preventive work was begun by Jenner over a century ago, and the awful scourge of smallpox has been stamped out wherever successful vaccination has been made compulsory. Medical science has now arrived at a degree of perfection

which renders it possible for the profession to assume the task of suppressing all of the terrible infectious diseases that desolate the world; but, to be successful in this great and humane undertaking, it must have the co-operation and support of just and reasonable sanitary laws. The knowledge of the invisible foes of human health and life which infest the air we breathe, the water we drink, and the very food we take to sustain life, was very imperfect only a few years ago; but now enough is known of their nature to enable us positively to prevent their direful work and even to destroy their existence.

Governments, in a certain way, have always done something to aid the medical profession in its endeavors to stay pestilence and save the afflicted, but they have persistently declined to make the profession a permanent, integral part of the state in framing and administering sanitary law. Yet they invariably turn to the profession for aid whenever pestilence or disease is upon them.

There has always existed one very vital and fatal defect in the fundamental principle of sanitary law as interpreted by our courts, namely, that an evil condition must actually exist before a legal remedy can be applied. This has absolutely destroyed the efficacy of much of sanitary law. Power to cope with infectious disease after it has made its appearance is insufficient power. Modern sanitation calls for legal power to prevent conditions favorable to the outbreak or continuance of disease; in other words, for power to deal with the causes of the disease instead of with the disease itself; to close the stable, so to speak, before the horse is stolen. This is the power, *par excellence,* required by, and indispensable to, the health officer of to-day. Thousands of human lives, millions of dollars, and untold happiness would be the reward of the American people, if the health authorities throughout the country were clothed with legal powers to act when, in their judgment, it appeared necessary, instead of being compelled to wait until infectious disease actually made its appearance, before taking measures to combat it.

The law is clear as to the duty of the health officer in the presence of an epidemic. His knowledge is fully respected as to what to do then. His judgment is not questioned concerning the enforcement of quarantine after disease has laid low a portion of the community. But the question when to act is left to those who can know no more about it than they can know what to do

in the face of an epidemic. The only remedy for this unfortunate state of affairs is the education of the people in regard to this great and all important subject. It is now nearly eight years since the American Medical Association, the largest medical organization in our country, recognizing the need and importance of such education, began active operations to create, through Congress, a National Department or Bureau of Public Health, with a medical and sanitary head, so equipped with national sanitary law that its whole time could be devoted to this important function, that it could co-operate with State and municipal health departments, and thus establish an efficient and far-reaching system of sanitary organization, educational as well as executive.

A committee was appointed by the association to take charge of what was understood from the start to be a slow and difficult work, but to those who have given careful attention to the matter the growth of public sentiment in favor of the scheme has been most encouraging.

Of the many bills introduced into Congress relating to public health, none has probably received more favorable consideration than the "Spooner Bill," which was presented to the Senate of the Fifty-fifth Congress by Senator Spooner of Wisconsin, and to the House by the Hon. Theobald Otjen of Wisconsin. This measure was about to come before the Senate for consideration when the war with Spain was declared, and an end to all such legislation resulted; but, when we come to consider the frightful mortality of our young soldiers in the army, from preventable diseases, it would seem that a consideration of sanitary measures merited some attention. During the last session of Congress up to the time of the war, there were two factions at work striving for increased national sanitary legislation, and the same factions will undoubtedly continue their efforts in future sessions of Congress, until one or the other is defeated. One of these factions is striving to increase the quarantine powers of the Marine Hospital Service, believing, or professing to believe, that such a course is the only wise one at present. The other faction, those who favor the "Spooner Bill," believe that such legislation would be the most effective step that could be taken to retard the progress of modern sanitation.

The Marine Hospital Service, a part of the Treasury Department, was created many years ago for the purpose of caring

for sick and disabled seamen. There is nothing in the organic law which created this service that, in any way, relates to public health service. After the termination of the National Board of Health in the eighties, it was thought necessary, on account of the existence of yellow fever in the South, and the danger of the introduction of Asiatic cholera into the country from abroad, to have some Federal supervision over quarantine. A law was enacted, accordingly, by Congress, entrusting this supervision to the Secretary of the Treasury, that is, practically, to the supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service. From time to time this power of supervision has been enlarged; and, during the Fifty-fifth Congress, Senator Caffery, of Louisiana, introduced and defended a bill which practically gave the supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service autocratic powers, so far as quarantine was concerned. This measure, however, only related to quarantine, a very inconsiderable factor in needed sanitary legislation. Moreover, the bill was very obnoxious to the majority of sanitarians and health officers in the country, inasmuch as it placed in the hands of one man powers which, if enforced, would require military aid, and this is not considered the most effectual way to advance modern sanitation. Then, again, quarantine is an antiquated method of managing infectious disease. It is always objectionable, expensive, and it works great hardship, while the whole trend of modern sanitation is towards rendering quarantine less and less necessary, and ultimately doing away with it altogether. This was the aim of the Spooner Bill. So, while one faction in the Fifty-fifth Congress was striving for a measure which pertained only to quarantine in the hands of one man, and contained features exceedingly obnoxious to a large majority of the leading sanitarians, to health officers and physicians of the country, as well as to the leading business organizations which were affected by quarantine, such as the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, the New York Chamber of Commerce, etc., the other faction was aiming at the passage of a measure broad in its inception, educational in character, harmonious in operation, and meeting the views of a larger number of sanitarians, physicians, and professional and business organizations than had favored any other bill of the kind ever previously before Congress.

This measure provides for a "National Commission of Pub-

lic Health," which shall be a bureau in the Treasury Department, the duties of which shall be to collect and disseminate information with regard to the prevalence of infectious diseases in this and other countries; to collect and publish vital statistics; to prepare rules and regulations for securing the best sanitary condition of vessels from foreign ports, and for preventing the introduction of infectious diseases into the United States, and their spread from one State or Territory to another; in short, to make investigations, publish information, and formulate rules with a view to the preservation of the public health. It is not intended that the Commission shall be a law-making body, for laws can only be enacted by Congress and State legislatures; but it has been clearly decided by the courts many times that, while a law-making body cannot delegate its law-making powers, it can delegate the power to make such rules and regulations as are necessary to carry into effect, in the most intelligent and reasonable manner, the laws already enacted. The bill provides that this Commission shall be composed of a Commissioner, a representative from each State and Territorial board of health, and a representative from the medical corps of the United States army, navy and marine hospital service. The Commissioner shall be the executive officer of the Commission; he shall be a physician of well-defined qualifications, and shall be appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, and his term of office shall be six years. He shall also be provided with an Assistant Commissioner, and a sufficient corps of clerks, assistants, experts, and inspectors to perform the functions of the office. The Commission shall be called to meet in the city of Washington once each year, and oftener if necessary; but, for emergencies, and for obvious reasons, the Commission is wisely provided with an executive committee, consisting of the Commissioner, the representatives from the army, navy and marine hospital service medical corps, and five other members, which, elected annually by the Commission, is clothed with full powers to act, and may be convened by the Commissioner whenever it shall appear necessary. All rules and regulations made by the Commission, or by the executive committee, are subject to the approval of the President, and when approved by him they shall have the full effect of law. The Commission shall be provided with proper offices, fixtures, laboratories, and all needful apparatus to transact its busi-

ness, located in the city of Washington; and all buildings, boats, laboratories, fixtures and appliances now occupied and used by the marine hospital service for quarantine or public health purposes shall, in due time, be transferred to the Commission of Public Health; it being the intent of the measure that the marine hospital service shall perform the functions for which it was created, and that all quarantine and public health matters shall be wholly under the supervision of the Commission of Public Health.

The proposed law provides for a sufficient quarantine, and for the appointment of medical officers at foreign ports for the purpose of protection against the importation of infectious diseases from abroad, but it does not supersede existing State quarantine. It provides for co-operation with all existing State health authorities; in other words, it provides for a general supervision of all quarantine and public health matters throughout the country, but its work shall be to co-operate with existing authorities and not to supersede them in any instance, except in the presence of an epidemic, or where the local authorities are unable to cope with the disease or are inefficient, when the Commission shall have power to assist and co-operate to the extent of controlling any outbreak of disease.

In making rules and regulations every State has a voice, and by this means harmony will be maintained. The Commission being made up of men who are actually engaged in sanitary work, it will consist practically of a body of experts whose experience, when put into practical operation, will furnish the entire country with most valuable results, and constitute a great educational system of sanitation.

It has been argued that this body is too large to work to advantage, that it is cumbersome and unwieldy; but it is to be borne in mind that the Commission, as a whole, is to meet only once a year, and that the executive committee, consisting of nine members, certainly not a large body, has full power to act under all circumstances. Then, again, the rules and regulations made by the Commission are to be put in force by the Commissioner and his corps of assistants, who are always on duty.

It will be observed that the object of the entire system is to be educational as well as executive. The measure also provides for the establishment of laboratories, whenever and wherever necessary; for investigation into the causes and prevention of

disease; thereby placing our country on equality with foreign countries which are devoting much time and study to this subject. It has long been a cause of opprobrium to the medical profession of this country that it is obliged to obtain information pertaining to the character of infectious diseases from foreign countries.

A bureau so organized and equipped, and endowed with legal powers by Congress, could not fail to be one of the most powerful and efficient educational and executive sanitary systems in the civilized world. The importance of bringing all localities in the country into the best possible sanitary condition cannot be too highly estimated. This work should be accomplished during the period of development of growing municipalities. Not only would great expense be thus avoided and many lives saved, but the coming generations, by such a course, would be continually educated in the importance and value of sanitation.

These objects can only be attained by a system that will operate uniformly throughout the entire country, and it is encouraging to note that the desirableness of such an advance in national sanitary legislation is becoming fully recognized by some of the leading members of Congress, and another step will soon be taken towards placing our country in the front rank of the advancing civilized nations of the world.

U. O. B. WINGATE.

NORWAY REVISITED.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

In my early youth I saw Norway repeatedly, but it happened that six and twenty years had passed since my last visit, when I started for Bergen this summer. If I presume to note down my impressions of the country so revisited, it is very modestly, and with a due sense of the inevitable superficiality of such a survey. My only excuse is that what I shall try to present to the readers of the Review is precisely and exclusively what I have seen and heard. Although, moreover, I had not set foot on Norwegian soil in this quarter of a century, my mind had not been allowed to neglect the intellectual movement of the country; and I was therefore better prepared, perhaps, for forming impressions than the indifferent tourist or sportsman.

One's first idea, no doubt, is that Norway has not changed at all in these six and twenty years. Probably no country in Europe has essentially altered less. To begin with the little physical changes, when I went down the entire west coast of Norway, from the North Cape to Lindesnæs in 1872, there was not a single pier or wharf at which passengers could be landed directly from a steamer; now to have to land anywhere in a boat is an exception. The range of communications has widened rather than altered; there are more steamers on the fjords, more roads over the passes, longer strips of disjointed railway; but the general character of all these is the same. The length of the railway system has increased fourfold, but does not yet amount to 1,000 miles, and holds an insignificant place in this huge country. The roads of Norway are magnificent, but they are still extremely few near the coast. It is odd to come upon large districts, quite close to towns, which are not traversed by a single high road; the whole neighborhood of Stavanger, wherever

steamers do not touch, nor the railroad to Egersund call, is in this primitive condition. It is this which makes Norway, to the traveller, so inexhaustible. One has a feeling that, with all the abundance of its scenery, the sources of travelling pleasures in it are no more than tapped. There are great slices of Norway waiting to be penetrated by high roads; no one really knows what they may offer to the future tourist. I need only mention the vast unopened district between Sætersdal and the Ryfylke.

The inns in the towns continue to be much what they were. I suppose that I can be no judge; what the guide books call "clean, very fair," I should have called neither fair nor clean. But inside the country there have sprung up in these last years a profusion of the most delightful little Alpine hotels—bright, cheerful, exquisitely clean—which form a distinct new feature of Norway. In 1872, if one left the big towns at all, one was forced to put up at the posting station, or, still more often, to trust to such a bed as the local *landhandler* could find for one. Now, no country is better provided with summer hotels, with which I have but one fault to find, namely, that they are so light and their walls so thin that they rattle like an empty bird-cage if anyone moves heavily or talks loudly. But the wary traveller, shy of the noisy coming and going of troops of guests, will do wisely to secure a bed in one of the supplementary buildings which often cluster round the main hotel. Perhaps no village shows more violently what change has taken place in Norwegian travel than Odda. Now it is the Zermatt of Norway, and swarms with life in its five or six large hotels. In 1872 there was not even a lodging house there, and one had to put up with dirty rooms at the posting station.

In connection with the hotels, no feature surprised me more this year than to see what a very large number of Norwegians now travel for pleasure in their own country. This was quite rare a quarter of a century ago. In most of the places I stopped at this year the Norwegians formed the majority of the guests, the Germans taking the second place, followed, at a long interval, by the English, Americans, Dutch and French. The interest of the Norwegians in their own landscape is growing every year, and is a very pleasing circumstance. It may be the saving of Norway from that desperate servility of Switzerland, where the whole country seems spread, like a prepared meal, before the

awaited foreigner; and where the obsequious native has the air of saying: "What they all come for, I have not the least idea; but they come, and their money goes into my pockets." It pleased me exceedingly to find the Norwegians taking so leading a part in their own summer pleasures, and I shall think it no harm if they teach the dominant Anglo-Saxon that he is not the only traveller in the world.

In conversation with Norwegians, I tried to discover their attitude towards foreigners, and especially towards ourselves. It seems an amiable one; the peasants regard us with amused friendliness, and the remoter the spot the more friendly they are. The Norwegian is naturally hospitable, and likes a visitor. In more than one place this year I met a group of Faroe Islanders, who had come over from their remote archipelago to see the Bergen Exhibition, and who pushed on to visit the Sogne and Hardanger fjords. These men, handsome specimens of a virile race, were dressed in their very peculiar and becoming national costume, and were the objects of childlike pleasure to the rural populations of the fjord. An instance of instinctive hospitality occurs to me in the fact that in several out-of-the-way hamlets I noticed boards put up for the special direction of strangers, and this by the parish at its own cost, without any outside pressure, out of mere hospitality. The Norwegian is touchy and easily offended by what he conceives to be patronage; and when you arrive in a boat or carriol at a roadside station, you may at first think it boorish that no one comes forward to help you. But this is merely a sort of shy defiance; pleasantly ask one of the men standing round to be kind enough to lend you a hand, and he will instantly do so, without demanding any payment, as one who is pleased to help an equal.

Some evil tales of travellers I heard, as one always hears. The active firms who tout for the timid have invented a new thing which saves people a good deal of trouble, but does not endear a certain class of tourists to Norwegians. This is a book of tickets, each of which represents a bed or a meal. The tourist needs not carry about with him any money at all; he needs not speak or give any sign of humanity; he eats his food and he hands his ticket. The convenience of this is probably patent; an inconvenience seems not to be observed. Nobody can practically go through a country with a book of tickets and nothing

more. There are extra services to be performed, extra purchases to be made, and for these the visitor must really open his mouth and his purse. I heard some dreadful tales this summer of the meanness of tourists who accepted services and left without payment. I cannot believe but that many of these offences are the result of sheer ignorance. These people have got it vaguely into their heads that the ticket meets every requirement, and as they are launched upon their wild career without money or language, they can neither explain nor pay. But the firms who issue these tickets should, in my opinion, explain much more clearly than they do to their clients the limitations of their use.

A novelty has been introduced of late into the Norwegian country hotels which is regarded with mingled feelings by the country people. The Englishwoman, who, in spite of the march of education, remains convinced that all foreigners are either Papists or heathen, has been found to be wooed to Switzerland by that system of the summer chaplain with which we are so well acquainted. The enterprise of I know not whom has, within the last year or two, spread this system to Norway, where, I make bold to say, it is not wanted. Perhaps, at one or two tourist centres, such as Balholm and Odda, it does no harm to have an English chaplain. In other places, the thing becomes a farce. At one hotel this summer, to my personal knowledge, the chaplain had not a single worshipper to attend his services; I hope he was honest enough to let this be known at home. In other cases, the Norwegian servants of the hotel and even neighboring peasant children are tempted in, on the pretence of "listening to the hymns," in order to make up a shadowy congregation for the weekly report. In the whole thing, there may doubtless be an element of piety; I have no hesitation in saying that there is also a deliberate bid for the support of bigotry and snobbishness. And the Norwegians resent it very much, though they may be too polite to say so to the English parson.

There is no subject on which the Norwegian is better pleased to dilate than on the politics of his country. When I was in Norway in 1872 I fell into the camp of the ultra-conservative party in Christiania. My friends were Jakob Lökke and Ludvig K. Daa, Aschehoug and Birkelund, Olaus Rygh and L. Daae. These distinguished men were marvellously kind to me; they admitted me to their symposia, and I think they were not unwilling

that their views should be presented to English readers. I heard L. K. Daa make his famous boast that radicalism might sweep so far as the capital, but that its crest would never break over the battlements of Christiania. I shall never forget being taken over to Oslo, the ancient capital of Norway, by Birkelund, nor his inspired address there to the spirit of antiquity. Most of these gallant leaders of a hopeless reaction have gone to their rest and they would shiver now if they revisited the glimpses of Oscarshall. L. K. Daa would find that the dreaded wave of radicalism had so far outtopped his battlements that every one of the seats for Christiania are now in the hands of the Left. Of the towns which, in 1872, were the stronghold of conservatism, not one holds out, not even the venerable and aristocratic city of Throndhjem.

It is not easy to grapple with Norwegian politics. The English newspapers are always hopelessly at sea about them. Nor do I pretend to follow them closely, but to understand just enough to evade the broadest usual fallacies. I do not speak of "the Kingdom of Scandinavia," nor suppose Norway to be a colony of Sweden, nor talk of the "Treaty of Union" when I mean the Rigsakt. Still I have much to learn, and I tried, this summer, to get a clearer insight into the matter. As I say, there is no subject upon which Norwegians are readier to talk, and my informants, mainly of the peasant class, were pretty unanimous in their reports. Every six months the political position alters, but there have been two periods of dangerous crises in Norwegian history since my last visit. One was in 1884, when the King strained to snapping point his privilege of absolute veto; the other in 1895, when Sweden and Norway were far nearer an outbreak of civil war than is generally known outside. That Swedish troops were actually ready to enter Norway is, at all events, universally credited, and it is equally certain that Norway was ready to give them a warm welcome.

Since then, the strain has somewhat relaxed. Norway is beginning to forget. The King has given way before, they tell you; he will probably give way again. The feeling for a republic, which was very strong in 1895, slumbers a little. The people I listened to described themselves as theoretically republican, but not wedded to it. One or two were in favor of a national kingdom, under a constitutional monarch. All combined, as a matter

of course, in expressing a wish to be separated from Sweden and the official Stockholm clique of *storsvensker*. Meanwhile, this spring of 1898 has given universal suffrage to Norway, and that has pleased and contented what is unquestionably the most democratic population in Europe. But it must not, I think, be taken for granted that difficulties are not brewing. The question of joint representation in foreign countries by ministers and consuls is one which keeps the wounds of jealousy always open. The whole matter will be one a solution of which it will be very difficult to find so long as Sweden persists in imagining that she is in any way the superior, whereas she is only the exact equal, of Norway.

Since 1872, the literary place taken by the country of Arne and Peer Gynt in the attentions of the rest of the world has immensely developed. Then, if Björnson was slightly read, Ibsen was entirely unknown, and there was no notion abroad of the imaginative forces at work in Norway. I found those with whom I talked this year particularly ready to boast of the two magnificent names which their country has given to the world in poetry and travel, Ibsen and Nansen. Every man is gratified at the magnitude of these two reputations. Ibsen, who has never pretended to follow the crowd, fares better to-day, perhaps, than Björnson, who has wished to lead it. I met with the quaint objection to Björnson that he writes more to foreign (and particularly to Russian) newspapers than a patriot should! The poets are wisest if they stand outside politics, and Ibsen loses nothing because he is a grim old Tory and dines with the King. Even Kjelland, who used to denounce decorations and armies with satirical bitterness, now wears the uniform of the monarchy and defends the royal interests as burgomaster of Stavanger.

The curiosity of native readers is no longer with these classed and accepted masters, but with their successors. Of these little is known outside Norway, and no doubt, numerous as they are, they appeal to a limited class, even in their own country. The tendency among the youngest writers is, so far as I can judge, rather too cosmopolitan for home consumption. The universal tolerance which is part and parcel of the democratic temper of Norway allows its young authors, male and female, a surprising license; and with these Northern writers particularly, the literature of indulgence is the literature of disease and horror. What

the French say with a certain grace, the youngest Norse novelists like to say without any attempt at amenity or reticence. I am not concerned to reprove the morals of Mr. Knud Hamsun or of Mrs. Amelia Skram, but it is within the mark to ask whether the depraved and horrible pictures of life which these clever novelists present to us are true to the conditions around them. I am assured that they are not, that the exception is taken as the rule, and that the palette is wilfully loaded with unnatural colors. If so, and I incline to believe it, this is another ill result of that condensation of European streams of style into one artificial channel which is so much to be deplored.

My contact this summer, however, was not with the coteries of Christiania, but with country people who have not had occasion to taste the prepared dishes of the "schools." There is perhaps no country in the world where a general intellectual interest is so widely diffused as in Norway. I am inclined to think that the influence of the *folkeskoler* has much to do with the high level of knowledge in the present generation. The acquaintance of the peasants with their earlier native literature is sometimes startlingly extensive. The boatmen who rowed us to church in the Hardanger not only knew all about the history of Landstad's now official hymn book, about the sermons of the Danish bishop Grundtvig, and about the divine poems of old Thomas Kingo, the George Herbert of Denmark, but one of them surprised me by dropping a remark regarding the theology of Prof. Caspari. I spent a long day in the mild ascent of the mountain Vesholdo, in company with a guide who deprecated that he was not a *laerd mand*, a person of cultivation, but than whom I do not wish for a more quick and intelligent companion. But perhaps the most amusing example I can give is of a walk I was taking, in a rather remote district; I lost my way among the bridle-paths, and stopped to ask the road of an unusually ragged-looking middle-aged man, who was working in the meadow. With characteristic kindness, he insisted on walking some distance with me, and he took the opportunity to cross-examine the stranger. Presently he said, "Do you know anything of our poets?" "Have you any?" I retorted, anxious to see what the answer would be. It came pat: "Excellent ones; and Ibsen is the best of them." Such instances of appreciation of the highest imaginative life of the nation are as surpris-

ing and cause as pleasant an emotion as when, in the rough and broken fir woods of Telemarken, one comes suddenly upon a black water wonderfully lighted up and distinguished by the cups of waxy water lilies.

The national feeling for music is akin to the national passion for poetry. The festival at Bergen this summer, under the presidency of Grieg, gave a stimulus to musical art which will be felt throughout the country. The fiddle is still the Norseman's instrument of predilection, and competitions keep alive the native skill. A tragedy deprived the Hardanger of her most famous violinist, Fjuflaaten, while I was there in July of this year. The musician, in company with another man, had taken a horse over the fjord from Utne. They were returning, when a squall swamped the boat, and both were drowned. One singularly suggestive custom is, I am afraid, although not abandoned, going out of fashion. It was usual for the men who watched for salmon along the coast to take their fiddles with them to wile away the tedious hours at the top of the enormous salmon stairs; and the sound of the violin, from some point which seemed hung between sky and sea, was marvellously mysterious and wild in the long-drawn Northern twilight. The sentiment of this music and these environments is well rendered by that one of the young Norwegian writers in whom I find most enjoyment, Thomas Krag. His last volume of stories, "*Tusmörken*" (or "Twilight"), was in my hand this summer as I wandered in the woods or floated on the waters, and I should be ungrateful if I failed to acknowledge the refined and sympathetic pleasures which it gave me.

One of the most characteristic and most charming incidents in rural Norwegian life is still, as it must always have been, to go to church on Sunday in a boat. The parishes are of enormous extent, and it is a common thing for one old priest to have charge of three or four remote churches. Early in the morning, at distant points, the congregation puts out upon the fjord, and nothing is more picturesque than at the close of the voyage, to see the little flotilla of red-brown sails collecting toward the point of worship. When service is held but once in three or four weeks, a short sermon would defraud the congregation. I sat out one of fifty minutes the other day, in a great bare church that was all a-flutter with the enormous white head-dresses (or *skout*) of peasant women. This sermon seemed lengthy, yet it was only an

incident in the service, which lasted four hours; after three of them, however, a stranger may slip out, and will have done wisely if he brings some sandwiches with him to eat under the birch trees by the shore. The churches in these secluded havens, where never a tourist comes, are marvellously large. Behind the church, if we stroll about, we see a crowd of carriols, and many plump white ponies eating their heads off, the mothers with their foals beside them. These people think nothing of coming twenty miles to service, by sea or land, and throughout the interminable office they preserve an earnest and hushed decorum. They have, however, one terrible and national failing. Although notices are posted up in the churches, desiring the worshippers not to spit, these are quite unavailing in distant country places, where the continual hawking and expectorating alarm the ear like the bombardment of a city.

It is, as I have said, the vast and inexhaustible extent of Norway which gives us so much confidence in its æsthetic future. It can never be spoiled; the spirit of its landscape is as untroubled by satiety as Shelley's skylark. I had the pleasure of passing through the Röldal and Suldal districts this year, a portion of Europe which, when I was last in Norway, was as inaccessible as the interior of Candia. Röldal is a high mountain valley, of sinister depth, the bottom of which is filled by a dark lake, sinuous among the mountains. At the present time, one of the splendid national roads rises by endless serpentine windings to the height of 3,400 feet from the sea at Odda, and then dips over into Röldal, dispersing travellers again over a pass to the southeast or down a ravine of extraordinary majesty to the west. But, until long after I was in Norway in 1872, this valley remained an Alsatia, the haunt of escaped criminals, a place so remote and perilous and embattled that if thieves and murderers got off safe to Röldal, the wisest thing was to let them settle there undisturbed. This is a little fact, unknown to the guide books, which may amuse those who drive to-day in perfect comfort from Breifond to Bratland. Who knows how much more of virgin sublimity and beauty the engineers may open up to us in the length and breadth of Norway?

EDMUND GOSSE.

THE POWERS OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

BY THE HON. CHARLES A. PROUTY, OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

In the spring of 1887 Congress enacted what is entitled "An Act to Regulate Commerce," and what was intended to be a law for the correction of abuses in interstate railway transportation. That act created a commission, called the Interstate Commerce Commission, charged with the duty of executing its provisions. The law having been enacted, and a tribunal for its enforcement created, the subject apparently dropped from public attention.

That the law has effected much good, abundantly appears from a comparison of the condition of things as developed upon the hearings before Congress which led up to the passage of the act with the conditions of to-day. Many evils, however, have not been corrected; in some instances they have perhaps been even aggravated. In some respects the law possibly bears too severely upon the carriers. Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States within the year have determined that the Commission did not possess powers of the most vital consequence, which it had assumed to exercise from the first.

From all this it had in the fall of 1897 become evident that in the interest of both the railways and the public this law must be revised. The railways already had before Congress certain important amendments to the act which they were urging with great insistence. With a view to presenting the side of the public as well, so that Congress might have before it the claims of all the parties, the Commission in its Eleventh Annual Report endeavored to explain the present condition of this law and to point out

the amendments which were necessary to secure to the public the benefits contemplated by the original act.

The recommendations of that report have been most bitterly assailed. Joseph Nimmo, Jr., LL. D., one time Chief of the Division of Internal Commerce in the Treasury Department at Washington, has declared that the suggestions of the Commission amount to "unmitigated governmental imperialism of the populistic type." Mr. Aldace F. Walker, a former member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and now a very potent authority in railway matters, asserts in a pamphlet recently published that "the powers outlined in the report . . . cover all that the wildest advocate of a bureaucratic system could desire," and are "the most enormous ever conceived by the human intellect." These statements have been reiterated by many lesser lights and have been widely copied in the newspaper press. From all this has grown an impression in certain quarters that the suggestions of the Commission are in fact un-American in principle and impracticable in application, and that the Commission has sought to grasp an autocratic power far beyond the scope of the original act. Many people who believe firmly in the interstate regulation of railways and in the act to regulate commerce feel that to pass the Cullom bill, which embodies in the main the recommendations of the report, would be going too far.

The thing specially animadverted upon by Mr. Walker and Dr. Nimmo, and especially obnoxious to the railway interests, is what they term "the rate making power." It is gravely said that nothing less than the power to make all interstate railway rates is aimed at, and that to grant this "revolutionary" authority would be to paralyze commerce and "threaten all energy and enterprise."

The best answer to all this is the report of the Commission itself, in which these matters are fully discussed. Nobody reads, however, a government report; and hence I wish to state here, without any attempt at elaboration, just what the Commission has asked for in respect to rates, just why it is asked for, and just how that power compares with that exercised by the Commission in the past.

Mr. Walker and Dr. Nimmo assert that the Commission is seeking the full rate-making power. I deny that any rate-making power, in the proper and ordinary acceptation of that term, is sought. Fortunately, however, there is no need in this instance

to rely upon the statement of anybody. What word properly expresses the thing asked for may be matter of discussion. The thing itself is not, and any person of ordinary intelligence can understand what that thing is.

Let me illustrate by an actual example. The case which I have selected for that purpose is entitled "Grain Shippers' Association of Northwest Iowa vs. the Illinois Central Railroad Company and Others." It differs in no respect from many other cases now pending, except that certain of the complainants have sought relief in the courts, so that this case in its various phases presents the question more completely than most.

The complainant in the case is a voluntary association of persons interested in the shipment of grain from Northwestern Iowa and that vicinity; and the complaint attacks the reasonableness of the rates on grain from that section to Chicago. For the present purpose Sioux City may be taken as representing this section, and the rate from Sioux City as representing the rate from the whole section, although in point of fact all the rates are not the same. The tariff rate on wheat from Sioux City to Chicago is, or was, 22 cents per hundred pounds. The complainants say that anything in excess of 17 cents per hundred pounds is an unreasonable charge, and therefore in violation of the law.

In order to understand just the manner in which this so-called rate-making power is to be used by the Commission, it is necessary to understand the history of a proceeding in which it is to be applied, like the one under consideration. In view of the fact that no one individual can cope with all these railroad companies, the act to regulate commerce provides that a proceeding may be prosecuted by an association like the complainant in this case. To institute such a suit a sworn complaint is filed, setting forth the grievances complained of. When this is received at the office of the Commission a copy is served upon the various defendant railroad companies against whom complaint is made, and they are required to file an answer, also under oath, to the complaint. If an issue of fact is presented by the allegations in the complaint and the allegations in the answer, a trial of that issue is had before the Commission. Upon this trial testimony may be given, either by the production of witnesses or by deposition. If witnesses are produced, their testimony is taken down verbatim and afterwards reduced to writing. In a word, the trial of this issue

of fact is conducted before the Commission exactly as an issue of fact would be tried before a court in a judicial proceeding.

After the testimony is completed, the case is argued, precisely as it would be before a court, and then, from a consideration of the testimony, the Commission decides whether or not the complaint is sustained.

It is not, of course, intended to express any opinion in the present instance as to the merits of this particular controversy, but it may be assumed, for the purpose of the illustration, that the Commission is of opinion that the complaint is well founded, that the present rate of 22 cents is unreasonable, and therefore in violation of the statute, and that a rate of 17 cents would be reasonable. Now, the power which the Commission asks is to compel the carriers to charge for the future what has been determined to be a reasonable rate. It will be seen later that the decision of the Commission can be reviewed in the various courts of the United States, going in most cases to the Supreme Court.

This is the only power over rates which the Commission asks for, and this is not the power to make a rate, but the power to correct a rate when it has, with every formality, been determined to be wrong and unreasonable. The carrier makes, publishes and puts in force its rates, and with this the Commission can neither by direction nor indirection interfere. It is only when the Supreme Court of the United States has declared, if the carrier elects to carry the case there, that the rate established by the carrier is unreasonable and that the rate suggested by the Commission is reasonable, that the latter rate can be put in force. This is the "rate-making power" which has been paraded before the country, which is to wither up our commerce and destroy our energy. This is "imperialism," "unmitigated imperialism," and of the "populistic type" at that.

Now, why is it necessary that the Commission should have power to compel the carrier to charge this rate for the future? Because in no other way can the provisions of the act to regulate commerce be made effective. The first section of that act declares that all rates shall be just and reasonable, and without the power to compel the carrier to charge a rate which is just and reasonable the benefit of that prohibition cannot be secured to the public.

In the case under consideration the complainant asks an order for reparation. That is to say, it asks that the defendant railroad

companies shall be compelled to repay to the various members of the association whatever sums have been exacted over and above a reasonable rate, in this case the difference between 17 cents per hundred pounds and 22 cents. Why does not this afford a complete remedy?

The Interstate Commerce Act provides that in case a person is damaged by a violation of that act, a suit for such damages may be begun either before the Commission or directly in the Circuit Court. In reference to the rates under consideration, certain persons, being in reality the same who are conducting the prosecution before the Commission, did bring suit the proper circuit court for the recovery of the excess over and above a reasonable rate in case of shipments made before the filing of the complaint. The court in that case has recently held that the action will not lie, that the published rate is presumptively a reasonable rate, and that the shipper cannot maintain an action to recover any part of that rate which he has paid. As the law stands to-day, therefore, there is absolutely no remedy for the exaction of an unreasonable freight charge. The Commission has no power to compel a reasonable rate for the future, and neither the courts nor the Commission have power to award damages for the exaction of an unreasonable rate in the past. Although the statute of the United States expressly declares that rates shall be just and reasonable, the carrier can with immunity in interstate traffic impose and collect without responsibility to anyone whatever rate it sees fit.

Let us assume, however, that the decision of the Circuit Court in that case was wrong, as may possibly turn out after years of litigation, and that reparation can be awarded. Does that afford a remedy?

The complainants in the case under consideration are grain shippers, not grain producers. They buy from the farmer and sell upon the market, and this is the method by which the farmer ordinarily disposes of his grain. The price of grain in that country is determined usually by the Chicago market and the freight rate. If the freight rate is advanced, the price to the farmer is reduced. If the freight rate is reduced, the price to the farmer is advanced. In the present case, if the rate were reduced 5 cents per hundred pounds, wheat at Sioux City would be worth approximately 5 cents per hundred pounds more. The rate is not, therefore, a matter of much consequence to the shipper, since the price he pays is deter-

mined in view of whatever that rate may be. The loss ultimately falls upon the producer.

The only one who can recover an excess in the freight rate from the carrier is the one who has paid it. The farmer does not pay for it. Therefore he can recover nothing. A moment's consideration shows that with reference to the damage already done there can be no adequate remedy. The only substantial relief is to correct this rate for the future.

It is said that railway rates are not at the present time unreasonably high, and that there is therefore no occasion for a law by which they can be made lower. Assuming that rates in the aggregate are too low, it does not by any means follow that individual rates are not too high. The reduction of rates hitherto has been accomplished by the action of competitive forces, and those forces have not been equally active at all points. It results that while many rates are too low others are too high, and that one individual is making good the loss incurred by the railway in the service of some other individual.

Certain it is that complaints of this character are continually made. Such complaints have been habitually entertained and decided by the Commission in the past. There are now pending before it many cases in which the complaint is against the excessive rate. The reductions asked for in these cases would aggregate many hundreds of thousands of dollars annually. Without question, the complainants in the main honestly believe in the justice of their contention. My claim is that so long as the statute prohibits an unreasonable rate, and so long as shippers, including whole sections of this country, declare that unreasonable rates are exacted, there should be some tribunal which can entertain and decide that question, and, if the complaint is established, administer adequate relief.

It is not, however, alone, nor in the main, in the correction of the excessive rate that this power must be exercised. The third section provides that railways shall grant no undue preference to any person, locality, or commodity. Perhaps the most frequent complaint in the matter of rates is that they violate the provisions of this section, and it is even less possible to correct violations of this kind without the power to establish a rate for the future than to correct an excessive rate.

For the purpose of illustrating this, I will take an informal

complaint which has been made to the Commission. By this is meant a complaint which has been received, but which has not assumed the form of a litigated case.

It is a matter of history that the Standard Oil Company in the past has received from various railroads enormous preferences. One of the things which led to the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Law was the hope of restraining preferences of that kind. It is charged, however, that such discriminations, though in a different guise, still continue.

The Standard Oil Company has large refining works at Whiting, Ill., near Chicago. Several large independent refiners are located at Cleveland, Ohio. Whiting takes the Chicago rate. The rate on most articles from Chicago to New Orleans, for example, is about 8 per cent. lower than the rate from Cleveland. Linseed oil takes from Chicago to New Orleans the rate of 26 cents per hundred pounds, and from Cleveland to New Orleans the rate of 28 cents per hundred pounds. Petroleum and its products seem to be an exception. The rate on that kind of oil from Chicago is 23 cents and from Cleveland 31 cents per hundred pounds, being nearly 35 per cent. in favor of Chicago. The independent refiners charge that this discrimination practically excludes them from these Southern markets.

Now, it should be carefully borne in mind that no opinion is expressed in reference to this complaint. A freight rate is a peculiar thing, and what seems utterly inconsistent upon the face is often seen to be entirely proper when the facts are developed. That may be so in this case. It is quite possible that oil obtained from the earth should be subject to different conditions than that extracted from the seed of a plant. But it is also possible that the complaint is well founded. It is one of many of a similar nature. Let us assume that it is, that a formal complaint has been made, a formal trial had, and the conclusion arrived at that the discrimination exists. How under the law, as at present applied, can that discrimination be corrected? It must be remembered that the rate from Cleveland is made by one line and the rate from Chicago by an independent line. It might be thought that the rate from Cleveland is too high, but this is by no means necessarily true. That rate may be a just and reasonable one, and the iniquity may be in the fact that the rate from Chicago is unreasonably low in comparison with other rates. No suit can therefore be brought by

anyone nor any penalty inflicted upon anyone for an overcharge, because no overcharge exists. This injustice can in fact only be prevented by laying hold upon the rate itself and correcting that.

And what is the objection to investing the Commission with authority to prescribe this remedy ?

If two individuals enter into a certain kind of contract, a court of equity will compel a specific performance of that contract. Most railway charters grant the extraordinary privileges which they contain upon condition that the corporation shall become a common carrier for reasonable rates of toll. When the corporation accepts that charter and avails itself of those privileges, it impliedly agrees with the State that it will discharge the duties of a common carrier for a reasonable compensation. Now, if it insists, in violation of that obligation, upon an unreasonable compensation, is there any reason why the State may not specifically enforce that contract? It may be said that in most instances the charters have been granted by the State and that there is therefore no implied contract of that sort between the Federal Government and the railway, but so far as this interstate transportation is concerned, the State under our peculiar government surrenders its power to the nation, and that power may properly be exercised by the nation. Laying aside any consideration of that sort, however, assuming simply that the right of the national government extends to securing upon interstate shipments a reasonable and non-preferential rate, what objection is there to directly compelling the carrier to make that rate ? Does not such a method of procedure do exact justice to all parties, and is there any other which can ?

It is said that the power is a tremendous one. The freight rate may crush out an industry or stifle a community. A power of this extent ought not to be vested in any tribunal.

The power certainly is great, but is that a valid reason against its exercise? Shall a wrong be unrighted because it is a great wrong? When an individual or an industry or a locality finds itself in the tightening coils of a railway corporation, shall there be no relief ?

It is objected that the Interstate Commission is not qualified to deal with questions of rates. The suggestion seems to be that long experience in traffic matters is essential to an understanding of these subjects, and that no one not thus specially qualified can apprehend them.

Let it be carefully observed just what the function of the Commission is. That body does not make the rates. Experienced traffic managers still perform that duty. The Commission only sits in revision of those rates, and to inquire whether they are in violation of the Interstate Commerce law.

Railway rates are not made as a young duck swims, by instinct. The traffic manager can state the reasons upon which he has proceeded in a particular instance, and those reasons can be apprehended by a person of ordinary intelligence. That the present Commission is not qualified to cope with these subjects may be true, but that five men chosen, as this law contemplates, for their special fitness, exclusively occupied in the hearing of questions of this kind in all parts of the country, looking at the problem, not alone from the standpoint of the traffic manager, but from every standpoint, cannot intelligently consider and decide these questions, is absurd.

Certainly that tribunal would make mistakes. Every human tribunal, except a court of final resort, does that. But is not an adequate safeguard provided against those errors?

If the Commission, after the fullest investigation, has determined that the rate made by the carrier is in violation of the act and has ordered the carrier to so alter its rate as to bring it into conformity with the act, the railway company may review that order in the Federal courts, and the court may direct that the order shall remain inoperative during the pendency of such proceedings. These proceedings, in review, may be taken first in the Circuit Court, from thence to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and finally, if the amount in controversy exceeds $2,000, to the Supreme Court of the United States. In no case, therefore, where the result of the change is of the consequence of $2,000 to the carrier can the rate be changed if the Supreme Court of the United States is of the opinion that it is not "a legal, just and reasonable" one.

It is alleged, in the third place, that the power asked for in respect to the correction of rates is a new and a revolutionary power, never before seriously thought of in connection with the act to regulate commerce and which the Commission is seeking to arrogate to itself now for the first time.

The fact that this power is a new one, were that a fact, would not be conclusive against it. If the experience of ten years had

demonstrated that in no other way could the principles of the Interstate Commerce Act be enforced, that might afford a sufficient reason for bestowing even an untried authority. Such is not, however, the situation. This power is not new. It can be demonstrated that in the popular apprehension the Commission always possessed this power, that for the first five years of its existence the railways conceded its existence, and that from the first case in which its exercise was possible down to the 24th day of May, 1897, it was uniformly exercised by the Commission.

Mr. Walker, in his pamphlet above referred to, has stated with great emphasis that this authority is a novel one. The substance of what he says is that the Interstate Commerce Act conferred upon the Commission no power over rates and that no one at the time of its passage supposed that it did; that at first the Commission itself was in harmony with this view of the situation and disclaimed all authority to nominate rates, but that subsequently in the progress of events it began to seek such authority, when its aspirations were checked by the decision of the Supreme Court in May, 1897.

For the first eighteen months of its existence, Mr. Walker was a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. An examination of the records and files of that body during that period will show that no authority over rates is asked for to-day, with a single exception, and that an apparent one, that was not either actually exercised by him during that period or the granting of which he did not recommend to Congress.

The act to regulate commerce became effective April 5, 1887, and the Commission very soon organized.

On the 15th day of June, 1887, complaint was filed by one Evans against the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company, charging that the rate of freight for the transportation of wheat from Walla Walla, in Washington Territory, to Portland, in the State of Oregon, was excessive. Testimony was subsequently taken in that matter, and the case was submitted October 12 and decided December 3, 1887. So far as I can ascertain, this is the first time the Commission ever held that a freight rate was excessive. The order in that case was:

"Now, it is ordered and adjudged by the Interstate Commerce Commission that on and after the 15th day of December in the year 1887 said defendant must cease and desist during the present grain season, namely on

and from the 15th day of December, 1887, until the 30th day of June in the year 1888, from charging and receiving more than twenty-three and one-half cents per one hundred pounds, or four dollars and seventy-five cents per ton, on wheat transported by it over its railroad lines from the city of Walla Walla in Washington Territory to Portland in the State of Oregon."

Here, then, in the very first case in which that could be done, a rate was prescribed for the future. All opinions and orders of the Commission are matters of record. The record in this case shows that Aldace F. Walker was present and participated in the making of the order.

One means of imposing an unjust freight rate is by an unjust classification of the freight. The rate upon first-class freight is more than upon second-class, and if an article which ought to go second class is classified as first class the rate, while a proper one for first-class articles in general, is too high as applied to that article. Therefore, in order to adjust that rate it is necessary to change the classification, and one of the powers asked for by the Commission is this.

January 13, 1888, the case of Reynolds vs. the Western New York and Pennsylvania Railway Company was decided. The complaint was filed October 17, 1887, and was that the defendants classified railroad ties as fifth class when they should be classified with lumber as sixth class, and that certain special commodity rates were given to lumber which were not given to railroad ties. The Commission sustained the complaint and an order was made directing the defendant for the future to classify railroad ties as lumber.

This was the first case in which an order of that kind could have been made. Mr. Walker delivered the opinion of the Commission and the record shows that he was present and participated in the making of the order.

The third power asked for by the Commission over rates is, in some instances, to determine the divisions of a through rate. The route between two points is often made up of connecting lines, and the rate by this line cannot be altered unless some one has power to determine in what proportions the different companies shall share in the total rate. It became evident pretty early that the omission to provide some such authority was a defect in the act itself, and in its second annual report the Commission presented to Congress a recommendation that it should be invested with this

power, which was manifestly necessary to carry out the contemplated purposes of the act. That report contained a proposed bill for the purpose indicated. The report was signed by Mr. Walker as one of the Commission, and I am informed upon credible authority that he himself prepared this bill. In an opinion delivered March 25, 1889, he said:

> "The facts in the present case clearly develop the importance of such an amendment as shall provide a mode of procedure for carrying into effect the establishment of through routes and through rates and the equitable apportionment of the rates established, in cases where the refusal of such routes and rates works an unlawful preference. . . . The recommendations concerning amendments to the third section of the Act, which were made in the Second Annual Report, are therefore again renewed."

These three things, the fixing of a maximum rate, the changing of a classification, or what is analagous to a classification, and the determining of the divisions of a through rate in some instances are the only powers over the rate which are suggested in the Eleventh Annual Report, with the exception of the power to fix a minimum, as well as a maximum, rate whenever that is necessary to correct discriminations under the third section, and in no other case and for no other purpose.

It is apparent, therefore, that every substantial power over rates which the Commission asks for in its Eleventh Annual Report was actually exercised by it while Mr. Walker was a member of it. These powers which he now denominates "the most enormous ever conceived by the human intellect, . . . all the wildest advocate of a bureaucratic system could desire," were actually dispensed by him. The two important things to be observed are: (1.) That the fact as to the original understanding of the law is not as he states it. (2.) That during the six years following the passage of the act while these powers were assumed by the Commission and conceded in the main by the railways, none of the disastrous effects which he predicts followed. The commerce of the country was not dried up, nor were its energies prostrated. Upon the other hand, in these earlier days of the act to regulate commerce very great good was accomplished and many wrongs were corrected by the exercise of these very powers.

Mr. Walker says that at the time of the passage of the act no one supposed that it conferred the power to prescribe a rate for the future. It has been shown what the Commission and Mr. Walker himself, while he was on the Commission, understood in

that respect. How did the carriers view this question? So far as I can learn by investigation and inquiry, no doubt was ever suggested by them as to the right of the Commission in this respect for the first six years of its existence. Orders of this sort were for the most part complied with. In some instances they were resisted, but never upon the ground that the authority to make them did not exist. During all that time in no answer, in no argument before the Commission was existence of that authority questioned. This position was first taken in what is known as the Social Circle case, which was decided by the Circuit Court in 1893. The Orange Rate case, in which the decision that no such power existed was finally made by the Supreme Court of the United States, was tried first before the Circuit Court and then before the Circuit Court of Appeals before being taken to the court of final resort. In both of these inferior courts the railways were represented by able counsel and the cases were stubbornly contested, and yet in neither the Circuit Court nor the Circuit Court of Appeals was this question raised. It was only presented in the Supreme Court after it had had been first suggested in the cases above referred to.

The same remarkable change of views is observable in the opinions of Dr. Nimmo. To-day no language is severe enough to characterize the rate-making aspirations of the Commission. In 1893, the Patterson bill, so called, being under consideration, and it being suggested that perhaps in connection with that bill, which permitted pooling, the Commission ought to be given power over the rate in the first instance, Dr. Nimmo appeared and testified before the House Committee. The following is an extract from that testimony as printed:

"SENATOR CHANDLER: Let me ask you if it is your idea that it will be suicidal paternalism to allow the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix reasonable rates in the beginning?

"MR. NIMMO: Yes, sir; I think it would.

"SENATOR CHANDLER: But you think it is entirely a legitimate governmental interference to allow them to reduce, if they can, exorbitant rates after they are once fixed?

"MR. NIMMO: Yes, sir; upon a complaint and hearing of the case."

But, as I have already shown, the only instance in which the Commission asks for the right to reduce rates is upon a complaint and hearing of the case. Dr. Nimmo, therefore, approved in express terms in 1893 what he declares in 1898 to be "unmitigated imperialism."

The criticisms of Mr. Walker and Dr. Nimmo are significant as indicating the attitude of certain railways, not perhaps a majority, toward the proposed legislation. That attitude and the reason for it are not difficult to understand. Originally the railways naturally opposed the passage of this law. When it became evident that some measure of the sort would be enacted, the object was to make it as harmless as possible. Several great railway systems suffered a change of heart, and were not only ready to admit that there ought to be such a law, but even to suggest what it ought to be. Some acute lawyer was ready to suggest at every vital point an innocent-looking amendment. The result was that, while the general principles of the law were broad enough, no sooner was an attempt made to enforce those principles than defects began to appear, and the climax was reached when the court decided May 24, 1897, that the act gave no power over the rate, and therefore that there was no way in which the provisions of the first and third sections could be made effectual.

The bill of the Commission, so far as the rate-making power is concerned, simply aims to provide a way in which the provisions of those two sections can be enforced. The astute railroad representatives of this country saw at a glance that that issue could not be met. Hence the endeavor to spread abroad the idea that this is a new notion, that these are new powers, dangerous in their exercise and at variance with the genius of our institutions, and so persistently has all this been circulated that many people have come to actually believe it.

The real issue, however, is regulation or no regulation. Occasionally a railway manager is found frank enough to admit this. One of the most earnest opponents of these proposed amendments is Mr. Milton H. Smith, President of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company. Some time since Mr. Smith testified in a matter pending before the Commission, and in the course of that testimony took occasion to give his views upon the situation. He has published and circulated in certain quarters that testimony. The following brief extract is given here:

"COMMISSION: We exercise no authority over your rate until it has been determined by investigation that that rate is an unreasonable one. Your objection comes to this, that there ought to be no authority anywhere which has power to inquire whether a rate on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad is reasonable or unreasonable? . . .

"MR. SMITH: That is my position.

* * * * * * * *

"COMMISSION: Now, let us go back to our question. That is the foundation of it all. Here are these two points connected by your line of railroad and connected by no other line. You say that the Government ought to leave you and the shipper who resides at those places free to contract. Now, that shipper is obliged to pay whatever you charge?

"MR. SMITH: No.

"COMMISSION: What could he do?

"MR. SMITH: He could walk; he can do as he did before he had a railroad, as thousands now do who have not railroads."

Exactly. Let the people walk.

Put alongside of this the latest utterance of the Supreme Court of the United States in disposing of the Nebraska freight rate cases March 7, 1898:

"It cannot therefore be admitted that a railroad corporation maintaining a highway under the authority of the State may fix its rates with a view solely to its own interests and ignore the rights of the public."

Here is presented in the statements of Mr. Smith and Mr. Justice Harlan the real controversy. If Mr. Smith is right, then the law as it now stands is right. If Mr. Justice Harlan is right, then the law at present affords no protection to the public, for its only remedy to-day is to walk.

CHARLES A. PROUTY.

THE MAROONS OF JAMAICA.

BY LADY BLAKE.

THE Maroons of Jamaica are an interesting people. Though coming of the same race as the other negroes, they look down on the latter and hold them in contempt, their theory being that Maroons were never slaves to the English.

When the Spaniards finally quitted Jamaica, after a guerilla warfare that lasted for three years, they left behind them a certain number of their slaves, to whom they gave liberty on the understanding that the black men were to wage unceasing war against the English interlopers. These freed slaves retreated to the mountains, where they secured positions inaccessible to the English soldiers, and, with willing fidelity to the oath given to their Spanish masters, they were in the habit of sallying forth, killing, when possible, the new arrivals, destroying or carrying off their property. When such raids became unbearably aggressive, expeditions were organized and bodies of troops and militia were sent to reduce the Maroons to order. These expeditions are known in Jamaica history as the Maroon Wars, which continued with more or less frequency for over a century. Meantime, the Maroons were daily increasing in numbers by the addition of runaway slaves, who must have been numerous, for it was calculated, at one time, that in the towns alone of Jamaica twenty thousand runaway slaves were living, successfully eluding all attempts made to apprehend them. There is no record as to how many took refuge with the Maroons, but the number must have been considerable, and largely consisted of Coromantees. The Coromantees were a tribe so fierce and turbulent, that, after disastrous experience of the difficulty and risk of attempting to turn Coromantees into satisfactory investments in the island, the

Jamaica Legislature in "slavery days" passed a law forbidding the importation of any more of the tribe.

Recruited from this source, the Maroons daily became more formidable. The hills in which they had ensconced themselves were well nigh inaccessible to Europeans, or even to the "Black-shot," who accompanied them. The latter were confidential slaves, armed and equipped as soldiers to assist their masters. The Maroons gained access to their fastnesses by narrow paths known only to themselves. Such paths, or, more properly, tracks, were easily obliterated, and by bending bushes and breaking twigs the Maroons easily decoyed their pursuers in the wrong direction. Once off the track, the ground was almost impassable; the jagged and pointed honeycombed rocks tore the boots and cut the feet like razors. To force one's way through tropical undergrowth or "bush," as it is known to the inhabitants of the tropics, is, under any circumstances, a difficult matter; but, in the district which was the principal stronghold of the Maroons, the difficulty was increased a hundredfold by deep fissures, which traverse the limestone rock in all directions. High cones containing deep hollows, known locally as "cock-pits," stud the face of the land in close proximity. An eye witness of the Maroon "war" of 1795 thus describes these cock-pits, into some of which it is possible to descend by climbing, while the interior of others can only be reached by being lowered into it by ropes. "After ascending and descending a number of steep and rugged mountains, our party passed by a cock-pit of the second size, and halted for a few minutes to reconnoitre it. It seemed about five or six hundred feet in depth; the hills around it were in some parts nearly perpendicular, the breadth of the area below seemed not to exceed two hundred feet, and a narrow defile led into it on one side. It had the appearance, to the spectator, standing on the summit of one of the heights of the surrounding mountains, of a vast funnel with its focus downward. Trees of immense height grew on its sides, some of whose tops waved far beneath us."

Every now and then, the way was blocked by an abrupt and almost perpendicular precipice, up which the invaders had to ascend in single file, assisting themselves by projections in the rock and the boughs of the trees that sprung from the clefts in the rock. Each man handed his musket or "fusee," as the writer in question calls it, to his comrade who had gained the ledge

above him, and so the expedition toiled pantingly upwards; often a climb of the kind was but a prelude to a steeper and more difficult descent on the opposite side of the mountain. The cock-pit country is almost destitute of water; so porous is the rock that the rivers run in caverns far underground. In the whole district there are only one or two far distant springs, and these were carefully guarded by the Maroons, who alone were acquainted with their whereabouts. When on hunting expeditions in pursuit of wild hogs or agoutis, the Maroons had to slake their thirst with the water stored at the base of the leaves of the wild bromelias (wild pines, as they are called in Jamaica), or with the sap of the water-witty, a species of wild grape, the stem of which contains a pure and colorless sap, wholesome and tasteless as good water. The stem is cut through about a couple of feet from the ground, and the water drunk as it flows freely from the hanging witty. If the vine is then severed about six feet higher up and the upper end kept elevated, nearly a quart of cool and refreshing water may be obtained from a stem an inch and a half or so in diameter. The white soldiers were unacquainted with the resources of the forests, and in any case water by itself would have been regarded by the soldiers of the last century as poor comfort, so a portion of the *impedimenta* on these expeditions consisted of huge joints of bamboo, which were filled with grog. At night the men had to lie down to rest on the bare ground, wrapped in the great coats that had been such wearisome burdens during the heat of the day. But though the night brought coolness—for the nights in Jamaica are almost invariably cool and refreshing on a campaign in the bush—they often failed to bring repose to white men, as often as not parched with thirst and almost always in such localities tormented by mosquitoes.

In this kind of warfare, the suffering and loss were usually on the side of the so-called "victors." Guerrila fighting in the tropics is not a mode of waging war to which English soldiers easily adapt themselves. Their spirits were depressed by such a scene as that described by one of them. In entering a narrow defile between two high precipices, where some time previously a number of their comrades had fallen into a Maroon ambush, they "beheld with horror the unburied skeletons of the victims who had fallen, most of whose heads had been cut off

and stuck on the stumps of trees, while their carcasses were left a prey to the devouring carrion crow." In one of these "wars," we read of sixty-seven killed and twenty-three being wounded on the side of the English, while of the Maroons not a man was known to have fallen. Then, there were horrible misgivings as to the fate of the wounded who fell into the hands of the enemy. "Some of them had been wounded and fallen alive into the hands of the savages, who doubtless would cause them to die a death of protracted tortures, attended by every horrible insult." So difficult was progress through those wild districts that a certain Capt. Oldham, of the Sixty-second Regiment, had "perished through fatigue." Houses and estates were burnt by the Maroons, slaves and property carried off, and yet the troops could rarely succeed in coming up with the agile mountaineers, and all efforts to coop them up in certain limits proved vain.

The English attempts to overcome the Maroons were almost as ineffectual as the Spanish efforts to reduce the Cuban insurgents, and the circumstances in both cases were somewhat alike. It is no wonder that anxiety and apprehension cast a gloom over the whole island. The state of affairs was becoming intolerable and was, of course, to the last degree detrimental to the colony; it was necessary to bring the Maroons to terms in any way that was feasible. Treaties had been made with the Maroons in 1738 and 1739; by the terms of these treaties, certain tracts of land were granted to the Maroons free of taxation. The Maroons were to come to the assistance of the government against domestic or foreign foes whenever called upon to do so; their captain or headman was to inflict any punishment among their men for crimes committed by them, short of the punishment of death; the Maroons were to restore all runaway slaves to their owners, receiving a reward for so doing as the legislature should appoint, and in each of their settlements or "towns," as they were called, two white men were always to reside. Such were the principal stipulations of the treaties, in which were also several minor clauses. For some years after these treaties were made there was peace with the Maroons, but in 1773 they again became discontented, and before long were once more upon the warpath.

The appointment of an unpopular superintendent (the white men who resided in the Maroon towns were called superintendents) was one cause of displeasure to the Maroons, but the immediate

cause of the outbreak was that, at Montego Bay (a town on the north shore of the island), the magistrates had imprudently allowed two Maroons, found guilty of stealing a couple of pigs from a poor man, to be flogged by a negro slave. Had the sentence been executed by a white man, no fault would have been found with it, but to be flogged by a negro slave, a slave, moreover, whom the Maroons themselves had previously arrested and lodged in the workhouse, was an indignity which they bitterly resented. As the two culprits left the town after their punishment and passed through the plantations on their way back to the mountains, they were jeered at and hooted by the exultant slaves, who were, of course, overjoyed at the humiliation of those who so often frustrated the slaves in their attempts to abscond, and restored them to their owners. Their resentment was speedily shown by active measures, and outrages and pillage spread far and wide over the island, till at length the governor, Lord Balcarres, in person, proceeded to take the field against the Maroons, accompanied by a strong force of soldiers of the regular army, militia and "black-shot." Lord Balcarres established his headquarters at a place called Vaughan's Field, and from there dispatched a strong expedition against a Maroon stronghold. The detachment was, however, defeated with heavy loss, its commander, Col. Sandford, a Col. Gallimore and many others being among those who were killed. Defeat followed defeat, in spite of the large force at command of the authorities. Victory was always on the side of the Maroons. These continued disasters spread consternation through the whole island, and at length the position became so serious that it was realized that, if things continued in such an unsatisfactory state, there was danger of losing the colony completely. A chance conversation between a Col. Quarrell and a Spaniard whom he happened to meet suggested to the authorities a new and more effectual means of subduing the enemy. It appeared that, some years before, when the British abandoned the Mosquito Shore to the Spaniards, the latter had found it impossible to take possession of the new territory, so fierce and crafty was the resistance opposed to them by the native Indians. In a few months nearly three whole regiments had fallen victims to ambushes and the Indian mode of warfare, till at length the Spanish commander bethought him of sending to Cuba for some of the trained bloodhounds which were used in

pursuing fugitive slaves in the dense forests that clothe the "Queen of the Antilles." These auxiliaries had proved completely successful on the Mosquito Shore, and the native Indians in a short time were reduced to subjection. It struck Col. Quarrell that what had succeeded on the Mosquito Shore might be equally effective in Jamaica, the Maroons' mode of warfare being very similar to that of the Indians.

Much indignation has been expressed at the barbarity of using these dogs. To use them might, of course, have been barbarous and, no doubt, they were at times used in a way that was cruel, but it was by no means necessary that there should have been any cruelty in making use of the animal's instinct in following a track and detecting an ambush, except in so far that all pursuit must occasion dread to the creature pursued. Every bloodhound had its own keeper or Chasseur, and when tracking fugitives the dog was held by a rope which was fastened to the belt worn by its Chasseur. A perfectly trained dog, even if set free by its keeper, would not kill the object it pursued unless resisted, but on coming up with a fugitive the animal barked till the runaway stopped, when the dog would crouch near him, keeping guard till the Chasseur came up. The dogs were almost constantly muzzled, the muzzle and collar being joined together. Ferocious the Cuban bloodhounds undoubtedly were; their very name was one of terror to the black people. After considerable difficulty, a commissioner being dispatched expressly to Cuba at last succeeded in obtaining the assistance of a certain number of Chasseurs and their dogs for service against the Maroons in Jamaica, it being stipulated that they were not to be detained in Jamaica beyond three months without a new agreement being made.

The arrival of the Spaniards and their bloodhounds—both the dogs and their keepers presenting a wild and formidable appearance—caused consternation and terror to the negroes of Jamaica, and the reports of the ferocity and prowess of these auxiliaries that reached the Maroons effected what the soldiers had failed in doing, and the Maroons at the suggestion of Major-General Walpole sued for peace and a "treaty." The history of that treaty is as little creditable as that of the more famous one of Limerick. General Walpole had assured the Maroons that none of those who surrendered should be sent off the island. The Jamaica House of

Assembly refused to agree to this, and decided that the Trelawney Town Maroons, who were the chief offenders in the recent troubles, were to be transported to Nova Scotia. Accordingly, some six hundred of those who, relying on the assurance of the English general, had laid down their arms and surrendered, were shipped off to Nova Scotia, from whence—the climate of Nova Scotia proving too severe for them—they were eventually removed to Sierra Leone. The House of Assembly voted a sum of five hundred guineas for the purpose of purchasing a sword to be presented to Gen. Walpole, but the general so greatly resented the perfidy that he considered had been shown in not respecting the conditions of his agreement with the Maroons, that he declined to receive the sword, assuring the House "that not any person would receive their favors with more gratitude than I should, could I possibly do it with credit to myself."

The Trelawney Town Maroons banished, the inhabitants of other Maroon settlements were left undisturbed, and their descendants still remain in Jamaica. Their privileges have been respected, and they have proved themselves faithful allies and friends of the white people of the island. In slavery days they received a reward for every runaway slave brought back by them. Their zeal in obtaining such reward was unflagging, rendering them objects of dread to the slaves and keeping up the link that bound them to the white people. A visit to a Maroon settlement, even at the present day, is an interesting experience. There is one Maroon settlement—that of Moore Town, on the northern slope of the John Crow Mountains—to which there is a road practicable for wheeled vehicles; the other settlements can only be gained by bridle paths which wind through wood and bush, skirting steep declivities, thickly clothed with the luxuriant foliage of the tropics, the path now descending into a shady glade, now mounting over some towering crest fringed with the stately cabbage palm or beautiful with clumps of magnificent tree ferns. When the Maroons desire to do honor to expected guests, a certain number of them await the party two or three miles from their settlement and escort them into their "town," as the cluster of huts is termed. On such occasions, the Maroons cover themselves with trails of moss, ferns or branches of trees, wound round their bodies and heads till they look like so many May day Jacks-in-the-green. This, in Maroon parlance, is their "Civez," and its use

is obvious, for when on the warpath it renders them almost indistinguishable when they are creeping through the bush. When escorting their visitors, the men fire off their muskets at intervals, executing at the same time strange twists and contortions of their bodies, which often prove very trying to the nerves of the ponies ridden by the visitors. The "Abeng," or horn, is blown with great fervor. This is the signal horn of the Maroons; every Maroon who hears it sounded is bound immediately to resort to their appointed trysting place. The abeng is only a rough cow horn, but with it the Maroons can convey information to each other and exchange signals at a considerable distance. I once asked one of them if anyone could blow the abeng.

"No one but a Maroon," was the answer.

"How do the Maroons learn to blow it?" I continued.

"They don't learn," replied the man; "it's in the blood of the Maroons to blow the abeng!"

To receive their visitors in due style at the settlement, the Maroons await them drawn up in a body, the men brandishing hog spears or firing off muskets; all wear the "Civez," while the women spring wildly up and down, clapping their hands and whirling round and round, working themselves into a state of great excitement. It is a wild and most picturesque scene. The men engage in mimic combats, some kneeling down and pretending to take aim, others gesticulating and dancing in a barbaric fashion, the women waving their arms and leaping into the air, while shots are fired, abengs blown and the whole assembly shout and sing at the top of their voices. On such an occasion I have seen a Maroon fling himself headlong into a river in a sort of fit caused by excitement; and a woman throw herself on the ground and roll over and over down the slope on which she had been standing. It is etiquette for the Maroon women, or "ladies," as they prefer being called, to dust their guests all over with their handkerchiefs. I mentioned this custom of the Maroons once to a Spanish gentleman, who told me that, in Cuba and in the remoter parts of Spain, a similar dusting is to the present day practiced by the country people as a mark of respect.

The Maroons, like all the negroes in Jamaica, are now members of some Christian church or sect, but till the beginning of this century they continued, like their forefathers, their belief in Accompong, god of the heavens and creator of all things; however,

they offered no sacrifices, and seemed to have paid him small regard. The principal Maroon settlement in the island still bears the name of their original deity. They were and are steadfast believers in the power of Obeah and many of them are said to be adepts in its unlawful practices.

In the "good old days now gone by," a Maroon might have as many wives as he pleased, but few had more than two, on account of the expense, for on making a present to one wife, the husband was obliged to bestow a gift of equal value on each of the others. When a girl was old enough to be married it was usual for the parents to kill a pig to make a feast for their neighbors, rum flowed plentifully and the people amused themselves dancing and singing. Each guest was expected to place a small piece of money in the girl's mouth. This entertainment was the intimation on the part of the family that the eligible young men might come forward with their suits. The girl's debut in Maroon parlance was called "she hab killed hog!"

The Maroons have their full share of superstitions common to all negroes, and these, as is usually the case in the West Indies, are curiously blended with the beliefs and usages of Christianity. Not very long ago a Maroon girl died at one of the settlements in the John Crow Mountains. The coffin was being carried down the hill to be buried at a place called Ginger Hall, where other Maroons were interred. Suddenly, so it was reported, the coffin "wheeled round." This was regarded as a sign that prayers and hymns in sufficient numbers had not been offered up and sung before the procession started, so the bearers turned back to the house and sung and prayed anew. Then again they set out, but this time the coffin not only wheeled round, but to the horror of those present, the lid proceeded to come off also. There could be no mistake about a sign like this! The Maroons consulted together, and came to the conclusion that the corpse objected to being buried at Ginger Hall, and that the best thing to be done was to bury it where they were; so a grave was dug by the side of the path and the coffin duly buried. The Maroons were well aware that there were reasons why the corpse should object to Ginger Hall as its resting place. The father of the girl who lay in that coffin had killed his brother for having stolen two whole quarts of sugar from him. That murdered uncle was buried at Ginger Hall, and it was known that his *duppy*

had declared its intention of doing for all his brother's family. There were indeed rumors that the girl's neck had been broken in a mysterious and unaccountable manner before she died. Altogether, under such circumstances, the bush by the mountain path was a safer resting place than Ginger Hall for the girl's body.

In the disastrous outbreak of 1865, the Maroons from the John Crow Mountains came gallantly to the rescue of the white inhabitants of St. Thomas in the East who had escaped massacre. It is said that on this occasion their zeal sometimes outran their discretion, and when they found themselves again on the warpath the old savage joy in slaying for the sake of killing revived, and that many negroes who had taken no part in the murders and pillage were shot by the excited and infuriated Maroons. If report does not belie them, in several instances the Maroons cut off the ears of their victims, which they proceeded to fry and eat. This was, however, done, not from brutality, but as a precaution to prevent the *duppies* of the slain from hearing the footsteps of the Maroons and starting in pursuit of them.

The ideas and ways of the Maroons are African at root, with a superficial graft of Evangelicalism that forms an odd combination. The upset of law and order that followed the outbreak at Morant Bay was a favorable opportunity for taking the law into their own hands, and the Maroons were not slow to seize it to pay off old scores. They came down from the mountains and encamped in the little village of Bath, where at night the street was ablaze with their campfires, round which they danced fantastic war dances to the sound of the tom-tom, a drum made by stretching a goatskin over the end of a hollow tree trunk. Two or three miles from Bath, at a little hamlet called Airy Castle, lived a colored man against whom the chief man of the Maroons had a grudge. It was the moment for paying it off, so the chief or captain (as the Maroon leaders are called) dispatched some of his followers with directions to hang his enemy. The men performed the job to the best of their ability, and the captain went to feast his eyes on his suspended foe, when to his annoyance he found that a mistake had been made, and that the person hung by his men was not the man who had incurred his displeasure. However, the wrong man was dead and there was no help for it, so the disappointed captain and his followers proceeded on

their way. As they marched along the main road, whom should the captain espy but the real man who had incurred his displeasure. No time was lost; the man was seized, and on this occasion the captain saw that the right man was hung. But, however reckless in administering punishment to the insurgents, the Maroons did good service and saved many white women and children, who, but for them, would have fallen into the hands of the lawless and maddened negroes. In one instance, several European women and their children who had fled into the woods, took refuge in the hut of a Maroon woman. Before long a number of negroes, rendered ferocious and reckless by the scenes of bloodshed and robbery that were taking place in the district, were seen running toward the hut. The Maroon woman desired the trembling fugitives to have no fear, to remain where they were and not to attempt to fly. She then left the hut and, addressing the shrieking and excited rabble, warned them that she was a Maroon, and that if they dared to enter her hut or to lay a finger on those to whom she had given refuge, her people would avenge it and would make them pay a reckoning they would never forget. The negroes, having a wholesome fear of Maroon vengeance before their eyes, did as the woman bade them and departed, leaving the hut and the refugees in it unharmed.

The Maroons have the failings of a wild and half civilized people; they are idle; to beg they are not ashamed, they can steal upon occasion and not feel much shame when detected. When aroused they are fierce and vindictive, but they have on the other hand a large share of untutored virtues. They are courteous, loyal to their word, faithful to their friends, active and plucky. Such people are not to be despised, and it is to be hoped that "those in authority over them" will never give them cause to change the Maroon opinion that their *raison d'etre* is—to put it in the words of a Maroon—"to protect strangers and to put down rebels."

EDITH BLAKE

BISMARCK AND MOTLEY.--WITH CORRESPONDENCE TILL NOW UNPUBLISHED.--III.

BY JAMES PEMBERTON GRUND.

BISMARCK had realized the dream of every German, including himself, and had seen the Princes of a United Germany do homage to the old King as German Emperor in the Great Hall at Versailles. The grateful old monarch had conferred upon him the title of Prince and the splendid revenues of the Duchy of Lauenburg. Two years had elapsed since Bismarck put the finishing touch on the great work of his life. Motley, in the letter that follows, congratulates him upon his birthday (April 1st), and acknowledges the receipt of a telegram, sent doubtless in answer to one of his own, addressed to his old fellow student on April 2d instead of on April 1st, as Motley intended it should be. This wiring of congratulations to one's old friends on their birthdays from all parts of the world, is one of the best uses to which the electric wire has been put, and nothing so greatly contributes to keep old friendships alive. Motley calls attention to the fact that April 1st is also the birthday of the Dutch Republic; for, three hundred years before, on April 1st, the town of Brielle in the Netherlands had been captured by the Water-Beggars. The town has held a celebration in honor of the event, where Motley has been an honored guest. "The Water-Beggars" was the nickname of the privateersmen to whom William of Orange issued letters of marque. They had been lying off the coast of England, when the government there prohibited their being supplied with provisions. Forced to depart, they made straight for the coast of Holland and captured Brielle, striking the first blow for Dutch liberty. They were little better than pirates, and disgraced their victory by cruelly putting to death a number of the Catholic clergy who fell into their hands. Mot-

ley hopes at some future day to accept the kind invitation to visit the Prince at Varzin, but for the present "it is impossible." He tells his old friend of the expected arrival of his daughter and of her husband, a lineal descendant of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

"6 KNEUTERDYK, THE HAGUE, 5 April, '72.

"MY DEAR BISMARCK: Only a line to acknowledge receipt of your telegram, and to send you a thousand best wishes and congratulations on your birthday—I could not do so on the day itself, although your telegram was sent upon it. By a curious coincidence the first of April is also the birthday of the Dutch Republic—that is to say, the town of Brielle was taken three hundred years ago on that day by the Water-Beggars, and I had been invited to the festival held at that ancient town in celebration of this three hundredth anniversary of the national independence. I wish that I could have been with you on your birthday. It would have been an immense pleasure to see the honors and congratulations showered upon you.

"You have few older friends, I fancy, than I, and certainly none more sympathetic and attached. Alas, I cannot yet accept your kind invitation. But to make you a visit is one of the cherished projects for the last three years, and most certainly it shall be carried out before this year closes. If you permit, I will write to you some day when I see my path clear and make the proposition. If the time should not suit, we could make some arrangement for another day. Just now I have a variety of family arrangements which tie me here, besides some literary work which must be done now or never.

"I am also expecting my daughter and her husband to pay us rather a long visit from England. She was married, just before we left that country, to Mr. Sheridan (great grandson of the famous Sheridan), and I have not seen her since.

"It makes me very happy to think that there are complaints in your family that I have not yet been able to fulfil my promise. It delights me to think that I am so kindly remembered by those of whom I think so often and with so much affection.

"My only fear is that when I once get to you I shall never be able to tear myself away again.

"Adieu, my dear friend. Give my kindest regards to your dear wife and daughters. They will allow me, I trust, this homely mode of greeting, and believe me, until we meet, as before and after,

"Most sincerely yours,

"J. L. MOTLEY."

The opportunity to visit Varzin occurred sooner than Motley had expected. In a letter of Bismarck to Motley, written on July 6th of the same year, the Prince mentions having received a letter from his friend announcing that the longed-for visit, so often deferred, is now to be made at once. He assures him he is "a thousand times welcome," and describes how, leaving Berlin in the morning, he will reach Schlawe at four in the afternoon, whence a post-chaise and "a trumpet-sounding postil-

ion" will convey him and his to Varzin. Mrs. Motley was unable to accompany her husband to Varzin, but Motley was accompanied by his daughter. Mme. de Bismarck is at Laden, but she will be back in two or three days and glad to see her husband's old friend, whose name she never mentions "without a friendly smile."

In his letters to his wife, to his other daughter and to his friend Holmes, Motley has embalmed the record of this visit. To Holmes he speaks of the week he spent at Varzin as "one of the most delightful holidays of his life." He had not seen Bismarck since 1864, in Vienna, and in those eight years, writes Motley, "he has done the work of a century." "He is somewhat stouter, and his face more weather-beaten, but as expressive and powerful as ever." They arrive a little late owing to a *contretemps*, and are marched straight into the dining room. The little boys who played around their father and his friend in the old legation at Frankfort are young men now, with crosses on their breasts, earned in that terrific charge where both so nearly lost their lives, "good-looking, handsome, well-mannered;" little Marie de Bismarck has grown into "a pretty girl, with beautiful dark hair and gray eyes; simple and unaffected, and, like both father and mother, full of fun." After dinner, Bismarck takes his friend for a walk in the woods, "he talking all the time," says Motley, "in the simplest and funniest and most interesting manner, about all sorts of things that had happened in those tremendous years; but talking of them exactly as every-day people talk of every-day matters—without any affectation." Bismarck has given up those strong cigars he used to smoke, and contents himself now with a pipe. The writer has learned that the tobacco the Prince smoked, instead of the discarded cigars, came from Holland, and is what is called *Kanaster*. He received a package of it every month, wherever he might be. The only other guests were a Pomeranian squire and his wife, old friends of the Bismarcks.

There is a good deal to tell, for Motley has not yet heard the story of 1866, as now he hears it from Bismarck's own lips; to say nothing of the great epic of 1870. Bismarck gives him a peep into the future, too, and disclaims the story that Germany has any designs on Holland, for which country its historian seems to have an especial tenderness.

Motley, too, has not been idle in all those years. His place as one of the brilliant writers of his century is firmly fixed. His success is the talk of *literati*, and he has taken honorary degrees at heaven only knows how many universities, and is corresponding member of all the learned societies extant. As Holmes prophetically wrote of him:

> "There are triumphs untold,
> There are martyrs unsung,
> There are heroes yet silent,
> To speak with his tongue."

During this visit, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the marriage of the Prince and Princess was celebrated. At dinner on the day of the silver wedding, Marie de Bismarck suddenly silences conversation by tapping on her glass with her knife and whispers to Motley, "You must propose papa's health." Then Motley, in a speech he describes as "a masterly effort in the German tongue, lasting twenty-five seconds," does so; and there is much clinking of glasses and hip-hip-hurraing, Bismarck making a short speech in reply, and others to his villagers and musicians who have come to serenade him. "The telegrams of congratulation," says Motley, with some surprise, "number two hundred." On Bismarck's later anniversaries, they ran up into the thousands.

It is a pleasing picture, the old statesman and patriot with his kinsfolk and tenantry, and the friend of his youth by to warm the cockles of his heart with tales of early days. The evening of two lives well spent, one representing all that is best in republicanism; the other the noblest type of a monarchist and a believer in blood.

Motley, when it was time to leave, consented to remain a few days longer; and, at the personal request of the Prince, Mr. George Bancroft, Minister of the United States in Berlin, consented to postpone a dinner given in Motley's honor, the invitations to which had been already issued. This was the last meeting of the two old friends and fellow students, and Motley had a presentiment it would be so. "The parting was painful," he writes, "for heaven knows when I shall ever see him again." In a few years the Shadow of Death had come between them.

JAMES PEMBERTON GRUND.

THE PASSION FOR DISTINCTION.

BY PROFESSOR MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN, LL.D.

At the Court of St. Germain, in the reign of the Sun King, there was the "divine tabouret," as Madame de Sévigné calls it, in her letter of Wednesday, the first of April, 1671. And Madame de Sévigné's epithets are so precious as to be worthy of the exact date. So one day, when the pretty young woman who had married de Ventadour, the wretched old Duke, for the sacred privilege of the tabouret, waited until it could be brought for her, our Lady of the Letters whispered to the grand master of ceremonies, "Ah, let her have it; it has cost her dear enough!"

Not only at Saint Germain, but everywhere is the tabouret—that little stool on which the Duchess who has succeeded may sit in the presence of the Queen—that symbol of exclusive distinction for which many of us give a price much greater than even the pretty Madame de Ventadour paid. The passion of the human race is for distinction. There are many who declare to themselves and whisper to those intimate friends that contrive to have heart to heart talks with the world, that they are quite content with the approbation of conscience. And yet they are not unhappy when the world is made to find this out. Even some of the pious among us look forward with calm expectation to the publicity of the day of judgment. There is almost as much sweetness in the thought that one may be distinctly seen among the sheep, as in the calm trust that the unbeliever will be conspicuously among the goats, observing from afar with conviction those fleeces of a whiteness which he would never see before. We have tolerance for the infidel who does not accept God—but not for the unbeliever who has doubted us.

Ever since little Abel traced on the yielding surface of the

palm leaf the first hieroglyphics with his sharpest finger nail, we have been taught that to be virtuous is to be happy. All the people, like Rousseau, who were not particularly virtuous or particularly happy, have insisted on this; but the judgment of mankind ought clearly to announce that virtue discovered by the world gives more real happiness to the possessor of it than virtue undistinguished. For us, there is nothing left of the chaste Susanna, except her example. And that example would have been lost to the world, if the knowledge of her virtue had been confined to the wicked elders. Besides, virtue, sufficiently and modestly made known, gives its possessor such a title to distinction that he is justly disappointed if that distinction be not at once conferred on him.

In France, where virtue ought to be common, the State rewards the virtuous poor with a series of prizes. The virtuous rich are allowed to take care of themselves, and this perhaps accounts for the marvellous condition of society we discover through the reading of the novels of M. de Balzac, M. de Goncourt and M. de Maupassant; it also goes to show that virtue is not its own reward.

For example, we know that the maxims of the great Dr. Franklin are supposed to be as deeply carved on the heart of every true American as the word "Calais" was cut into that of Queen Mary. But one cannot help observing that they are all maxims intended to make the practitioner of them appear well in the eyes of his fellows. "Two removes," Dr. Franklin says, "are worse than a fire"—which means that the man who chooses his house with care will be able to entertain his friends with uncracked cut glass and unbattered silver, and even toothpicks untwisted and unbent by the rude handling of the porters. What is this maxim—taken at random from the large number imprinted on little blue plates for the instruction of children—but an incentive to the acquirement of the distinguished good opinion of one's little world?

Frugality is a virtue frequently insisted upon, and honesty—which, as we all know, is said to be the best policy—and industry and patience with the insolent until you grow old enough to whip him, or "smart" enough to ruin him when he tries to make a "corner" in corn. But what is the chief end of all these virtues? Distinction.

It is not fair to call the appetite for distinction mere vanity.

It is only a sign of that peculiar dislike with which the natural man looks on the practice of equality. Was it not Ibsen who said that, when the world comes to be divided between the knouters and the knouted, he trusted that his son would be among the knouters? At present, Ibsen, having distinguished himself, does not object to seeing all other men equal. For his son it will be different. It is more distinguished and less unpleasant, to be among the knouters. Reasons can always be found by the ingenious human mind for swinging the knout, and the man who gives the most brilliant reasons will be the most distinguished knouter; for even in this process there is room for the intellect. The next best thing would be to receive more bruises and welts than the rest of the knouted, and to be clever enough to exhibit them to the eyes of the world. That means martyrdom —and martyrdom means distinction. There have been martyrs who cared nothing for the world; there are martyrs who die their deaths and make no signals to the populace. They are "out of our star;" they are probably "mystics," and the world really dislikes a mystic, except when he can tell fortunes.

The quality of distinction casts out all petty vanity or envy; it satisfies one of the natural desires of the man or the woman —which is, to be different from other men or women. Christianity insists on equality; but it appeals to the supernatural. Even now it is said that, after nearly two thousand years, there are Christians who most love those technically called their brethren, when they see them from a great height and shower benefits upon them. Speaking, however, from a worldly point of view, it is necessary to observe that Christianity has nothing to do with that appetite for distinction which gave Thais a fine place in Dryden's musical poem, and caused Cæsar to gain the hatred of alien boys through having written a book of travels.

The "Commentaries" may have been a mere campaign document—a bit of common sense hurled against those of Rome who were sufficiently volatile to prefer—as Gouverneur Morris once said—"lightning to light;" or it may have been the result of a desire of a fighting man to show that he could distinguish himself in the way of phrases. At any rate, Cæsar had as great a passion for distinction as any man that ever lived. In this, he was equalled by Nero, who had less physical difficulties, but more moral ones to overcome; and who, having a damaged repu-

tation, took, as a matter of course, to the elevating of the stage. It was his last resort, for there was so little to be done in the way of achieving distinction in his day. The book makers had worked prodigiously under Augustus, and Nero's experience had been too limited to shock Rome with the sort of erotic novel which has ceased—through force of having been too often repeated—to shock us of the nineteenth century. Caligula and the rest had left so little to be done that we find the unfortunate Nero, who strove hard to be different from other men, only distinguished in history for the things he did not do.

The undistinguished man of normal mind will always be envious; the half-distinguished man must always be vain, although men of this sort never express their feelings with the frankness of the undistinguished or half-distinguished woman; she may be neither envious nor vain where she alone is concerned; she effaces these qualities in herself in order to exercise them in the pursuit of distinction for her children. How truly Shakespeare shows us that the power of Lady Macbeth's self-negation consisted in her capacity for sacrificing other people.

To be distinguished is to be without envy, vanity or malice—if one be distinguished enough. If not—ah, clear the way!—the climber to the sun must have place, even if he have to crush the light in a hundred stars on his way upward. And how he hates those nearest to the Great Light; they are in his place. And how he despises that pale sycophant, the moon; but if he were the sun and she took all her light through his condescension, he would love her—positively. If we cannot throw out all envy and malice and vanity through the Christian rule, we might only do so by making every member of the human race more distinguished than his brother.

In our country, it is difficult to be entirely distinguished. The aristocrat is generally a person of distinction in countries where his rank carries with it certain privileges. It is impossible to be an aristocrat in a land where one has to pay for one's privileges; and where one is obliged to do a liberal amount of advertising in the newspapers, to be noticed by the great mob at all. With us, to be privileged, a man must be rich. And, then, even that desirable quality does not place him entirely beyond the reach of his fellow citizens. To feel really distinguished, the possible aristocrat must have a settled and recognized position. Now, the

vast number of the inhabitants of these United States do not reverence the man of many millions. They may respect his money. They are interested in him, but his pedigree is of no importance to them. He may be of the blood of the Californian Argonauts; his veins may be full of the pale azure of the Puritan; the drab fluid of eminent Quakers may be his; the rich port-flavored stream of the Virginian cavaliers may bestow on him the prestige of the gout; even decades of the generous gumbo soup may have nourished his Creole-tinted river of life; all this is as nothing in the eyes of his countrymen, if he be not vastly opulent. In this sense, Coventry Patmore, who was a Tory, is right: democracy is an enemy to distinction. To be distinguished you must stand out among your fellows; they must acknowledge that you stand out—or all is dust and ashes! But where one's fellows may be one's possible equals whenever the fate that presides over stocks and bonds and real estate so decrees, and where one's sense of superiority is incomplete until the newspapers, reflecting the people, admit it, distinction is always on the eve of extinction.

That old and ugly and wicked Duke de Ventadour did not need acknowledgement from the folk of the Rue St. Honoré or the Faubourg St. Antoine. He was supremely indifferent to them. And, later, they found that the only way to efface the pretensions of such as he was to chop their heads off. While the Duke de Ventadour lived, he was—rich or poor—the Duke de Ventadour, and that was all about it; and wherever the court should go, in penury or in exile, the tabouret, which his wife had bought so dear, would be hers, were it only a rough, three-legged stool.

But in our country, your great lady cannot have a tabouret all to herself, unless it be in a Pullman car—and then she must buy it, if her husband has not already bought the car itself. Observe that the Marquise de Sévigné acknowledges, without envy, without question, the value of the tabouret, for which she would not have her beloved daughter pay such a price as the pretty duchess had paid. The chief worth of the tabouret was that its value was recognized, not only at Saint Germain, but in every civilized court in Europe. There was distinction, essential and consummate. It is this for which our *fine fleur* of riches longs, and which, in spite of the bridging of hundreds of years with crests and whole broadsides of coat armor and family portraits in mail and periwig, it cannot attain. Where everybody can be of

a great family, if he wants to pay the herald, where can the aristocratic American dove, with her beak full of assorted branches from family trees, discover a dry and consoling spot from which she can view the lower world? A millionaire may write books to be distinguished, as Cæsar and Napoleon III. wrote books, but everybody writes books nowadays, and even a millionaire cannot afford to pay people to read them. There is the career of politics; but the aristocrat, being so much more sensitive than other folk, is in the position of an animated target which cannot refrain from picking up the bullets that have hit it.

Caste is difficult and variable. There are great families in Portland, Me., known to Boston, at which the distinguished by blood in San Antonio, Tex., sneer; there are supremely eminent folk in Germantown, Pa., acknowledged in Philadelphia, who are held to be persons of rather mean descent in Algiers, La. There can be nothing but an ephemeral and volatile distinction where there is no settled status. In a word, neither riches nor genius nor official position can insure, in our country, that permanent and delightful place from which you can look down serenely because so many people are perpetually looking up. This is never mentioned as one of the joys of heaven; it is because of the omission that some of us strive so hard not to go there.

Frugality and industry and that politic honesty which the late Dr. Franklin so much admired, joined with other talents not mentioned in the headlines of the copy books, may make a man rich to the extent of daring to have diamonds set in his front teeth; but he cannot get the tabouret for his wife. How fortunate that villainous Duke de Ventadour was, and how ecstatic were the days of the *œil de bœuf*. They were regretted by that amiable Bishop of Autun, who had all the distractions of Faust joined to the most delectable one of deceiving the devil—or himself—at the end! Under the great Louises, the man of distinction had not even to take the trouble to be born, and, the moment he yelled, the right of the tabouret was his to claim for a prospective duchess. Ah, the dear old rock! What times! What manners!

Caste in our country cannot distinguish us; money leaves much to be desired; the man is swallowed up in his money; the dewdrop slips into the golden sea. Even the Buddhist has some doubt as to whether he will not be distinguished in Nirvana; and we naturally look beyond this life for the distinction it cannot

give. Our desire to be acknowledgedly superior to our neighbors may be satisfied abroad. The day of tabourets in France is gone; in exchange, one may pay for a good seat on the pavement of the Café de la Paix or in the Champs Elysées. England is the land of the tabouret; and there are nobles with some of the privileges of de Ventadour; if you have a daughter, you may pay as dear as you like for them. There are titles in France and Spain and Italy, but there is nothing on earth so much like the privilege of the tabouret as a presentation at the Court of St. James's by the right person—and, if that person happens to be of the truly distinguished and set apart in England, the American whose aspirations have hitherto been unsatisfied may at last rest. The balm in the strawberry leaves cannot be bought too dear.

Hence, we look abroad for that corroboration of our deserts which we cannot get at home—which neither virtue nor genius nor wealth nor our own colossal good opinion of ourselves can obtain for us under our own flag. Hence, we play with crests and shields and family trees in little Japanese gardens where a month is made to represent a hundred years; but it is mostly mere playing, for such distinction as the natural man in an artificial atmosphere wants, is impossible in a republic of voters. If we are aristocrats at heart, blame Sir Walter Scott—if anybody with a heart can find the heart to blame him, and if, when our hard-earned dollars fail us, we gaze longingly at the social distinction possible in the monarchies, let us not revile those ladies, who, like the charming Duchess de Ventadour, are willing to give a very great price for the privilege of being highly different from the women they know and the women they do not know.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

BANKRUPTCY LAWS, PAST AND PRESENT.

BY WILLIAM H. HOTCHKISS.

THE passage of the bankruptcy law, approved July 1, 1898, by a vote of 43 to 13 in the Senate, and 134 to 53 in the House, will prove a way-mark in our history. The result of agitation which has been continuous since its discredited and unpopular predecessor was so emphatically repealed twenty years ago, it is necessarily a compromise; and the growth of a period of commercial depression, it gives statutory recognition to sentiments and passions just now deep-rooted and powerful. The war of the "involuntaries" against the "voluntaries" held the boards for a goodly season in Congress last winter. The voluntaries have rather the best of it. But the law as a whole must be accepted as a reasonable expression of the present sentiments of the entire people. It surely is a proclamation, as vigorous as it is emphatic, that in this day and generation it is not only the debtor that dies who is relieved of all debts, but that the unfortunate and the unwise may win surcease of their business sorrows and begin again on this side of the grave. It calls to mind that humanitarian provision of the Mosaic law which commanded a release of debtors every seventh year.

For more than twenty-five centuries, the law-makers of the world have been legislating on bankruptcy. Draco, the pioneer, made it, with laziness and murder, punishable by death. Quite naturally, there followed an age of the absconding debtor. Solon, not wishing to depopulate Athens, mollified these ancient blue laws, and even abolished enslavement for debt; but the bankrupt and the bankrupt's heirs forfeited their rights of citizenship. The noble Roman and his Twelve Tables were more draconic than Draco. Gibbon tells us that:

"At the expiration of sixty days the debt was discharged by the loss of

liberty or life; the insolvent debtor was either put to death, or sold in foreign slavery beyond the Tiber; but if several creditors were alike obstinate and unrelenting, they might legally dismember his body, and satiate their revenge by this horrid partition."

In the time of Cæsar, Roman jurisprudence and civilization had so developed that the debtor, by the famous *cessio bonorum*, might at least escape slavery, and in most cases retain his civil rights; and about a century later, our modern idea of a discharge to the honest debtor who gives up his all, was graven on their laws.

Shylock's savage rights may well speak for the laws of the Middle Ages, whose statutes were little better than a transparent palimpsest of the Twelve Tables of Rome. French laws have followed the Latin model, and, while somewhat modernized, even yet visit a degree of disgrace upon the unfortunate trader which would not long be tolerated by an Anglo-Saxon legislature.

Since 1542, about forty bankruptcy laws, and a number of insolvent debtor acts, have been passed in England. In this country, the statute of 1898 is the fourth of a series of national laws, the others being named from the years 1800, 1841 and 1867; while, in many of the States, and from their very beginning, insolvency statutes of local application and vastly divergent provisions have been on the books.

In view of the present interest in the subject, the following chronology may be valuable. We take the English statutes first:

(1.) The statute of 1542 was aimed at absconding or concealed debtors only. It made them criminals, deprived them of their property without giving them a discharge, and left them to the tender mercies of their creditors. It was followed by a number of similar laws, enlarging its scope and changing its procedure.

(2.) The statute of 1706, in the fifth year of Queen Anne, marks the next great step in advance. Debt was no longer treated as a crime, and provision was for the first time made for a discharge.

(3.) The statute of 1825, in the reign of George IV., for the first time recognized voluntary bankruptcies.

(4.) The statute of 1830 abolished commissioners in bankruptcy, put the administration of estates into the hands of the court, and created the official assignee or receiver.

(5.) The statute of 1861 made it possible for the non-trader,

who had been protected by the insolvent debtor acts for about fifty years, to take advantage of or to be proceeded against under the general bankruptcy laws.

(6.) The statute of 1869 introduced in England the now well-understood principle of fraudulent preferences; but, the law being easily evaded, it proved a failure.

(7.) The statute of 1883, as amended by that of 1890, carries the pendulum backward again, and, while for the first time distinguishing between a fraudulent bankruptcy and one due solely to misfortune, is drastic in its penalties and intolerable, at least from an American standpoint, in its limitations on the granting of a discharge.

Turning to the United States, we find that:

(1.) The statute of 1800 was copied from the English law of that time, and did not provide either for voluntary bankruptcy or for non-traders coming within its terms. It was repealed in December, 1803.

(2.) The statute of 1841, said to have been largely the work of Daniel Webster, introduced the idea of voluntary bankruptcy into our national jurisprudence. It was in force but eighteen months, being repealed by the Congress that passed it.

(3.) The statute of 1867 was framed largely on the Massachusetts insolvency law of 1838. It provided for both voluntary and involuntary bankruptcy, and went almost to the extreme in its enumeration of acts of bankruptcy and in its restrictions on the granting of discharges. This law permitted tedious delays and excessive fees. It remained in force until September, 1878.

(4.) The statute of 1898 swings back toward mercy again. It will be remembered as the first of our statutes to omit that anciently all-important act of bankruptcy, "the suddenly fleeing to parts unknown," and as establishing a new meaning for "insolvency."

The animated and often acrimonious discussion of bankruptcy legislation has turned on a half-dozen disputed principles and matters of detail. Nowhere, save in the United States, where local insolvency laws have temporarily filled the gap, has the necessity of such legislation been denied. All civilized and many semi-civilized countries enforce such laws. France has not been without a bankruptcy law for four hundred years, nor England for a period nearly as long. It is settled, too, that such laws

should have three purposes—(1.) the surrender of the debtor's estate without preferences; (2.) its cheap and expeditious distribution *pro rata* among all creditors, and (3.) the discharge of the debtor from liability to pay provable debts with property which he may afterwards acquire.

Each statute has sought the common goal by different ways, but always by or near definite landmarks. It will assist to a better understanding of the law of 1898, if we note these landmarks. (1.) Who may become a bankrupt? (2.) What are acts of bankruptcy? (3.) What is a preference? (4.) When may a discharge be refused? (5.) What is the procedure which will prove least expensive and most expeditious? This classification includes two elements born since Blackstone's time.

Who May Become a Bankrupt?—The limitation to traders has already been mentioned. Indeed, so late as 1817 in this country, Judge Livingston doubted whether an act of Congress subjecting to such a law every description of persons within the United States, would be constitutional. Yet our law of 1841 extended the meaning of the term "trader" so that, in involuntary bankruptcies, it included bankers, brokers, factors, underwriters and marine insurers. All classes of persons could become bankrupts in England after 1861; and the like broad rule received expression in our law of 1867, with the single exception that, when the act of bankruptcy consisted in failure to pay commercial paper, it applied only to merchants, bankers and the business community. The new law of 1898, however, barometrically responsive to the present stormy financial times, goes backward to the time of George II., and prohibits, as did one of the laws passed in his reign, involuntary proceedings against farmers and wage earners.

Its provisions relative to corporations are equally indicative of prevailing conditions. For some decades English corporations have been liable to proceedings in bankruptcy. Our law of 1841 was limited to natural persons. That of 1867 was made expressly applicable to all moneyed, business and commercial corporations. Yet the law-makers of 1898, fearful lest, by collusion with stockholders, the controlling officers might force such semi-public corporations as railroads and transportation companies into bankruptcy, have limited the operation of the law to corporations engaged principally in manufacturing, trading, printing, publish-

ing, or mercantile pursuits. Pending political passions have swung us backward in these two particulars. These provisions, however, can prove of little or no practical importance, and to the future historian, they will seem as curious as do to us those ancient acts of bankruptcy, "keeping his house" and the "fleeing to the Abbey."

What Are Acts of Bankruptcy?—In the United States this has been the kernel of the controversy. Our laws have answered the question in widely different ways. Not so in England. That original act of bankruptcy, absconding the realm, is in every English statute for three hundred and fifty years, and appears in the last law in almost the very words used in the first. Our laws, down to and including that of 1867, have been equally mindful of the commercial runaway. The new law, however, omits this cause entirely. The welcher in business can be punished in other ways; our chief concern is, indeed should be, with the stay-at-home cheat.

The English catalogue of interdicted acts in business has grown long. Two hundred years ago involuntary bankruptcy was worse even than imprisonment for debt, for it involved that; and, prior to the evolution of the idea of a discharge, it practically was civil death. The condition of the English law of that time may be imagined from this decision of a court of the period:

"If a man is taken in execution and lies in prison for debt, neither the plaintiff at whose suit he is arrested, nor the sheriff who took him, is bound to find him meat, drink or clothes; but he must live on his own or on the charity of others, and if no one will relieve him, let him die in the name of God, says the law; and so say I."

Freedom from imprisonment for debt has, of course, changed this, but in the latest English statutes there are relics of this old-time savagery toward debtors, happily not included in our laws.

The present bankruptcy law of England gives eight acts of bankruptcy, three predicated on fraud coupled with insolvency, three of a voluntary character showing insolvency, and two others which are relics of the old rules against fleeing the realm or concealing property. A debtor who does not lift a levy on his goods within twenty-one days, or who does not within seven days after judgment comply with a creditor's demand that he pay, compound or secure the debt, commits an act of bankruptcy. The older laws put default in payment of demand ob-

ligations in the same category, thus extending a rule rightfully enforced against banks and bankers to the entire business community.

Our law of 1841 defined but five acts of bankruptcy, all predicated on fraud. The law of 1867 went much further and, in addition to the customary grounds, specified as one of its ten acts of bankruptcy, fraudulent default in payment of commercial paper by merchants, traders and manufacturers. The law just passed, however, goes back to the side of leniency again. It enumerates five acts of bankruptcy, two of them involving fraud on the part of the bankrupt (fraudulent conveyances and voluntary preferences), one constructive fraud, and two which are expressed by the paradox that by them a debtor may go into involuntary bankruptcy voluntarily. The Torrey bill enumerated nine acts of bankruptcy, going further even than the English law and including default for thirty days in the payment of commercial paper, a rule which would have upset our entire credit system. The Nelson bill went to the other extreme and made fraudulent transfers and voluntary preferences while insolvent, the only acts of bankruptcy. The law as passed is perhaps, a fair compromise, though in extreme cases we may wish for the more complete and far-reaching definition of the English statute.

But, whatever the effect, lawyers and laymen alike will quickly understand that insolvency has a new meaning. The English statute defines it as inability on the debtor's part to pay from his own moneys his debts as they become due. The American law declares that he only is insolvent the aggregate of whose property shall not, at a fair valuation, be sufficient in amount to pay his debts. In short, in this country, hereafter, he who has unconvertible property in plenty but little cash on hand—as for example, he who in this time of unsalable real estate is land poor—may yet be solvent and entitled to the time to realize and pay his creditors.

At first blush this seems broadly equitable, but what will be the result in actual practice ? Perhaps, had it been in force, the author of "Waverley," with his vast genius as his property, would not have been insolvent, and that other Scotchman, Anderson by name, who possessed, yet would not surrender, the secret formula for a popular nostrum, might have proved it overworth his debts,

and escaped the penalties of the law. On the other hand, into what dangerous controversies will it lead us! Hitherto the proof of insolvency has been simple and easy. Now it never can be. The expert on values has a new field open to him, as creditors and debtors, not to speak of lawyers and courts, may quickly learn.

In practice, the law will, therefore, prove little more than a voluntary law. Its sponsors claim that it will accomplish all that it was intended to do by the mere threat of possible procedure. The debtor will never know when his creditor will open fire. Therein is its chief merit to the business world. Experience will prove whether it is a boon or a bane. But our hysterical Congressmen should be able now to sleep o' nights; for under this law there can be by the rich no "grinding the face of the poor."

What Is a Preference?—This is a comparatively recent development of the law of bankruptcy. The earliest regulation is that of 1690, in Scotland, which annulled preferences made within two months of bankruptcy. The common law permitted preferences, and debts in favor of wives and female relatives in general were a refuge frequently found by the failing debtor. It is not likely that the chattel mortgage method of preference was then understood; that is the product of our higher civilization. But, for centuries, scandals without number and frauds on creditors by the multitude have flowed from the too gentle policy of the law in this regard. Our State insolvency laws, most of them sanctioning limited preferences, have proved but invitations to defraud. The preferring debtor has become one of the evils of our civilization, as was the absconding debtor of that of two centuries ago.

Beginning in 1849, in England, and in 1841, in the United States, preferences have been interdicted by law. The English statute made them void if intended to defeat or delay creditors. The present law of England provides that, to constitute a preference, it must be made within three months of the commencement of proceedings in bankruptcy; while, if made when the debtor is insolvent and with a view of giving the creditor a preference over other creditors, it declares them absolutely void.

Our statutes, again, evidence the swinging of the pendulum. That of 1800 did not inhibit such transactions; that of 1841 made the giving of preferences ground for refusing a discharge.

The law of 1867, copying the Massachusetts insolvency act of 1838, compelled creditors to prove, in addition to the facts required by the present English law, knowledge on the part of the person preferred that the act was in fraud of the bankruptcy law; in short, it practically required proof of collusion by the creditor. Under the new law, a preference seems to be one thing if asserted in a voluntary proceeding, and another if alleged as an act of bankruptcy on which an involuntary proceeding is to stand. In both cases, the preference must have been made within four months of the filing of the bankrupt's petition. But, in the former, the proof need not go further, in any but exceptional cases, than to show that the act will result in giving one creditor more than others, and that such creditor had reasonable cause to believe that by the act the debtor intended to prefer him; while, in the latter, not only insolvency —which, as we have seen, is difficult of proof—but intent to prefer, must be shown.

Therein lies the weakness of the new law, as a permanent relief to creditors. Family reunions at creditors' meetings in courts of bankruptcy are still both possible and probable. The cheat and the cozener, unless checked by the vigilance of judges and referees, may become as notorious as they were in other days, and a convenient relative or willing friend may still continue to be the ready safe deposit for the plunder of the mercantile rogue.

When May a Discharge Be Refused?—In nothing else does the English bankruptcy system differ from our own as much as in this. No discharge was granted a debtor until the reign of Anne. A little later, not only a discharge, but allowances on dividends, varying from three to ten per cent., were granted to the bankrupt, in order that he might get a fresh start; a provision which also appears in our bankruptcy law of 1800. Until a comparatively recent period, the discharge was of no value unless signed by a specified number of creditors, which rule seems still to prevail in France. Since 1832, discharges in England have been in the discretion of the court, subject to some rather drastic limitations of a punitive character. This discretion has been abused; and yet the present English law permits discharges to be refused for numerous reasons, such as the debtor's continuance in business after knowing himself to be insolvent, failure

to pay dividends of at least fifty per cent., rash and hazardous speculations, unjustifiable extravagance in living, culpable neglect of business affairs, and failure to account satisfactorily for losses.

Englishmen, too, have been prone to classify discharges. By the law of 1849, there were three kinds with corresponding effects; those given when the bankruptcy was wholly unavoidable, those when it was partly unavoidable, and those belonging to neither of the latter classes. The present English law permits the court to refuse a discharge outright, to withhold it for not less than two years, to withhold it until the estate shall pay fifty per cent., or to require the bankrupt to allow judgment against himself for the difference between the required fifty per cent. and the amount of dividends actually paid. It seems curious that this latter is the usual method, and yet that the present law of England is far and away the most successful and the fairest bankruptcy law yet enforced in that country.

While the list of objections to discharges in England is on the increase, here it is growing smaller and smaller. In 1800, among other restrictions, the bankrupt was not entitled to a discharge unless he paid seventy-five cents on the dollar. In 1841, a majority of creditors in number and value might prevent the discharge by filing a written dissent thereto. The law of 1867, as amended in 1874, refused a discharge to voluntary bankrupts who did not pay thirty per cent. on claims proved, except with the assent of one-fourth of their creditors in number and one-third in value; and, copying the English model, it enumerated ten acts, the commission of which might deprive him of his discharge.

The new law goes to the antipodes of the present English statute, and not only wipes out the necessity of paying any percentage in dividends, a very proper change, but abolishes the semi-control of creditors over discharges, and allows a certificate to be withheld only when the debtor has committed one of the felonies enumerated in the law, or when he has *fraudulently* failed to keep, or in contemplation of bankruptcy has destroyed or concealed, his books of account. Not even a fraudulent preference is objection to a discharge. "Life tenure" and "government by injunction" have thus their legitimate offspring in this sugar-coated section of our law. The Delilah of Populism has shorn the Federal judiciary of its power. The buzzards, to

use Senator Stewart's picturesque designation for creditors, have been deprived of their prey. What matter, then, if the commercial rascal and the business pickpocket be free again!

What Is the Least Expensive and Most Expeditious Procedure?—Probably nine-tenths of the criticism of bankruptcy legislation has been directed to details of procedure. In England, for more than half a century, the lines were drawn for or against officialism. Prior to 1831, bankrupt estates were administered by three commissioners, largely controlled by the creditors. From that time down to 1869, the courts administered through their assignees. Then for a decade or more, creditors took hold again and made a mess of it. The present law is a compromise, an official of the Board of Trade being in charge until the creditors get together and determine on action. It seems to have made little difference which system prevailed, as, so it is said, in the one the lawyers preyed on the estates and in the other the courts and their appointees did so.

The English procedure has always been complicated. It has provided elaborately for compositions and arrangements, with the result that, until the present law, debtors have more often compounded and compromised than gone through the courts and obtained their discharge. From 1870 to 1877, there were but 8,275 bankruptcies, these nearly all involuntary, to 31,651 liquidations and 20,270 compositions. Even under the present English law, the actual official bankruptcies are in number hardly more than the so-called deeds of arrangement. On the other hand, the rigid public examination which is now required, operates both as a threat to the fraudulent bankrupt and as a protection and vindication to the honest or unfortunate debtor. It stimulates the co-operation of negligent creditors and prevents much fraud.

In the United States the administration of bankruptcy laws has too often been odorous from nepotism and onerous with costs. In the lurid rhetoric of the Congressional debates, it was "the rodents who burrow around the places of justice," and "pillage by the fee-fiend" which discredited the law of 1867 and led to its repeal. The present law is intended to avoid these criticisms. Rapidity in administration is commanded in words and compelled in practice, by making the payment of fees contemporaneous with the winding up of the estate. The fees themselves are small, so small indeed as, in the minds of some, to

jeopardize the proper administration of the law; while but one reasonable bill of costs can be allowed the bankrupt's lawyers, no matter how many are employed, and any payments made to them by way of advances for legal services are subject to scrutiny. Bankruptcy courts, presided over by referees having broad judicial powers, are established in every county. Indeed, bankrupts and creditors could not well have a procedure which is simpler, less expensive or more favorable to themselves.

Such is the latest product of bankruptcy legislation, genealogically examined. Starting with the Torrey bill, notable for its too harsh provisions, proceeding through the Nelson bill, as inadequate in procedure as it was lacking in a broad grasp of the dangers to commercial morality, which had to be avoided, and finally developing into a compromise between the latter and the Henderson substitute, a measure which seemed to find the golden mean, it goes on the books as a law for temporary relief, not for permanent control. Many assert that this is as it should be. The crying need for its passage was that the unfortunates, who have been in bondage to debts and judgments born of the late period of depression might be free again; and the country will quickly feel the effects of the restored energy of the tens of thousands who have gone down in recent wrecks. So far the law is expressive not only of our humanity, but of our commercial common sense. The honest bankrupt is needed back in the ranks of business. There are, however, others, who "will pay you some, and as most debtors do, promise you infinitely." And there are yet others, who, in spirit, if not in deed, would in these times of prejudice and passion listen willingly to ancient Timon's exhortation to his brother debtors within the walls of Athens:

> **"Bankrupts, hold fast;**
> **Rather than render back, out with your knives,**
> **And cut your trusters' throats."**

We might have gone further and enacted a law which would prove valuable in times of prosperity, as well as in times of depression. Just now the law-giver can well be a philanthropist. Year in and year out, he must be a policeman, too. Our law of 1898 is philanthropic to a degree, but as a discourager of commercial dishonesty, it is like a peace officer without a warrant, or a policeman with unloaded revolver. The majesty and the threat of the law are there, but, unless its officer is keen

eyed and a good runner, the fraudulent bankrupt will usually escape. It may be that in practice creditors will boldly risk defeat and damages to force the mercantile fraud into the hands of the court; but it is not likely. At any rate, the bankrupt need no longer fear the diligent creditor, but rather the daring one.

There is, of course, in many quarters another view of the law and its purpose. It is thought typical of man's increasing humanity to man. The bankrupt will always be with us; so will the creditor. The former needs protection against the latter; the creditor can take care of himself. Thus many a good citizen may find comfort in the reflection that, if we have gone far toward preventing involuntary bankruptcy, it has been that our laws might be just rather than severe, and expressive of the principle that a score of rascals had better go unpunished rather than that one honest man should suffer oppression. This is the spirit of the age.

Nearly a century and a half ago Blackstone declared that the bankruptcy laws of his time were "founded on principles of humanity as well as justice." Modern jurists would not now assure us that such was the case; else to what purpose did John Howard live, or how came it that Dickens moved a sympathetic world with his story of Little Dorrit and the debt-deadened prisoners of Marshalsea. Now, even the day seems passing when, in the words of the gentle Autocrat,

> **"The ghostly dun shall worry his sleep,**
> **And constables cluster around him;**
> **And he shall creep from the wood-hole deep**
> **When their spectre eyes have found him."**

Old things are passing away. Sympathy sits where sternness sat. The nimble debtor is no longer part of a tragedy. He belongs to the serio-comic drama instead. Bankruptcy is not a crime, but a condition; not always a disgrace, but rather a disease; and present laws, while providing relief for him who owes, seem but negatively valuable to him who owns.

WILLIAM H. HOTCHKISS.

LITERARY SHOP.

BY ANDREW LANG.

EVERYBODY likes to talk his own "shop," even though (as Herodotus remarks about the dancing of Hippocleides) it be "pleasing to himself but distasteful to others." Mr. Rideing's recent article on "Literary Life in London," affords a temptation to talk the "shop" of "literature." As a "literary gent," I read his remarks not only to my entertainment, but to my instruction. There is so much in the essay that comes as a novelty to one who is in London (when he cannot help it), but who is not of it.

As in Rome Virgil sighed for the fields, "Spercheius and Taygetus, where wander the Lacænian maids," so in London a desire of Yarrow and Tweed possesses me. Yet, being in London, one would talk the shop of letters if one had an opportunity. Mr. Rideing knows many golden opportunities, knows clubs in Fleet Street, "where all the talk is literary shop." How does a man get into these pleasant successors of Bays and the Cocoa Tree? I never heard of them before. Perhaps some eminent person, some great author, there gives his little senate laws, like Addison, "while wits and Templars every sentence raise." One is reminded of great Anna's golden prime. Perhaps the members of the clubs call for Florence or Margout, possibly they wear perruques.

The Vagabond's Club I do know; at least, I have partaken of their hospitality. It is proper to say that, if any of the fair guests did "smoke cigarettes," they were few and inconspicuous. As for literary shop, it was not to be found; there are, after all, better topics. Then the "fascinating little club" in the Park, is it a dream of Mr. Rideing's? I never surprised the literary nymphs, as Actæon did Diana, "under the chestnuts and beeches,

on sunny mornings," or in the Serpentine. How do they find time to go there on sunny mornings? As to "literary receptions and teas," we may practise at the pen, in London, and never even hear of their existence. To be sure, receptions and teas are less attractive than the cricket ground of the late Mr. Lord, where an exquisite modern poet* did once entertain me with literary shop, displaying an epicurean indifference to the fortunes of Oxford in a struggle with M. C. C.

And the other side, the side of lettered "poverty and horror?" One feels like the Levite who passed by on the other side of the way, and yet one has not met the literary wayfarer "who fell among thieves," though, of course, one has heard "publisher stories." Such unhappy devils are "writers of adventure stories for boys." Three eminent hands in this noble art I have known. They did not lunch on biscuits in the reading room of the British Museum; indeed, I do not think they frequented that mausoleum. They appeared to enjoy an enviable prosperity.

All this ignorance is probably common in the profession which, says Mr. Rideing, "has very little *esprit de corps.*" We have all *esprit*, of course, in abundance, but there is not any *corps;* no definite body with examinations, diplomas, traditions, regulations. *Esprit de corps*, without a *corps* for the *esprit* to inhabit, is unthinkable, so far I will go with the Materialists. How can each of us have pride in all the others? We are not even so well combined and marshalled as Falstaff's regiment; in the nature of things we have nothing in common with each other, except ink, and ink, as Mr. Rideing justly remarks, is not our property. All the world may use it. The literary man "is not taken seriously." I think he is, when he possesses the adorable faculty of taking himself *au serieux.* But, when the professed man of letters enters another field he becomes an amateur, and must expect to be treated as such. A literary man "is not taken seriously" in the House of Commons. *C'est selon.* Sheridan was taken seriously; so, for a considerable period, was Mr. Disraeli, and I doubt if Mr. Lecky is contumeliously regarded. Sir George Trevelyan gave up to politics what was meant for mankind, alas, and a born man of letters became "a frivolous Member of Parliament." Yet he has held high office.

*Mr. A—— D——

The world has always laughed at the poet, as a man. They had their jests at him even in Celtic society. If he will wear long hair and a cloak, he must take the consequences. We cannot have everything. "The madness which is of God" may be wiser than the wisdom of men, but we cannot expect men to see it in that light. Poetry, as a general though not invariable rule, demands a life of retreat, fugitive and cloistered. More poets have lived like Wordsworth or Tennyson than like Scott. If a man will "go booing about the woods," he cannot hope to be seriously regarded by those who go "booing" to political meetings.

Then comes the ardent question of titles and state honors. These, in England, are bestowed on rich political people, on members of the public service, on artists, and actors (once or twice), on doctors and scientific characters. Honors for literary men are rare. There was Scott's baronetcy; he wanted it (as a man of family with feudal principles, not as a man of letters) and he got it. The Sheriff was knightly, by nature, and they gave him his spurs. It is probable that several men of letters have managed to decline official honors. When Lord Tennyson accepted gracefully what his sovereign gracefully and gratefully gave, some literary persons "booed" at him. The great poet neither coveted nor churlishly refused official recognition. To him the matter, we may believe, was purely indifferent. And it really is indifferent to most men of letters. Knighthoods, as a common rule, come to the beknighted because of their much asking, except when they come in an official routine, in the public service. Having nothing official about us, having no routine, we cannot look to receiving ribbons and orders. And, I hope, we cannot be expected to sue, and pester, and hint, and intrigue for bits of ribbons! Is it not agreeable to be out of that kind of work, to pull no strings, to solicit no Academician for his vote and interest? Am I to envy my college contemporaries, who, being of a certain seniority in the public service, blossom into K. C. B.'s?

We cannot easily, or with dignity and self-respect, shout for prizes very common in other businesses. The palmy days for men of letters departed with the last of the Stuarts. Addison, Steele and the rest had offices. Mat Prior was an ambassador, though I have seen a letter of Queen Anne in which she objected that Mat was not heradically a gentleman. Then arrived George I. "He hated arts and despised literature, but he liked train oil in

his salad, and gave an enlightened patronage to bad oysters." With him and Walpole came a new era, not friendly to the wits. The tradition of that era has survived in the official world. It was a king who made Scott a baronet, a queen who made Tennyson a peer; the common run of knights are children of the official world. Thackeray wrote very sensibly on the theme, and really I do not see that literature would be elevated if a few more mediocre notorieties, third rate novelists, were saluted as "Sir." Already we have several "Sirs." We may come to be as beknighted as the medical gentlemen (who, to be sure, deserve all the honors they get), but it does not seem a thing to strive and cry for at public dinners. Our position, in such exclamations, is too like that of the baby who wants the soap in a popular work of art. I have known a number of men who write, and I never heard one of them allude, in any way, to this business of the equestrian rank, in private conversation. It did not seem ever to have entered their minds, not that they "took no pride in their profession," but they did not care. As to "pride" in their profession, it is rather pleasure than pride that a man takes. Unlike most lines of business, this one is adopted because we like it. The taste may seem odd, but like it we do, which amply compensates us for the lack of ribbons. Of course, I do not maintain that the baby should not have his cake of soap, or that a novelist is less worthy of official notice than a brewer, a provincial mayor, or a gentleman in the Education Office. But all these characters have a traditional claim to be dubbed knight; they want it, they would feel unjustly treated if they did not get it. We have no such traditional claims, and very few of us are excited on the subject, or "won't be happy till we get it," or try to set up a new tradition. Our ambition takes other lines, or perhaps we are entirely content with our work, which we find amusing. It cannot be amusing to be a brewer, a mayor, or immersed in the routine of the Civil Service.

The grievance of being cut out by the distinguished amateur is another question. Mr. Gladstone wrote on Homer, on Miracles, on Biblical criticism, *en amateur*. Did he cut out any professional? Probably not; his books might be more prattled about, at "literary receptions," and more promptly reviewed than those of experts, but experts do not write for the prattlers. Mr. Gladstone made no mark on the alien studies to which he devoted his energetic leisure.

The distinguished amateur, of course, has the advertisement of his distinction, but that is part of the nature of things. Moreover, the amateur may be a better man than the professional. Mr. Grote was a banker, but an excellent historian, and no Homeric scholar grudges the eminence of Mr. Walter Leaf, whose days are given to practical affairs. I do not know (being unphilosophic) how great Mr. Balfour may be as a philosopher, but the general reader knows, as a preliminary fact, that Mr. Balfour possesses no ordinary intelligence. Therefore he listens to him rather more eagerly than to a metaphysician in a college, about whom he knows nothing at all.

On the pecuniary side of the literary life, I feel no competence to write. It is regulated by economic laws. Mr. Rideing's young lady of genius cannot make a competence by producing excellent short stories. As the public does not read short stories (except in one or two cases) I am not surprised to hear of her failure. Even Mr. Stevenson could not have lived by short stories alone. Mr. Kipling would have a much more extensive circulation if he wrote long novels with as much acceptance as he writes *contes*. Nobody can make anything like the income of a successful barrister or doctor, by writing anything except novels, usually bad; but, in some mysterious way, dear to people who are nothing less than literary. Men write on history and various other learned themes, because they like to do so; the public is indifferent, the critics are (as a rule) ignorant and unconcerned. A novelist makes hay while the sun shines, and it appears that, to vary the figure, he kills by his exactions, the goose of the golden eggs, the speculative publisher. Perhaps he also kills his own little noisy talent, by shouting one novel into a phonograph, while he develops another with a typewriter; all this at four in the morning! It is a story for which one wants documentary evidence at first hand, as in Psychical Research. I have known a novelist who wrote in the dawning hours, but that was because he wanted to play several rounds of golf later. A phonograph was not among his tools.

There remains the matter of the Author's Agent. He saves publishers and authors a great deal of trouble, and may even prevent an author's relations with his publisher from being "stripped of all sentiment." If the pair are friends, they need never allude to business at all. The agent discusses the odious details.

There still exist even popular novelists whose publishers are their private friends. In such a case, I presume that neither "the methods" nor "the manners" of the agent are "bad." His is a new business; if undertaken by a person of tact and sense it may fill a useful place. If undertaken by a greedy, pushing, unscrupulous bagman, the business will not last long. The business is not, or ought not to be, to "create discord," but to arrive at just covenants without personal friction. However, a writer who is not a popular novelist can know nothing practically about authors' agents. They, or somebody of their sort, appear to be needed by the successful writers who never succeed in being properly remunerated. All this has next to nothing to do with literary life, which is concerned with good letters, not with six shilling novels, and the *Chrematistiké* of scribbling. The study, and the creation, of good literature have very rarely been, and are more and more unlikely to be, a lucrative affair. Letters, like virtue, are their own reward. But perhaps this view is not popular at literary tea parties; perhaps Royalties and so much "per thousand" are there held fitter themes for erudite discussion. Perhaps there is now such a being as the commercial *precieux!*

ANDREW LANG.

ITALIAN ANARCHISTS.

BY FRANCESCO S. NITTI, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NAPLES.

SINCE the 24th of June, 1894, when Sante Caserio murdered President Carnot, only four years have elapsed. In that short period the Italian anarchists, armed, like the classical regicides, with a dagger, have murdered Don Antonio Canovas del Castillo, the Prime Minister of Spain, by the hand of Angiolillo, and the Empress of Austria, at Geneva, by the hand of Luccheni.

These two dreadful deeds are not without a cause, and the press of all the world has turned its attention upon Italian anarchism, regarding it as a phenomenon peculiar to Italy, which forms a danger for all civilized people.

Anarchism is not peculiar to Italy. On the contrary, it was imported into Italy about thirty years ago by Michele Bakonnine, and the Italian workmen who abandon themselves most readily to anarchy are those who live *à l'etranger*. There is no nation which is exempt from anarchy. Russia and Spain are the countries from whence anarchist propaganda originally proceeded. But Germany, England, France, all have a number of anarchists. Not even the United States have been exempt from contagion. Indeed, the anarchists of Chicago are among those who are most admired by Italian anarchists, whose organs commemorate every year in November what they regard as the martyrdom of their American brethren.

What is peculiar to Italy is the diffusion of the anarchist spirit on the one hand, and, on the other, the readiness of that spirit to vent itself in attempts upon the lives of elevated persons, be they sovereigns, princes, or political men. The former phenomenon has its cause, in part, in the economic conditions of the country, and in a certain spirit of intolerance, which is widely

found among Italians; the latter, in a historic tradition which, perhaps, has never been interrupted. Caserio, Angiolillo, Luccheni follow without intending to do so, perhaps without knowing that they do so, the tradition of Agesilao Milano, Orsini, and of the numberless conspirators and regicides whom the middle classes in Italy have glorified. The radical *bourgeoisie* of Italy has elevated, in other times, the murder of a tyrant into an act of heroism. There are streets that are named from regicides, and towns which pride themselves upon having given birth to them. In the schools, they speak, even now, with a mysterious respect of Agesilao Milano, who was executed for having attempted to kill Ferdinand II., King of Naples.. He has been, nay is, considered a martyr. Then the most sensitive minds are incited by such pernicious teaching to acts of wild energy. The Southern imagination does the rest, and the humble workman, like Caserio, thinks of himself as an avenger of wrong and a benefactor of humanity in killing a high personage.

Anarchists are rebels; and, in all time, among rebels some have been generous, some violent, some perverse. There are idealist anarchists, and criminal ones; the evil is that the latter are generally the most conspicuous. Now, Italian workmen who, driven out of Italy by their uneasy economic conditions to seek employment abroad, are the best subjects for anarchist propaganda. Having abandoned their country not to enrich themselves, not to seek prosperity, but often only to live, they carry in their hearts a feeling of bitterness and sorrow. They possess generally, as did Caserio, Angiolillo or Luccheni, the very limited culture of inferior Italian schools, with a basis of historical anecdotes, more or less exaggerated. If the anarchist ferment penetrates their minds, and the revolutionary press infuses into them the slow and pernicious poison of intolerance and violence, they become the most dangerous anarchists.

Anarchist doctrine and propaganda were introduced into Italy by Michele Bakonnine. Having escaped from Siberia in a marvellous manner, he, after sojourning for short periods in almost every country, stopped in Italy, where he remained from 1864 till 1868, almost without interruption. He was a poor writer, but an unsurpassed organizer and worker. He lived in nearly every part of Italy, but most of all in Florence and Naples. He admired Naples, for he saw in it a perfect field for the develop-

ment of anarchy. A Slav writer, Professor Dragomanow, published in the Russian language, a few years ago, the collection of Bakonnine's letters, having a political or social character. Many are dated from Naples, and are of an extraordinary bitterness.

In April, 1872, exiled at Locarno in Switzerland, Bakonnine, even after the defeat of the Commune of Paris, wrote to a Spanish friend: "You know that in Italy, in this last time, our International and dear Alliance have had a great development. Till now, it is not the disposition which has been lacking, but organization and idea. Italy is perhaps actually the most revolutionary country. In Italy there is what is wanting elsewhere; a flaming youth, energetic, without career, without resources, which, in spite of its *bourgeois* origin, is not morally and intellectually enervated like the youth of other countries. Now, it throws itself unreservedly into revolutionary socialism on our programme, that of Alliance." Words full of exaggeration, but not without an element of truth.

Bakonnine founded in Naples the first section of the International in the year 1867. He had some workers with him, but the greater number of his followers belonged to the *petite bourgeoisie.*

The first journal founded in Naples by Bakonnine's influence was called *L'Eguaglianza,* but it had not, and could not have, many readers. The movement of the International spread rapidly. Associations were formed everywhere, leagued with the vast organization. The first and greatest friend of Bakonnine in Italy was Charles Cafiero, who died some years ago. Even now, anarchists speak everywhere with veneration of Cafiero, who was the most generous adherent of the party. Belonging to a very rich family of Puglie, he had studied jurisprudence with a view to dedicating himself to a diplomatic career. He was attracted by the doctrines of anarchy, and gave up all—family, riches and comfort—to espouse its cause. He had not a strong intellect, but great sincerity. He died mad, with a fixed delusion that wings would sprout out of his body, and that he would fly into heaven.

The International in Naples was dissolved by an order of the Minister of the Interior, on the 14th of August, 1871. In the ordinance of dissolution it was said that that association constituted "a permanent offence against the laws and the fundamental institutions of the nation."

Between 1867 and 1871 had arisen at the same time a few associations of revolutionary character. None of them professed to be anarchist, but they were all really so. Italy, but a short time before delivered from its domestic tyrants, had retained a love for violent agitations, for sects, for secret associations. The conviction was even general that it required the work of only a few individuals to reform the whole of society. Garibaldi and Mazzini intervened in the discussions which were so numerous in that period among republicans, socialists and anarchists. Mazzini, a high thinker, who, in the purity of his mind, despised violence, published, when the internationalist and anarchist agitation was at its height, a small work against the Commune of Paris. A firm believer in God, and with a profound respect for right, he could not tolerate that his friends did not set themselves against multiplying societies and sects that stood for the negation of God and of the fundamental principles of contemporary society.

Garibaldi, on the contrary, a more impulsive spirit, magnificent in action, but less temperate, published a letter in defence of the International, which he characterized as "the sun of the future." He was a great man of war, but in philosophic and social matters his words had little importance. Many of his followers were accordingly driven by his words to opposite parties. There was then a great discontent in Italy. As often happens in revolutions, many bad men had secured the most important places; many more who asked for places were dissatisfied. Not a few declared themselves republican, not because of belief in the principle or in the institution, but because monarchy had not satisfied them. The seed of anarchism fell then on ground well prepared for it. Many were only discontented, and confounded republicanism, socialism, anarchism; others sought means to wreak hatred upon a society by which they thought themselves ill treated. Discontent was specially rife among the *bourgeoisie.* It is remarkable that the *bourgeoisie* and more specially the *petite bourgeoisie,* had cherished in few countries revolutionary ideas. Proudhon, the theorist of anarchy, said that workmen were not by nature revolutionary; that the true revolutionary classes are the middle classes.

Under the influence of propaganda and agitation, and of the peculiar conditions of Italy at that time, anarchism began a series

of small revolutionary movements, which were more frequent than elsewhere in Tuscany, in Romagna and in the neighborhood of Naples. The tumults of Carrara, Imola, the revolutions of Ponte Molle and San Lupo were the first of a series of anarchist attempts. Bakonnine had declared that the southern brigand of Italy is the type of an anarchist. What were these brigands? They were only—putting aside exaggerations—outlaws, persons who placed themselves in open conflict against society, and who acknowledged no law and no authority. They acted with the most absolute liberty, pitting strength against strength.

"We," wrote an anarchist journal of Bologna, "are revolutionists and anarchists, and we aim at the destruction of existing political, social and religious orders. * * * All that is good in the world has been obtained against the laws, has been squeezed out by force. Rebellion, then, against laws is the first condition for each step of progress. Human civilization is but the result of a succession of great social crimes." The violence of the language of many of the little anarchist journals published under Bakonnine's influence and inspiration was incredible. The anarchist associations, also, had the most violent and the strangest names: "*Morte ai borghesi*" (Death to *Bourgeois*) "*Combattiamo*" (Let us fight), "*L' Ottantanove*" (The eighty-ninth), "*La Rivendicazione*" (The revenge), "*La Dinamite*" (Dynamite), "*Forca e pugnale*" (Gibbet and dagger), etc. Sad names of sad things!

Among all the anarchist movements at that time, an interesting one was that of San Lupo, which happened in April, 1877. A band of anarchists went there with weapons and tried to make the populace rebel. They were arrested, and taken to Naples, and in August of the following year tried by the Court of Assizes in Capua. At the head of the rebels were Cafiero and Malatesta, and others who, later, exercised a decisive influence upon the whole anarchist movement.

Since the revolutionary attempt at San Lupo, anarchism in Italy made no attempt at insurrection. But not infrequently popular disturbances have been turned to the account of anarchist designs. The propaganda, as they call it, has often very dreadfully asserted itself. It has happened, as in Florence and Pisa, that even in demonstrations of the people, they have thrown bombs in the crowded streets. Anarchism, after 1880, showed

a tendency rather to lose ground than to develop itself. Between 1893 and 1894, however, it revived strongly, and we have seen the evidences of greater activity and increased violence. But it may be said that Italian anarchists have attracted more attention outside of Italy than in Italy.

Italy has enacted a few laws against anarchists, which sometimes have been well, and often poorly, enforced. But the insufficiency of laws to repress anarchism is an evident fact. Anarchists are, for the most part, exalted spirits, who are prepared to sacrifice everything to a false pride. Persecution, trials minutely and widely reported, executions graphically described by journals, inflame the mind and incite the wish for imitation. The warmest imaginations, the most unquiet spirits, far from being dscouraged, delude themselves into the fatal error by thinking that the sacrifice of one alone is sufficient to change deeply a state of things which has its roots in the necessities of every society.

It is wrong to think that all anarchists are corrupt or perverse; they are for the most part ingenuous. Anarchist doctrine bases itself upon three fundamental principles: (1.) Men are naturally good; therefore, all law and all authority are pernicious, because absolute individual liberty is the condition of happiness. (2.) Men have a natural tendency to work, and when every bond is broken, they will work willingly, so that society as a whole will have greater wealth; some say, all will have in proportion to their wants. (3.) Religion and government are nothing but instruments of oppression. Humanity cannot be happy without abolishing both the one and the other.

These are three principles that have their modern origin in Rousseau and Fourier's works, and are such as to have seduced even some of the most cultivated minds. When they are accepted and proclaimed by persons devoid of culture, or having a very limited culture, they must, of necessity, lead to criminal consequences. Each individual, being freed from restraint of law, can act as he thinks best for the good of humanity. As soon as to render humanity happy it is supposed to be only necessary to open the eyes of the greatest number to the propaganda of fact, the wildest outrages are or seem to be a good. It happens that many delinquents call themselves anarchists, and thus find the means of satisfying their criminal instincts.

Italian anarchists are like those of other countries; there are those who are sincere in their delusion, and who act, even in the most violent actions, with ingenuousness; and there are others who are merely violent or perverse. There is, besides, a third type of anarchist, the anarchist of policy, who makes profit out of his associations or out of some individuals who profess the doctrine. Of such are those who are, in appearance, almost always, the greatest enthusiasts. But it is curious to remark that Italian anarchists are, always or almost, the most sincerely deluded.

Pini himself, who was condemned in Paris, and with whom the press of all the world occupied itself for so long, was a thief for the benefit of others. He had surrounded himself with thieves, who professed themselves anarchists, and who robbed for a social purpose; anticipating, that is to say, the expropriation of the *bourgeois*. The product of the thefts was divided among his fellow anarchists of all the world for the service of the propaganda. Then, while Pini's comrades made merry, he lived poorly, soberly, on thirty sous a day. The sums stolen were given by him to the others.

When Pini was arrested and tried, a great question arose among anarchists, whether or not one could rob to help the propaganda. And it must be said that the greater number of Italian anarchists answered the question in the negative.

After Cafiero's death, the two Italian anarchists of whom Europe has talked most, and who are the best known, are Merlino and Malatesta. But they are two very different types. Both are Neapolitan, with a quick and living spirit and an acute intelligence. Merlino is very learned, and is also a subtle reasoner; Malatesta is a man of action. It is strange that the Italian anarchists who are most conspicuous as representing ideas belong to the south. The people of that region often lack the artistic qualities to be found in other districts of Italy, but they are subtle reasoners. When they accept a general idea, they know how to extract all the conclusions.

The difference between Merlino and Malatesta—so far as ideas and plans are concerned—is clearly marked by the different attitudes of the two men toward the horrible crimes of Ravachol. Merlino declared to a Parisian journalist: "Ravachol is not one of us, and we repudiate him. His explosions lose their revolu-

tionary character because of his person, an unworthy one to serve the cause of humanity." On the contrary, Malatesta avowed that in theory he admitted bombs, and that the employment of them in one way or another was only a question of tactics.

Merlino is an advocate, and also an easy speaker and an acute writer. At present, he is less than an anarchist—a very advanced socialist. His recent book upon "*Socialism and Its Most Recent Manifestations*" removed him decisively from the apostles of the propaganda of action. Merlino even acknowledges that it is an error to withhold oneself from elections, and he wishes that his friends would enter Parliament. Malatesta's position is, on the contrary, unchanged.

Within the last two years, there has been published in Ancona, a journal with the title "*L'Agitasione*" (Agitation). This journal, communist and anarchist, was issued under the inspiration of Malatesta, who was the principal writer for it. It was, of all anarchist organs, the most widely circulated, and contributed signally to the anarchist propaganda in Romagna and Emilia. It lasted, in spite of persecutions, till the government suppressed it. In point of fact, since the events of last May, there are no more anarchist journals. The government has suppressed them all, arresting the editors who had not been able to escape in time.

Here a question naturally arises, What are the numbers of Italian anarchists ? How many are registered in the anarchist party ? Journals have published upon this point some fantastic statements. A true anarchist party, which is organized, which has acknowledged chiefs, does not exist in Italy—perhaps it does not exist anywhere. Individual action, if it does not exclude, makes very difficult, a large and permanent accord for collective action. I have observed almost always that one becomes an anarchist when, with a slight culture, or with one-sided culture, one entertains a high conception of one's strength. Now, men who have a high conception of their own strength, who think the will and the example of a few, if not of one, sufficient to overthrow deeply rooted institutions, do not succeed in associating with each other permanently. A very large party, with a determined plan, cannot subsist without the authority of one chief or of a few chiefs who direct the movement. Now authority is the negation of anarchy.

From time to time, however, they form associations. Four,

five, ten, twenty individuals, at most, do succeed in associating themselves together to make readings in common, to try propaganda in some countries. The association of twenty persons without a chief authority, is impotent to act; it is merely a seed-plot of propaganda, a lecture circle, a more or less tumultuous club. The true anarchists, the anarchists of action, when they conceive the idea of an attempt at a murder, generally do not confide in anybody. Alone, in the daily exaltation of their purpose, they mature the idea and put it into execution. It is seldom that they confide even in an intimate friend, or that they associate two or three individuals, at the most, with them. The anarchist of action always fears that he may be betrayed or sold.

Bakonnine had conceived for some time the idea of making some vast secret societies, and Most tried to realize the concept. But anarchy and authority are things that cannot agree together, and without authority there cannot be a durable association.

Recognizing the necessity of organization, Malatesta wrote a few years ago: "We must organize ourselves in a purely anarchist manner; that is to say, without any authority, neither open nor disguised. We must have an organization that conciliates the free initiative of individuals and groups, the free development of all faculties and wills, with the unity of action, the discipline and often even the secrecy necessary for carrying on the struggle in which we are engaged. Is that possible?" He naturally concluded that it was. But ten years have elapsed since he wrote these words, and facts have not confirmed them. In all their journals, the Italian anarchists speak of spontaneous action, of free initiative, of individual will, of complete autonomy of the individual, and of many other things which are not compatible with association. Intolerant of discipline as he is, the Italian anarchist, if he succeeds only in forming little congregations, better than associations, feels however very strongly the spirit of solidarity toward his comrades. But groups are independent, the one from the other.

How many anarchists are there in Italy? It is impossible to give any answer to this question. A person who occupied a high political office and whose duty it was to follow the reports periodically sent to the government, told me that there are in Italy no more than three or four thousand active anar-

chists. But this number may be very far from the truth. It has happened that many individuals who have accomplished the most dreadful attempts, were not known as anarchists or polity considered them as inoffensive proselytes. Sudden resolutions are often more frequent among unknown individuals, who think they may pass abruptly to celebrity and story.

The Marxist socialism is, in its doctrinal essence, contrary to anarchism; but, in its turn, it takes on a different character in different countries. In some districts of Italy workmen are very poor, and social relations very difficult. In those districts the socialist leaders find often numerous followers, who accept the programme of the Labor party. But in some of these individuals the socialist programme often produces a sudden discouragement. Why wait so long for the promised resurrection ? Why work for a future which is long in coming, too long perhaps ? They become, then, an easy prey to the first anarchist they meet. They are easily converted to a gospel that spares them the long expectation and allows every man of good will to try and to do. The anarchist journal of Ancona, "*L'Agitasione*" (Agitation), published a rubric with the title, "*Progredendo*" (Progressing). In that rubric were printed the letters, very numerous, that socialists, after their conversion to anarchism, sent to the journal. In such letters they always say that they are tired of waiting, that they have no more faith in legal methods and parliamentarianism, etc.

But why, then, have Italian anarchists such a bad reputation out of Italy ? There are anarchists in France, in Spain, in Austria,. Three high personages have been murdered in those countries by Italian anarchists. The causes are manifold.

Italy, at this moment, is passing through a very trying period of her history. In spite of all that has been said and written, it has made great progress in the last forty years. It is a country that has many bad political institutions. It has made great mistakes, but it possesses a great deal of energy. Every year more than two hundred thousand Italians go abroad, driven to emigrate above all by their great fecundity, which is out of all proportion to the increase of wealth. To America the peasants go in greatest numbers, and they constitute an emigration that requires to be ruled and that nevertheless is not always composed of good elements. Above all, it is impoverished by a great proportion of parasites.

In the countries that are contiguous to Italy—France, Switzerland, Austria—there go, on the other hand, thousands of workmen and laborers, who stay only a few months and return home every year. Thither go also individuals who have compromised themselves in their own country, and wish to elude the vigilance of the police. Caserio, Angiolillo, Luccheni, were workmen who had gone abroad for employment, the first two being of a very moral life. They have little or no culture, but the hot and quick southern intelligence renders them able to appropriate to themselves readily general ideas. Among their fellow workmen they meet socialist and anarchist workers; the latter especially act upon their excitable imagination. With surprise, they see that even in rich countries poverty exists. Poverty is then seen to be not a condition peculiar to a poor or backward nation. Then the idea enters their minds that the fault is with the social constitution. Society is held responsible for poverty, and for the hardships of the poor. A worker is dismissed because he is lazy or unfit for his work; it is the fault of society. Another cannot live as he would; it is the fault of society, where the law establishes and buttresses injustice. These ideas move excited souls, and the purpose of dismantling society, of giving some memorable example, is strengthened by individual vanity, which is so strong among people of the Latin race.

We must add that in the schools of Italy, an error never too much to be deplored, they make an apology for regicide. Unlearned teachers do not explain the difference between martyr and murderer. The history of ancient Rome is full of murders of tyrants or aspirants to tyranny. An individual becomes thus the avenger and the deliverer of society. I take up by chance a manual of history, used in a great number of Italian schools. It is astonishing to observe how many tyrannicides they justify, from Brutus to Agesilao Milano. There is praise for all. There was a time when Italy, specially Central Italy, was full of little tyrants; the regicide became an emancipator. The tradition has been unfortunately perpetuated. Even the poets, in like manner, have not refused to applaud political murder, not only the less odious regicides, but also the worst.

FRANCESCO S. NITTI.

PENDING PROBLEMS.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, LATE UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

ALL historical students know that, in order to sweep away the endless misconceptions that arose out of the ancient method of studying history, the entire field has been re-explored. The result has been that all historical writings prior in date to the end of the eighteenth century, with the single exception, perhaps, of Gibbon, have been superseded by the works of the new or sociological school, whose primary purpose is to investigate in a purely scientific spirit the nature and constitution of societies, so as to discover the special laws that regulate their growth and decay, in the same general way in which biologists deal with the growth and decline of vegetable and animal life. To students of the new school, every society is a growing or a dying organism, and, as such, an aggregation of forces that can be subjected to clear and definite analysis. In that way the constitution of all the more important states—ancient and modern—have been traced to their roots, and the results embodied in that branch of knowledge known as comparative politics.

Thus, with the aid of the new historical method, the attempt has been made, first, to investigate the special histories and internal constitutions of all the more important social aggregates called nations; second, to compare them with each other in order to establish the points of likeness and unlikeness, as well as their relative weight and importance in the world considered as a whole. Race, language, religion, law, have thus become the leading factors in the mighty problem now confronting practical statesmen, who are standing to-day face to face with the momentous changes brought about by the silent and irrresistible law of growth and decay that is ever disturbing the equilibrium of nations.

The fundamental biological principle that growth is a necessary consequence of life, without which life cannot exist, applies as well to nations as to animals and plants; and growth necessarily means conflict the moment that touching boundaries tempt the strong to displace the weak. In that way the special circumstances, incidents or accidents that precipitate conflicts between nations, must ever vary, while the natural laws that underlie them are changeless and immutable. Few will be found to dispute the fact that these irresistible laws are ever moving the nations on, according to a definite plan to which all must bow, even the Napoleons and the Bismarcks, the estimates of whose greatness must at last depend upon the extent of their "coöperation with the real tendency of the world" about them in their time. We have Motley's authority for the statement that "Bismarck said he used, when younger, to think himself a clever fellow enough, but now he was convinced that nobody had any control over events—that nobody was really powerful or great, and it made him laugh when he heard himself complimented as wise, foreseeing and exercising great influence over the world." If it be true, then, that the destiny of every nation, in the larger sense of the term, is moulded by the operation of irresistible natural laws working from within and without, and above our comprehension or control, the duty of the statesman who guides at the critical moment should be, like that of the midwife, to coöperate with nature in such a way as to free each new process of parturition from all unnecessary obstruction.

In the hope of minimizing the disturbances continually arising out of the growing powers of one set of states and the declining powers of another, the European nations closed the Thirty Years' War in 1648 with the famous Treaty of Westphalia, whose fundamental principles survived as the basis of the public law of Europe down to the French Revolution. The dream which that compact embodied was the maintenance of peace upon the basis of a balance of power, a system that contemplated the restraining of any European state, by force, if necessary, from "pursuing plans of acquisition, or making preparations looking toward future acquisitions, which are judged to be hazardous to the independence and national existence of its neighbors." No attempt was made to extend the system beyond the borders of European states, including Turkey. It was intended to apply rather to land power

than to sea power, and in that way acquisitions made over sea and outside of Europe were not considered within the scope of the concert.

When the epoch-making treaty was entered into, the leading European nations were divided, as they are now, into three groups, the Romance, the Teutonic and the Slavonic, which stood to each other in a very different relation to that in which they appear at the present time. At the outset, the states that dominated the new system of balance were France, Austria, Spain, Sweden and Holland. Great Britain, which stood in a position of comparative isolation, had just begun to widen her destiny by inaugurating a system of colonization; the new empire of Russia had not yet been lifted into great importance by the genius of Peter and Catherine; and Prussia had not yet been advanced from a secondary position in the German Empire to that of an independent kingdom by the military achievements of Frederick II. Among the powers then dominant the most ambitious was France, whose struggle for supremacy with Austria, involving chiefly dynastic questions, disturbed the balance of power in Europe down to the end of the eighteenth century. In order to illustrate the relative influence of France, Great Britain and Russia at the time the Treaty of Westphalia was signed, the statement may be made upon competent authority that, not long thereafter, those who spoke French numbered twenty millions, while those who spoke Russian numbered about fifteen millions, and those who spoke English, including all who had gone to the colonies in America, only about eight millions and a half. What has since disturbed the equilibrium of the world has been the declining influence of the Romance nations and the rapid expansion of the Slavs, on the one hand, and the Teutonic nations, on the other, especially those bound up in the British Empire, and in the United States of America.

The theory upon which the transatlantic acquisitions of the nations that entered into the European concert were to be excluded from its operation, was that their influence would react upon home affairs only in a remote and indirect way. But, in the hope of avoiding conflicting settlements, it was agreed "that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects, or by whose authority, it was made, against all other European governments, which title may be consummated by possession." Upon

that understanding, the maritime nations entered upon a career of conquest and settlement in the Western Hemisphere, the final outcome of which has been the creation of a new world-power, whose expansion has suddenly precipitated events that now promise to bring about a re-arrangement of international forces on a new basis. At the outset, France and Spain distanced England in the competition for the heart of the New World. The results of the first period of struggle may be summed up in the assertion that, while Spain succeeded in securing a footing upon its southern, and France upon its northern border, every attempt made by Englishmen at settlement in America, during the sixteenth century, ended before its close in failure and disappointment. The French, who early in the seventeenth century had possessed themselves of Canada and the St. Lawrence, possessed themselves early in the eighteenth of the Mississippi, and between the mouths of the two mighty rivers were placed, at points of the greatest strategic value, a line of forts, designed to protect from English intrusion that vast domain called New France, which stretched on the west of the Alleghanies from New Orleans to Quebec. While France was thus hemming in the English settlements between the Appalachian range and the Atlantic Ocean, Spain and Portugal were appropriating to themselves what remained of the three Americas. How far that process had advanced up to January, 1800, will clearly appear from the following table,* showing in square miles the relative portions of the New World possessed by each nation at that time:

			per cent.
Spain	7,028,628	or	45.7
Great Britain	3,719,109	"	24.2
Portugal	3,209,878	"	20.9
United States	827,844	"	5.4
Russia	577,390	"	3.8
France	29,352	"	.01
Netherlands	434	"	.0
Denmark	223	"	.0
Total three Americas	15,392,858		100

France's position on this balance sheet, indicated by the figures .01, was the result of the first great effort at expansion made by the American colonies, under the lead of the mother country, when the time came for them to pass the tops of the Alleghanies, in order to make place for their swelling populations in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, upon which France had

* See *Review of Reviews*, Dec., 1897, p. 715.

first laid hold. When the conflict came, when the English colonial system, trained in self reliance, came into collision with the French colonial system, enervated by paternalism, but one result was possible. France's dream of empire in the West was broken; she was forced to give up her priceless possessions, and to retire from North America.

The great Western territory of which France was thus deprived Maryland claimed should be vested not in a few great states, but in the confederacy first formed; and thus it came to pass that the area of the United States, as recognized by the treaty of 1783, exceeded 800,000 square miles, with the Mississippi as its western boundary. And yet, even with that vast addition to the territory of the original thirteen colonies, the single republic that existed in America in 1800 only occupied 5 per cent. of its total area. How that small proportion has expanded since that time is a matter of familiar history. In 1803 Jefferson, availing himself of the necessities of Napoleon, consummated the Louisiana Purchase, whereby the national domain was more than doubled by the acquisition of an area estimated at 1,124,685 square miles. The natural supplement to that transaction, which placed us among the great powers of the world, was the treaty negotiated with Spain in 1819, whereby the whole of Florida was ceded to us in consideration of a concession upon our part that yielded Texas to Mexico. In 1845, however, we annexed Texas and added 376,133 square miles to our domain, despite Mr. Clay's anxiety lest we should be looked upon "as actuated by a spirit of rapacity and an inordinate desire for territorial aggrandizement." Mexico's turn then came, and in 1848 the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, under which New Mexico, including what is now Arizona and California, came to us for fifteen millions. For ten millions more we consummated the Gadsden Purchase in 1853; and through the two acquisitions we received an addition of 591,398 square miles. In 1867, we purchased Alaska from Russia, and in that way added 531,409 square miles of territory, not contiguous to our own, with a coast line longer than that upon our Atlantic and Gulf seaboards combined. In that way, our national domain has been so expanded during the century as to include now 3,602,990 square miles.

While the growth of our Federal republic was thus bringing about the expulsion of the Romance nations from the heart of

North America, through the direct means of conquest and purchase, the same force was at the same time expelling them from Central and South America through the indirect means of its moral influence. The great political idea which the English settlers brought with them to the New World reappeared in the form of a self-governing republican state, whose internal organization rests upon the basis of English law, and whose ethical ideals rest upon the same basis. Under new geographical conditions, the typical English state in America soon learned how to unite with others of its class in a Federal system capable of unlimited expansion. That new political conception has impressed itself upon the constitution of Canada, without, however, depriving the British Empire of any territory held by it in 1800. In Central and South America its history has been far otherwise. There, early in the present century, mainly during the period between 1810 and 1825, eighteen republics after the American model were born upon the soil of Spain and Portugal. In that way, the area occupied in America by republican institutions has swelled from 827,844 square miles (5.4 per cent.) in 1800, to 11,632,426 square miles (75.6 per cent.) at the present time. When to that grand total is added the 3,626,352 square miles still possessed by Great Britain in the three Americas, only 134,090 square miles (including Cuba and Porto Rico) are now governed outside of the sphere of the British and American political systems, which, despite local variations, rest upon a single broad and historic basis. In the light of these facts, no student trained in the historical school can doubt that the paternal and dependent pro-consular system of colonization established by the Romance nations in the New World has broken down and disappeared in the presence of the self-reliant and self-governing English system, in obedience to that irresistible and all-pervading natural law which provides that the fittest shall survive. The process which began with the expulsion of France from North America in 1763, ended with the expulsion of Spain from Cuba and Porto Rico during the current year. The special circumstances or accidents that finally precipitated the conflict between Spain and the United States are, from a historical point of view, of no special importance, beyond the fact that they fixed the exact point of time for the termination of a process whose result was as certain as anything can be that follows the course of nature.

No successful attempt can be made to master the grave and far-reaching questions of national and international policy that have been suddenly put before us through the results of the recent war, without a clear comprehension of the fact that that war was the inevitable outcome of our national development, which has drawn after it, as a necessary consequence, a vast and rapid territorial expansion. The empirics who imagine that it is within the power of political parties, or of individual statesmen, to check that expansion arbitrarily, are as vain as the king who commanded the waves to pause at his feet. As a tree or a vine may be trained to grow in a certain direction, so we may hope, by political means, to direct or to restrain to a certain extent, perhaps, the national tendency. But, in order to accomplish even that much, we must clearly comprehend existing conditions, and deal with pending questions in the light of those conditions. The founders of the republic, with Washington at their head, followed that simple and obvious rule a century ago, when the then infant republic, with its three millions of inhabitants and its 800,000 square miles of territory, stood to the European world in a state of isolation. They did not attempt to look a century ahead of them, in order to lay down rules for the guidance of statesmen who were to be called upon to deal with conditions of which they had but the faintest dream.

In obedience to his practical temper, Washington, in his farewell address of 1796, wisely and prudently defined a foreign policy suited to that time, whose keynote was that: "Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. * * * It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portions of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it." Washington, of course, had specially in view the confusion resulting from the dynastic struggles that had disturbed the European concert in his time, extending often even to our shores; and he was, therefore, naturally desirous that we should not "entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice." There is no reason, however, to charge Washington, upon the basis of that declaration, with the Utopian dream that the qualified isolation, which he recommended to one of the weakest of nations, should continue after that nation had become one of the strongest.

The ablest of Washington's contemporaries who were called upon, twenty-seven years later, to re-define, in a more specific form, what our relations to the European powers should be, certainly indulged in no such illusion. In 1815, the five great powers entered into the league known as the Holy Alliance, which was afterward declared to be "a union for the reconquest and liberation of a great portion of the continent of Europe from the military despotism of France. * * * It was never, however, intended for the government of the world, or for the superintendence of the internal affairs of other states." That last qualification was, in the course of time, entirely abandoned. The allies so far assumed the right of intervening in the internal affairs of particular states, as to declare in a secret treaty their purpose "to put an end to the system of representative governments" in Europe, and to adopt measures to destroy "the liberty of the press." In the execution of that policy, which also assumed "to repel the maxim of rebellion, in whatever place and under whatever form it might show itself," the popular movements in Italy were crushed, and, in April, 1823, France undertook, in the name of the allies, to invade Spain for the purpose of restoring the absolute monarch, Ferdinand VII., to the throne. Such was the prelude to the declaration made to the British government, before the summer was over, that the allies proposed to call a Congress for the purpose of overturning the revolutionary governments in South America, which the United States had recognized, and of setting up anew within their limits the discarded sovereignty of Spain. By that time, Castlereagh, who had always been favorable to the alliance, had been superseded by Canning, who resolved, in obedience to popular sentiment in England, to suggest to Mr. Rush, our minister at London, that the British Government would stand by us if we desired to resist the attempt of the allies to overthrow the Spanish-American governments, in whose fate we were so deeply interested. Great Britain had not yet recognized those governments, but her mercantile interests in them were hostile to their re-subjection to the yoke of Spain's restrictive colonial system.

When Canning's suggestion was communicated to President Monroe, he lost no time in submitting the matter for advice to the ex-Presidents, Madison and Jefferson, both of whom viewed the substance of it with favor. Jefferson went to the heart of the

whole matter, when he replied: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. * * * While the last (Europe) is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. One nation (Great Britain), most of all, could disturb us in this pursuit; she now offers to lead, aid, and accompany us in it. By acceding to her proposition we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate a continent at a stroke. * * * Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one or all on earth, and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause"—a sentiment lately reiterated with great force by Mr. Chamberlain.

Mr. Jefferson certainly had no prejudice against an alliance with Great Britain, even if it should lead to a joint war against the rest of Europe.

After he had been duly advised, President Monroe made the memorable declaration contained in his message of Dec. 2, 1823; and that, coupled with the declaration made by Canning to the French Ambassador on the 9th of the preceding October, resulted in completely frustrating the design of the allies to reestablish the sovereignty of Spain over the South American republics.

Only with slow and timid steps have American statesmen advanced to a full and clear comprehension of the real meaning of this momentous transaction, which had to be interpreted in the light of our after history. Professor Lawrence, in his "International Law," dimly indicated the result of Mr. Monroe's declaration when he said: "the position of the United States on the American continent is in some respects like, and in others exceedingly unlike, that which is accorded in Europe to the six great powers. * * * If it be true that there is a primacy in America, comparable to that which exists in Europe, it must be wielded by her, and by her alone." Ever since the making of the Treaty of Westphalia, the European concert has claimed and exercised the right of intervention in the affairs of any particu-

lar state or states, whenever the maintenance of the balance of power has seemed to require it. As the sole power capable of exercising that kind of an overlordship in the affairs of the New World, the United States has, in two recent cases, so asserted its right of intervention as to put it at last upon a clear and definite foundation. In the Anglo-Venezuelan controversy, President Cleveland firmly and wisely declared our right to assume jurisdiction over a controversy as to boundaries between a European state and an American state, and to enforce our award against one or both, by force of arms, if necessary. The calm and just spirit in which Great Britain accepted this assertion of our right of intervention did credit to her statesmanship, and laid the foundation for the present good understanding which her then graceful concession made possible. When our interference in the affairs of Cuba could no longer be avoided, President McKinley wisely and consistently invoked, in the same way, our right of intervention, and applied it to that case in the form in which the facts warranted. Our collision with Spain in 1898 was, indeed, in one aspect of it, simply a rehearsal of the transaction of 1823.

All who are familiar with the diplomatic history of our recent war with Spain, know very well that, as the time for the conflict approached, the house of Austria, interested as of old in the Spanish succession, made a vigorous attempt to revive the Holy Alliance, by drawing the European powers into a concert that was expected to dictate to us just what we could and could not do in Cuban affairs. How the first carefully matured effort in that direction was detected and frustrated at the critical moment, it is not for me to discuss at the present time; but all the world knows that, when the scheme was renewed, it was at last finally broken down by Great Britain's unmistakable intimation that, if such a Continental combination should be formed, she would stand shoulder to shoulder with the United States. There never was a more remarkable case of history repeating itself. Without the help of Great Britain in 1823, the designs of the Holy Alliance in South America could never have been shattered; without the help of the same power in 1898, the designs of another incipient Holy Alliance could not have been frustrated. It is hardly necessary to suggest that, without England at our side, we would have been powerless in Cuban waters, in the presence of the combined fleets of Continental Europe.

In the light of recent events, we should therefore be able to settle the two gravest questions involving the future of our foreign relations. First, there should be no further controversy as to our right of intervention in the affairs of this hemisphere, since it has been frankly and fully admitted by the greatest of the European powers, and the only one who now possesses any considerable portion of the soil of the New World. Second, we should no longer hesitate to accept the advice given by Mr. Jefferson in 1823 to "sedulously cherish a cordial friendship" with Great Britain, as "the nation which can do us the most harm of any or all on earth, and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world." Wise men on both sides of the Atlantic seem to agree that the desired end will be attained if the two great branches of the English people bind themselves together in what is generally termed a moral alliance. As Mr. Dicey has happily expressed it: "We are aware that at this moment England and America, if allied, or even if on terms of equal friendship, without actual alliance, can control the course of the world's history. Together we may be masters of the sea; and to have control of the sea means absolute security against foreign attack." With an international tribunal of arbitration established between Great Britain and the United States, there would be but little danger of an actual rupture between the two nations.

With England firmly by our side, there is no reason why we should not deal wisely and without pressure with the grave problems now pending for solution in the Atlantic and Pacific. As we have followed the political experience of the mother country in everything else, there is no reason why we should not learn from her how to build up and manage a colonial empire, if destiny has decreed that we shall have one. In that domain Great Britain has been eminently successful, because she has been wise enough to devise an elastic system of colonial government, which she adapts to each new acquisition according to its special stage of development and its local wants and traditions. In that way her colonies represent almost every form of government, from that of the autocratic High Commissioner, who legislates for savage Basutoland by the issuance of proclamations merely, up to the complex Federal union under which the self-governing communities of Canada control their destiny, with scarcely any interference from the parent state. Great Britain does not pretend to extend the

full rights of British citizenship to all of her colonists. The right of self-government is limited to colonies in the temperate zone—in India and the crown colonies the constitutional doctrines that secure the right of public meeting and the freedom of the press do not exist. The question is, whether under our less flexible Constitution we can govern colonies effectively without running the risk incident to the admission of distant and alien peoples to full citizenship.

There are but two conditions under which we can govern new territory prior to its admission as a State. When such territory happens to be conquered and a purely military occupation is established, the limits of the Union are not thereby enlarged. Not until a treaty of peace has confirmed the right does the new territory become a part of the national domain to which it is then annexed. During this first or military stage, the President, as Commander-in-Chief, can provide for the security of persons and property, and for the orderly administration of justice, through a military government, which may either set aside pre-existing laws or continue their enforcement, subject to all necessary modifications. No crown colony of the British Empire possesses a more complete form of government than the President of the United States can organize as Commander-in-Chief. Second, when the territory annexed has passed under the jurisdiction of Congress, that body can govern it either through laws operating directly upon it, or through a territorial government expressly created for it. Excepting only the right of representation in Congress, there is no substantial right of local self-government that such a community does not enjoy. There is, therefore, really no good reason to doubt that all pending problems may be solved through the constitutional means at our command.

Whenever the question is asked, "What is to be done with Cuba?" the answer comes that the whole matter was settled in advance by the declaration made by Congress when the war began, that the contest would be carried on with no other motive than to secure the complete political independence of the island from Spanish dominion. When that assurance was given, the best friends of Cuba in the United States, the writer included, honestly believed that the Cuban republic was a reality, an organized and self-sustaining force that would be able to guarantee peace, order and law when the sovereignty of Spain should be over-

thrown. No good can now come of clinging to illusions, for everybody knows that, as the war progressed, the truth was disclosed that the moral and physical power of the Cuban republic rested only upon the battered fragment of a patriot army, wasted by hunger and disease, which has no adequate power to grapple with the task of pacification, even if that task were thrust upon it.

To recognize immediately the complete independence of Cuba the moment the evacuation by the Spaniards is completed, would certainly result in remanding the unhappy isle to a state of confusion almost as great as that from which it has emerged. If the promise given by Congress ever contemplated such a thing, it now appears to have been improvident. As Mr. James Bryce, England's scholar-statesman, has lately expressed it: "Declarations honestly made sometimes turn out, through intervening events and altered conditions, very hard to put in force." And yet, no matter how difficult it may be to put our promise to the Cuban people and to the world in force, it must be performed. Only the time and manner of its performance remain absolutely within our control. Our own repose, no less than that of the Cuban people, peremptorily demand that the reign of peace and law shall be so completely re-established throughout the island that agriculture and commerce may be revived, and the administration of justice re-established upon such a firm foundation that all property rights of natives and foreigners shall be secure. To bring about that state of things, something more will be necessary than a mere military *régime,* although such a *régime* may have to be employed for a time in order to hush discord, and in that way make possible the establishment of a settled system of territorial government. When such a system is established its administration should be committed to a set of officials far superior in character and capacity to those to whom our territories are generally assigned. Only through the maintenance of a liberal *régime,* political and commercial, that will promote the general welfare of the island, as well as our own, can we convince the Cuban people that their true interests lie in a closer relation with the one country without which they cannot exist. Industrially, Cuba is a great sugar estate, and that product, which represents eight-tenths of the exports, can now be sold only in the ports of the United States. If we shall encourage and develop the growth of Cuban industry and commerce, and maintain a firm and liberal

system of law and order, the immediate consequence will be a very large immigration into Cuba from the United States. Only by a peaceful conquest of that kind can we ever hope to make of the island a permanent and stable element in our national life. That process should be permitted to work itself out fully under a territorial system, before the Cuban people shall be called upon to pass finally upon the momentous question whether they will enter into the Union as a state, or attempt to set up an independent nation, with all the perils incident to such a venture. There is no good reason to believe that there is any radical difference of view between the leaders of the two great parties, so far as the disposition to be made of the West Indian Islands is concerned. The recent utterances of certain State Conventions make it plain that the Democratic party does not propose to diminish its prestige, or to weaken its influence, by failing to discharge its full duty to the nation with respect to Cuba and Porto Rico.

The disposition to be made of the Philippines involves a problem of a radically different character, as to whose solution Republicans and Democrats will differ, no doubt, for a long time to come. The most remarkable thing, perhaps, that has occurred in the course of our rapid expansion, has been the growth, within the last fifty years, of that part of our country that lies between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. When we remember that, as late as 1852, the only States west of the Mississippi were Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa and California—the last named representing only a string of mining camps centering in San Francisco, then a rough frontier town; that Oregon, Washington and British Columbia contained only a few scattered settlements and trading stations, with practically no exports but furs; that, as late as 1850, there were no telegraph lines and only eighty miles of railway in operation west of the Mississippi; that substantially all the shipping of the United States was then owned east of that river—it is hard to believe our eyes when we look upon the scene that confronts us to-day. And yet, startling as the transformation has been, all that has happened was clearly foreseen and foretold by a great American statesman, who was the first, perhaps, to comprehend clearly in his day the possibilities of the near future. As early as 1846, Mr. Seward, in a letter published under the title, "We Should Carry Out Our Des-

tiny," began to prophesy; and, in a speech, made in the Senate of the United States in 1852, upon the question of American commerce in the Pacific, he said: "The discovery of this continent and of those islands, and the organization upon their soil of societies and governments, have been great and important events. After all, they are merely preliminaries, a preparation by secondary incidents, in comparison with the sublime result which is about to be consummated—the junction of the two civilizations upon the coast and in the islands of the Pacific. * * * Henceforth, European commerce, European politics, European thought and European activity, although actually gaining force, and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will nevertheless, relatively sink in importance; while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands and the vast region beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter."

We have not only annexed the Hawaiian Republic and laid violent hands upon a part of the Philippines, but we have so extended our commercial relations beyond the Pacific that it appears that, "as respects number of residents and volume of trade, the United States has larger interests in China than any European power save England," and economists are seriously discussing our prospects for securing a part of the trade of Manchuria, now rapidly developing under Russian influence. Thus, in a commercial way, we have only become deeply concerned in the fate of the ancient empire about to be partitioned between England, Russia France and Germany. We may not desire a single foot of Chinese territory, but we are deeply interested in the maintenance of our treaty rights, through which equality of trading privileges is secured to us. Thus it clearly appears that Mr. Seward's dream has suddenly ripened into reality; we are now not only in the islands of the Pacific, but far beyond, dividing the commerce of China with the European nations. A certain part of our population, who might be called Tories, deem it their duty to fly into a passion and then hurl the epithet of "jingo" at any man who dares to open his eyes and admit what he actually sees before him. Another and more reasonable class deem it their duty to recognize existing conditions, and to deal with them in the same practical way in which we have disposed of like questions in the past. The only matter really at issue at the present moment is that involving the disposition to be made of the Philippines,

provided we shall acquire the right to deal with them at all through the award of a joint Commission in which Spain has an equal voice. To the arbitrament of such a Commission, the President has submitted the fate of the Philippines under the terms of the protocol; so, no matter what claim the five American Commissioners may make, it can be promptly vetoed by their five Spanish associates. We can hardly hope even for the cession of the whole of the island of Luzon, except upon the payment of a certain compensation. If a treaty embodying such a proposal shall reach the Senate, what will be the voice of the nation? It seems more than probable that a majority of the Republican leaders, with the President at their head, will claim that the procession must not pause; that we must at once possess the Philippines, either through the payment of some indemnity to Spain, or through a fresh appeal to the arbitrament of arms. On the other hand, it does not seem likely that a majority of the Democratic leaders can be brought to accept either alternative. Impressed as they may be with the historical fact that destiny has already irrevocably involved us with the affairs of the Pacific world, whose growing greatness can no longer be questioned, they will likely deem it prudent to accept Mr. Seward's advice, "to hasten nothing, to take time to digest one territory before swallowing another."

While Cuba and Porto Rico are passing through the process of digestion, we should prepare ourselves for the inevitable by cutting the Nicaraguan Canal and by developing the strength of our navy.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE ZIONIST CONFERENCE AT BASLE.

"THUS saith the Lord, who giveth the sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the moon and the stars for a light by night, who divideth the sea when the waves thereof roar; the Lord of Hosts is His name: If those ordinances depart from before Me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel shall cease from being a nation before Me for ever."

Deathless nation! Deathless destiny!

From the realization of traditional hopes have been birthed a modern Germany, a modern Italy, a modern Greece. "In the realization of traditional hopes, hopes which come down to us from the hoary past, hopes which have nerved us, which have inspired us with patience to bear and with courage to die, a new Palestine shall be born," shout the Zionists of to-day.

Never has History seen such a gathering as that which assembled on the banks of the Rhine, in the old city of the three kings, on the twenty-eighth of last August.

Hundreds of delegates from all parts of the world were there to discuss plans carefully prepared for the rehabilitation of the deathless nation. But unlike the assemblies which origined all the great powers of to-day, unlike all the movements whose visible results are a free Holland, a humiliated Spain, a Germany and an Italy and a Greece, never once was there spoken a word to hint appeal to sword, to vomiting death-tube or to any of war's cursed furies. "Not by might nor by power, but by My Spirit" seemed to be the hidden but majestic force which pulsed the hearts and quickened the tongues in that matchless assemblage whose members hailed from Europe, Africa, North and South America and Australia.

Wonderful was the enthusiasm. Yet it differed from that which drove the followers of a Theudas or a Bar Cochba to dare the might of Rome in mad effort to make their nation free. It differed from that which caused thousands whose hearts yearned for Messiah to end their woes, to pin their faith to such adventurers as a David Reubeni and a Solomon Molcho in the sixteenth and to a Sabbatai Zebi in the seventeenth centuries. For at Basle there was no mad despair to bid men grasp the weapon, and there was no thoughtless ignorance to move them to unreasoning folly. Instead there was a holy love of peace, a consciousness that Time's wheel would bring the laggard Justice to the side of the Jew, a calm, cool, calculating wisdom, a courage to correct any move proved false by experience, a wonderful patience, a far-seeing political conception, a determination to succeed. For was not the weal of the world wound up in the realization of the national hopes which mean Zionism, as portrayed in the Holy Book of Inspirations?

Intense was the interest when the President, Dr. Herzl, opened the con-

gress with his address. Admirable was the tact with which he swept away the objections which have caused so many patriotic Hebrews to hold aloof from his movement, for indeed to him belongs the honor of its inception. "The same people who reproach us that Zionism creates new barriers between mankind, find fault with us for aspiring to the friendship of Christian Zionists. But for us it is not only a mere question of opportunism when we press the hand so cordially stretched forth to us. It testifies above all that Zionism possesses a power for reconciliation. . . . We hold firm to our Judaism. . . . We are ready to bring about the reconstruction of Judaism; we have everything in abundance, men, material, and plans. What we require is the soil. . . . No one will deny that there is an unbreakable connection between our people and this land. If there be such a thing as a claim to a part of the earth, all peoples who believe in the Bible must recognize the right of the Jews to Palestine, and they can do so without envy and without fear, for the Jews are not a political power and never will be one." . . . A sketch of the plans followed and his speech closed amid earnest applause proclaiming loyalty to the plans and personal regard for him. After the adoption of "Order of Procedure" Dr. Max Nordau ascended the tribune. It was the author of Degeneration preaching Regeneration. For his theme was the regeneration of all legitimate Jewish hopes. Brilliantly he reviewed the condition of the Jews in all lands. Most poetically he spoke of Zionism's awakening of Judaism to new life. . . . "Judaism is Zionism and Zionism is Judaism. . . . In our camp is Israel, in the other dead limbs, he exclaimed, parodying the words of the poet Grillparzer.

Then followed the reports of the committees appointed at the conference of the preceding year—the first ever held. From them we learn that there are 913 Zionist societies, that there is a cash balance of over 60,000 francs in the treasury, and it was made known that that the first year's income was about £12,000, which at the rate of a shekel for each contributor means about 250,000 adherents. And this after so short a life; for this is but the second year of organized Zionism!

At the next day's session it was announced that 335 telegrams and 130 letters had been received. Then the "Programme of the Movement" and "Colonization" reports were taken up. On the third day, the report on "the Colonial Bank" was discussed and the following recommendations were adopted—recommendations which merit careful study and which cannot but provoke admiration.

1. Under the name "Jewish Colonial Bank" a bank shall be founded which shall be under the supervision of a Corporation to be appointed by the Congress. This body shall be charged with the promotion or the foundation of the following enterprises, in so far as they will yield a profitable revenue:

1. Creation of industrial establishments, both of Insurance and Shipping Companies, in the East (the words "especially Palestine and Syria" were subsequently added) for the purpose of utilizing Jewish labor.
2. The support of Jewish Agricultural Colonies by guaranteeing loans to colonists against mortgages, securities or bills, and by the purchase and parceling of land, etc.
3. Organization of export and import trade in Syria and Palestine by support of commercial undertakings.
4. Acquisition of concessions for construction of roads, harbor works, mines and trade monopolies in the East.
5. Establishment of, or partnership in, banks for the above-named objects.

2. In addition to these enterprises, the Bank is empowered temporarily to utilize its funds for profitable undertakings of such a character that they shall not be locked up for any length of time.

The details will be settled by the Preparatory Committee.

3. All speculative business is on principle excluded.

4. The Bank shall, according to circumstances and practicability, establish branches in different countries.

5. The Bank shall be founded with a capital of two million pounds sterling, in shares of one pound sterling each. On the establishment of the Bank the Preparatory Committee is empowered to issue these shares in part only, in proportion to the number applied for.

6. The seat of the Bank is London.

7. The Preparatory Committee shall settle the constitution and management of the Bank with due regard to the draft Statutes and to the wishes expressed by the Congress, and shall, in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Zionist Congress, make these the basis of the Bank.

8. The Congress approves the election of a Committee of nine members to make preparations for the establishment of the Bank.

This Committee is empowered to co-öpt other members in all countries, with the view to the formation of an enlarged Committee, which shall organize the subscription. The Committee of Nine has authority, under supervision of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Congress, to adopt measures which are desirable or practical for the foundation of the Bank.

The colonization report was then concluded, and a paper on Jewish culture was read by Dr. Ehrenpreis, for the Hebrew language and literature is among the dearest ideals of Zionism. A ringing speech from Dr. Gaster, the Haham or ecclesiastical chief of the Sephardic Jews of England, practically concluded the conference; for the remaining proceedings were formal. With the addresses of Dr. Rülf calling for *Hochs* for Drs. Herzl, Nordau, Gaster and Mandelstamm, with the expression of the thanks of the delegates to the managers by Strelitzki and with Dr. Herzl's acknowledgements, the second Zionist conference became history.

And the meaning of it all?

That the deathless nation is saying to the world, Come and help on the realization of Zionism, for Zionism means the realization of the great and grand ideals of the Bible for mankind's benefit. For it means the establishment of a court of arbitration for the settlement of nations' disputes, with the nations pledged to enforce the court's findings. It means a quickening of religious sentiment consequent upon the fulfilment of Bible teachings, a deeper consciousness of God in human affairs, since it can only be God who brings about the revival of any nation "not by might and not by force, but by His Spirit." In a word it means a mighty step forward towards the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

Two points sometimes alleged against Zionism remain to be noticed. The one, that any appropriation of Palestine against Turkey's will must mean violence. The answer is that only by the Spirit of God do the Hebrews hope to have the land given to them. By mutual consent of all the great Powers, and among them Turkey, do the sons of the deathless nation hope to see their dreams realized.

The second point is that many Jews are opposed to what they call "political Zionism," by which they understand that all Jews in all lands will owe political obedience to Palestine and therefore cannot be citizens of the land of their adoption. To this the efficient answer is that they will owe only spiritual allegiance to Palestine, just as Catholics owe spiritual, and only spiritual, allegiance to Rome; that they will owe temporal allegiance, *i. e.*, obedience to all the laws of their adopted country, just as Catholics owe and

give allegiance to the temporal laws of the country of their adoption. The destiny of the Jews is only a spiritual one. This destiny and the fact that Hebrews are to reside in all parts of the world are perhaps sufficiently indicated in a Zionite song with which I close this contribution, a song which, whether sung by Englishmen to the air of their national anthem or by Americans to "My Country, 'tis of Thee," will perhaps appeal to its readers and tell the world the heart-thoughts of Zionism.

"God, we implore of Thee
End Zion's misery.
Send her Thine aid!
Send Thou her sons to heal
Wounds which the years reveal,
Woes which at last in weal
For aye shall fade!

"God, loving, tender, good!
As if in widowhood
She weeps for Thee!
Be once more reconciled,
As father pities child
Pity her grief so wild
She weeps for Thee!

"Now bid her weep no more,
Do Thou her sons restore—
Love-gift from Thee!
Make those who still would stay
In other lands obey
Thy holy law that they
World-priests may be!

For some by Thy command
Must live in ev'ry land
To make Thee known!
"Priests to the world are we,
This is our destiny,
For all shall bend the knee
To Thee alone!"

H. PEREIRA MENDES.

POSTAL CURRENCY.

CONVENIENCE in small things makes possible a great business. A busy man hesitates to buy a post office order. He is averse to subjecting himself to the annoyance of going to the post office, perhaps standing in line, to wait his turn, or at least to wait while the money order clerk writes and punches various slips of paper. Therefore, when occasion arises for the transmission of a small sum of money through the mail, he casts about for some more convenient method.

Assuming that the law of the unit is the law of the mass, let us put ourselves in the place of the average citizen, and from his standpoint view the matter. Perhaps he owes a friend a small sum of money, less than $5.00; possibly he desires to order some article he has seen advertised, or to subscribe for a favorite newspaper or magazine, or to secure some book not kept in stock by his local stationer. The first question prominent in his mind, after determining to make the remittance, is, "How shall the money be transmitted?" If he be possessed of much leisure time, he may determine to drop in at the post office some convenient day and purchase a government postal note; but if he is busy, and anxious to finish up the matter while he has it in mind, he will at once cast about for some way to send the money, without subjecting himself to the inconvenience of the present method.

Postage stamps offer a means, if he is fortunate enough to have them in stock. Lacking a sufficient quantity of these, he may cut, in a piece of pasteboard, holes large enough to accommodate some silver coin, and inserting the pieces therein, bid his money an affectionate farewell, with a hope that it will reach its destination safely. A check on his inland bank may suggest itself. This is a convenient method for him, but when the recipient undertakes to realize from a small check of $1.00, $2.00 or $3.00, the toll for collection seems heavy, and comes out of the wrong pocket.

If of a persevering turn of mind, he may follow up the subject until he accomplishes his desire and sends the small sum of money in one form or another, but many of the less persistent will postpone the day of trouble, or abandon entirely the idea of making the purchase contemplated. The difficulty surrounding the procurement of safe money for transmission through the mail is so pronounced that it very seriously affects all businesses in which small accounts appear.

The manager of one of the large metropolitan papers writes: "We are losing money constantly on account of the immense quantity of stamps we have to take in payment of bills, and these must be sold at a discount. We hope for some solution of the question which will tend to do away with what is now an unmitigated nuisance." A magazine publisher writes: "I have just now been handed a bill for a considerable amount of money required in payment for some punctured cards which we send to correspondents in which to remit coin." A prominent manufacturer writes: "I am satisfied we fail to sell three-fourths of those who would send us money if they could do so without the trouble of securing postal notes."

Seeking a remedy, the first and most prominent point presented is the need of some form of money which the average citizen is likely to have near at hand, and which can be instantly transferred from a negotiable piece, into a piece of exchange payable only to the payee, whose name may be written in ink by the sender. We have seen that the loss of business under the present method, and the general cause of complaint are because of the trouble in obtaining safe money.

Convenience, then, is paramount; safety in transmission is secondary. This is shown by the thousands of cases where individuals enclose negotiable bank notes in letters, preferring to run the risk of loss rather than subject themselves to the annoyance of obtaining government money orders. It is difficult to form a reasonable estimate of the amount of toll lost by the government annually, from remittances sent outside of the government postal note plan. Those who receive large aggregate amounts in small sums, variously estimate that from three to twenty times more money comes in what might be called irregular ways, than in the ordinary government postal notes, and yet between $170,000,000 and $200,000,000 in money orders are sent through the mails each year, at an expenditure for clerk hire of nearly $700,000 per year.

The Post Cheque, which is being urged upon the Treasury Department, the Post Office Department, and Congress, by a considerable number of prominent business men, is in the form of paper currency, to be issued in five, ten, twenty-five and fifty-cent pieces, also in one, two and five dollar notes, handsomely engraved, with about three-quarters of the face left blank, with spaces in which to write the name of the person to whom it will be payable, his city and State, also a space for the name of the sender and the signature of the receiver.

It is proposed to make this actual money for every-day circulation, and the plan is to issue fifty million dollars in Post Cheques. When this form of fractional currency gets into the hands of the people, it is thought that the first difficulty in the present problem of transmission of money through the mails, that of inconvenience, will be solved, and the individual who decides to make a small purchase can, at the instant his decision is reached, prepare his money for safe transmission. Out comes his pocket-book, and the necessary notes, which up to this time have passed from hand to hand

in the various business transactions, are now, by a few strokes of the pen, transformed into safe exchange, payable at any post office. A one or two-cent stamp is to be affixed to the lower right hand corner of the piece of money for the government fee, and the signature of the sender is to cross this stamp and thereby cancel it.

Each individual is his own clerk, and is required to do no waiting, nor subject himself to any inconvenience in procuring a safe form of transmissible money. This last feature, in itself, would mean a saving to the government of clerk hire, in the aggregate, of $700,000 per annum, and while the total would be less on the individual transaction, an increase in the aggregate receipts of the government is expected, owing to the fact that practically all transactions by mail would, under the Post Cheque plan, pay a toll, whereas under the present plan, it is only the minority of such transactions that the government reaps any benefit from. A two-cent stamp is considered of less value by the average man than two pennies. He does not hesitate, by reason of the question of cost, to expend a two-cent stamp in making his money payable to the person to whom he remits it, and safe from thievery. Instances will occur where two or more Post Cheques will be required to exactly cover the sum desired; that is to say, if one wished to send $2.50, a two-dollar Post Cheque or two one-dollar cheques would be required, together with a fifty-cent cheque.

It is proposed that the fee on the notes under $1.00 shall be one cent each, and from one dollar to five dollars, two cents each. When these Post Cheques are received by commercial houses, they are indorsed and deposited in the bank, as is usual with government money orders, the bank clerk taking the receipts of the day, of that particular form, to the post office for redemption. The notes are then cancelled and the bank clerk or other individual presenting them for payment will receive new blank and negotiable Post Cheques in payment therefor. By this process, the notes are kept fresh and clean, as is the case with the Bank of England notes. An embargo is at present placed upon that portion of the business of the country which is represented by small remittances, and it is estimated that the volume of such business must exceed one billion dollars per year, of which the government handles but a small proportion in the way of government postal notes. It is reasonable to expect that if the embargo is removed, and convenience takes the place of difficulty and inconvenience in method, a very considerable increase will be the result.

C. W. POST.

THE CANADIAN PLEBISCITE.

THE plebiscite on prohibition recently taken throughout the Dominion of Canada was a new departure in Parliamentary procedure. There is no precedent for it in the annals of English legislation, and none that I am aware of in connection with Parliaments in other English-speaking countries patterned after the British model. In its earlier stages, the plebiscite movement also made an inroad on the usages and traditions of Government by means of Cabinets, and it would have led to a further inroad on these usages, or to a complete reorganization of the Laurier Cabinet, had the vote in favor of prohibition been sufficiently large to be accepted by the Government as a mandate for legislation.

Prohibition has long been agitated in Canada, and often discussed in the Provincial Legislatures and in the Dominion Parliament. Its advocates are not confined to either one of the political parties; although in recent years they have been most active and most successful in making their influence felt in the Liberal party. In 1889, when the Conservatives were in office at Ottawa, there was carried in the House of Commons a resolution declaring that it would be expedient to adopt prohibition when the public sentiment of the country was ripe for the reception and enforcement of such a measure. This non-committal resolution was of little practical value. Its chief significance now is that it shows that in the past the Conservatives, like the Liberals in more recent times, were afraid of the prohibitionists and indisposed to take any firm stand against them.

From 1889 to 1894, the prohibition question was more prominent in Provincial than in Dominion politics; and, in this period, five of the eight Provinces voted in the affirmative at plebiscites taken at either the Provincial or the municipal elections. But in no case did a plebiscite lead to a prohibition enactment. The Governments in the Provinces took the ground that for the Provinces to legislate for the total prohibition of the liquor trade would constitute an interference with the rights and powers of the Federal Government with respect to taxation. In 1893, the prohibition movement again became prominent in Dominion politics. Delegates representing the Liberal party in the several Provinces met in that year in National Convention at Ottawa, to draw up a programme on which the Liberals, then in Opposition, were to go into the General Election at that time thought to be impending.

The Ottawa Programme was patterned after the Newcastle Programme, of which much was then being heard in England. It embodied half a score of legislative demands to be acted upon should the Liberals secure a majority in the House of Commons. In the closing hours of the Ottawa Convention, after the principal business had been discharged, and many of the delegates had departed, the prohibitionists availed themselves of the opportunity to add an item of their own to the programme. It set forth that as public attention was at that time much directed to a consideration of the great evils of intemperance, "it was desirable that the mind of the people should be clearly ascertained on the question of prohibition by means of a Dominion plebiscite."

The General Election, thought to be imminent in 1893, did not take place until 1896. Between 1893 and 1896 there was no other National Convention of the Liberals, and no opportunity of revising the Ottawa Programme. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues of the Liberal Opposition accepted it as their programme in the election, and after they were in a majority in the House of Commons at Ottawa proceeded to fulfill the pledges embodied in the Programme of 1893. In its turn the plebiscite pledge was fulfilled; for the prohibitionist leaders were alert, active and insistent from the time the new Government took office. It is now known that at least four members of the Laurier Government, including three who are of the Cabinet, are opposed to prohibition. But notwithstanding this opposition to prohibition on their part the Plebiscite bill was introduced into Parliament, as a Government measure, one for which the Cabinet was responsible; and its general lines were determined upon at a caucus of the Liberal members of Parliament.

At this stage the Anti-prohibition members of the Ministry offered no

opposition. They were active parties to the plebiscite bill, and to the measure appropriating $250,000 to defray the cost of taking the vote. As soon, however, as the plebiscite campaign began, the Anti-prohibitionist members of the Ministry openly opposed prohibition; and from the platform, or through the press, counselled their supporters in the Quebec constituencies to vote in the negative at the plebiscite. One of these anti-prohibitionist Cabinet Ministers made the statement at a public meeting that, although the Government in a moment of weakness had agreed to the Plebiscite Act, there would be no prohibition law.

Only one member of the Cabinet took sides with the prohibitionists in the Plebiscite campaign. This was Mr. Fisher, the Minister of Agriculture, who while one of his colleagues of the Cabinet was telling the electors there would be no prohibition law, that in short the whole prohibition business was a humbug, was urging his hearers to vote for prohibition, and assuring them that the Government would pass a prohibition law, if the popular vote was in the affirmative. The Government, neither in the Plebiscite Act nor in the debates in Parliament which preceded it, had given the slightest intimation of what it would regard as an affirmative vote, one affording a mandate for legislation.

Since Cabinet Government, and Cabinet responsibility for legislation introduced or sanctioned by Government, became established in England, and was transplanted from England to British Colonies all over the globe, there never was such a spectacle as was witnessed in Canada during the closing weeks of the plebiscite campaign. The situation would have been more absurd had the vote in favor of prohibition been sufficiently large to demand a prohibition enactment. Then at least three members of the Laurier Cabinet would have had to resign, or Canada would have broken away entirely from the Cabinet system, as it exists in England. With four members of the Ministry denouncing prohibition and insisting on its impracticability, it is difficult to see how without a complete reorganization the Cabinet could have sanctioned a prohibition bill, and still remained a Cabinet within the accepted meaning of the term, as it is used in England, and as it has been hitherto accepted in British colonies with representative institutions like those of Canada.

A good definition of a Cabinet, and one generally accepted in England, is that given by Mr. Traill in his volume on "Central Government," in the "English Citizen" series. He there describes the Cabinet as necessarily consisting of "members of the legislature, of the same political views, and chosen from the party possessing the majority in the House of Commons; prosecuting a concerted policy, under a common responsibility to be signified by collective resignation in the event of Parliamentary censure; and acknowledging a common subordination to one chief minister."

The members of the Laurier Cabinet might have held the same political views when they sanctioned the introduction of the plebiscite bill to Parliament. They were then, no doubt, in agreement that an awkward campaign pledge had to be fulfilled, even if they were not in agreement as to the principle of prohibition. But for a ministry so openly divided on the question to have sanctioned a prohibition bill in response to a mandate given through the plebiscite, would have brought contempt on the principle of Government by Party, and made an inroad on it which it could hardly have survived.

From beginning to end there was an air of insincerity about the

plebiscite and a trifling on the part of the Laurier Government with representative institutions and long established constitutional usages. The Canadian people realized this, and rebuked it by refusing to take part in the farce that the Government was playing.

EDWARD PORRITT.

THE SCIENCE OF HOME MANAGEMENT.

THE home of to-day is different in almost every essential feature from the home of feudal times, to go no farther back. To this day, curious survivals of that time of man's fighting and woman's isolation linger in our current thought and speech, in spite of the incongruous circumstances of our lives. Then, in a very literal sense, a man's home was his castle; and the castle with its domains was woman's realm. There was no safety for the weak and defenceless except within the walls. Plunder and rapine and bloodshed reigned without. Very gracefully they wander in and out of the pages of the old romances of that time, those fair ladies, richly attired, gracefully veiled, riding their snow-white palfreys, escorted with much ceremony through their castle gates. But the castle walls have been leveled. The moat and drawbridge have disappeared.

A man may still speak metaphorically of doing battle with the world, in protecting those who are sheltered in his home; but, in point of fact, he ceased centuries ago to make fighting the chief business of his life, or to erect barriers between his family and the outside world. He builds his home against his neighbors' walls on both sides. He places at the door an electric button which is the *open sesame* to all who wish to enter. He joins forces with thousands of other men whose names, even, are unknown to him, to bring water from a common source into his home and theirs. Fuel, as well as water, is secured from common reservoirs by combination instead of by capture. The flaming torch is superseded by gas and electricity. The lord of the castle has so completely destroyed the isolation of his home, that he causes all the elements to pass freely through it and through thousands of other homes in connection with it, and so has inextricably interwoven the comfort or distress of his own family with that of the entire community.

In the old days, when a man's home was his castle, his wife watched him sally forth in the morning on his goodly charger, surrounded by his retainers, all in full armor; then she busied herself with the preparation of food which their comprehensive appetites would require on their return. She brewed "simples" from herbs, to be used in case of sickness. Spinning and weaving and knitting and netting and embroidery filled all her leisure hours. She was industrious, very industrious, this fair, serene, great-grandmother of ours. But her distaff and spindle are kept in a glass case in the museum now, and her great-granddaughter goes out into the world to traffic in great, close, crowded stores, buying the clothing for her household which was once so quietly made at home. She goes to market, too, and brings home vegetables and fruits whose names were never heard in the old castle days. She learns to cook, and produces such combinations of foods as were never dreamed of by her soundly sleeping ancestors. She is confronted all the time by spectres of disease and death which glide in through all the avenues of modern conveniences, and the "brewing of simples" is powerless to exorcise them. The human body has become sensitive with its

better housing, more careful clothing, more varied diet, more highly cultivated mentality; and she must carefully study its composition, its weaknesses, its recuperative powers, and learn to meet by diet, by recreation, by intelligent care, the waste of tissue which the stress of modern life inevitably and unceasingly brings.

Her care of her family is conditioned in every direction by municipal regulations, which govern her supply and use of the commonest necessities of life. The modern home life is so interwoven with the modern civic life that it is impossible for a woman to be, in any real sense, queen of home without some power in the regulation of the affairs of the city in which her home is placed. Even in the material things of food and drink, and the carrying away of refuse, this is true. It is even more true in the education of her children, and in all that affects the higher, more subtle, atmosphere of the home life. The privilege of seclusion, exemption from responsibility in the conduct of affairs, is no longer her prerogative. The commonest necessities for the most quiet life force her into the barbarous atmosphere of the electric car in such proximity to men, women, children, and parcels, as makes her conscious of the limitations of civilization, and robs a voting place of all terror for her. It is the new home, with its many and wide-reaching interests, its exacting demands, that is forcing woman into unwelcome contacts with the outside world of to-day. She who manages wisely and well her little household, including four children and one servant, in a city flat to-day, has need of more science, more philosophy, more wisdom, more grace, more true queenliness, than ever shone in the lordliest castle of old England or on the storied Rhine. It is because the new home with its complicated machinery and exacting life is so much in advance of the new woman that she, in her haste to make up for lost time, has grown nervous and hysterical and disheartened, inclined to flee for refuge to the hotel and the boarding-house. But the retreat is only temporary. Forces are gathering for such a conquest over difficulties as will make the new woman queen in fact as well as in name of the new home.

More intelligent, scientific, study has been given to the problems of the home in the last five years than in many decades before. The New Oikology is born of the knowledge gained by systematic observation, experiment and reasoning on these problems. Its literature is limited, and is found largely in scattered pamphlets and single articles. Helen Campbell's classified lists of books and articles on the various subjects treated in "Household Economics," are a revelation to many readers. It is a growing literature and is being eagerly read. Its departments of Sanitation, Diet, Education and Service correspond closely to the departments recognized in the old castle days as belonging to "woman's sphere."

I. Griselda learned to make effusions of herbs to be used in sickness. Griselda's great-granddaughter studies sanitation to prevent her family from being sick. Griselda was not expected to know how to read. That accomplishment was as rare in her day as a knowledge of the differential calculus is in ours. But Griselda's great-granddaughter goes to college, and later joins the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ and organizes the Sanitary Science Club and publishes pamphlets on Home Sanitation.

II. Griselda could cook. She cooked sometimes by rule, sometimes by luck. When the luck was bad, the household digestion became bad, and aching heads and irritable tempers followed in evidence. But the open air life of the time, with abundant physical exercise, gave robust constitutions.

Tempests cleared away and left behind their records of "the gentle hand that soothes the aching brow" and of the restraining grace which can calm the angry passions of men. Griselda's great-granddaughter studies chemistry and physiology and hygiene. She declares that there is no more luck, good or bad, in the art of cooking than in the art of making armor plate for battleships. She counts it no more womanly for the gentle hand to soothe the aching brow, than for the gentle hand and trained head to produce so wholesome a diet that the brow will not ache in consequence of using it. She studies psychology and ethics, and counts the grace which leads a woman to study the laws of harmonious living to be as divine a grace as that which calms angry passions after they have been allowed to rise.

III. Griselda's care of her children was untroubled by consideration of such theories of heredity and environment as enter into her great granddaughter's conception of motherhood. The timid souls who feared, a generation ago, that the higher education of women would lead them away from home life and home duties, could not foresee how multiplying the sources of thought multiplies beyond computation the sources of feeling. The strongest touchstone of womanly character in any age is its attitude toward maternity. Never could that test be more successfully applied than to the educated women of America to-day. Never in all time has childhood held so large a place in affection, in reverent study, as it holds among thinking women to-day. The crowning glory of physical womanhood is physical motherhood. It is not given to all. The crowning glory of spiritual womanhood is spiritual motherhood—the brooding, sympathetic, giving of self that another may have more abundant life. It may be attained by all. Its prevalence may be traced not only in the higher ideals dominating individual homes, but in the kindergarten movement, in the child-study classes, in the Mothers' Congress, in the quickened interest in all phases and all grades of education. It has always been considered to be within "woman's sphere" for a mother to employ and direct the cook who prepares her child's food, the laundress who washes his clothes, the chambermaid who makes his bed and sweeps his room. The New Oikology makes the mother responsible for the choice of the teacher who during several hours of the day has almost unlimited power in training the child, and responsible for the condition of the building in which those hours are spent. There are many things which are generally conceded to be done better by men than by women. Taking care of children has never been included in that list. The father, away from home during a large part of the waking hours of the child, cannot know his traits, his tendencies, his needs, as the mother knows them.

The custom of putting the schools, which so largely shape the child's life, into the hands of men and the grasp of politics, out of reach of the influence of mothers, is a survival of an unlettered age. When public schools were first opened in New England, the Connecticut law declaring that "all children" were to be taught, was interpreted to mean all boys. We had a college for boys one hundred and fifty years before the public schools were open to girls for full time and for instruction in all the branches taught. Now, after a generation of the higher education of women, the phrase, "all citizens," is still interpreted to mean all men. It is an anachronism which has been corrected in some States, and which will, in years to come, be regarded with the same compassionate smile which now meets a statement of our ancestors' interpretation of the phrase, "all children." It is the

quickened and educated mother-love which, more than any other one motive, is taking women into new lines of activity in the world to-day. The appointment of a woman to the office of City Inspector of Street Cleaning has caused wide comment. It may not be generally known that her interest in this sanitary work dates from the death of her child, of diphtheria caused by the infection of a garbage-laden alley.

The various forms of philanthropic work in which women are engaged react in time on their ideals of home life. In nothing is this more true than in the kindergarten movement, one of the most fundamental in its results of all modern manifestations of altruism. The education and experience gained by working together in new lines of activity tend to produce higher standards for individual homes. A few months ago a kindergarten teacher was poisoned by working with clay which the children had used in modelling. The effects of the poison were manifest and serious, not only on her hands, but on other parts of her body. It was evident to the directors of the school that clay which had once been used, worked into the pores of the fingers, had so received the secretions of the skin, and was unfit to be used again, especially by another person. This was merely for working with the hands. No one thought of chewing and swallowing the clay. The experience led to a consideration of common methods of bread making. Bread-kneaders are now finding a market in that town.

IV. Griselda directed the employments of her servants. They were born on the domain, or were fief with the soil, or were dowry for life. They knew no ambition but her service, no home but under her rule. To Griselda's great-granddaughter servants come from the ends of the earth, speaking strange tongues, bringing strange ideas, or none; and they go as irregularly and as unaccountably as they come. The New Oikology finds in the department of domestic service one of the most difficult problems with which it has to deal. It has been held to be so personal a matter in each household as to resent outside investigation. Until within the last five years very little has been done in scientifically co-ordinating and systematizing facts in regard to it. When we find that this department of activity employs about two millions of people in the United States, receiving wages amounting to nearly 300,000,000 of dollars annually; that the employment offices of a single city, New York, receive about 3,000,000 dollars annually in fees, we begin to realize how important an element of the general industrial problem is overlooked in the failure to include domestic service records among the statistics of labor. The financial element in the problem, large as it is, is insignificant in comparison with the influence of the service element in shaping the life of the home, even the life of the nation. A scientific study of diet, and its relation to strength and development, shows the cook to have far more power over the health of the family than the physician can have. The physician is called only after injury is felt. The wise cook, foreseeing danger, wards it off by strengthening the weak or threatened part of the organism. Happy the home in which strength of body and strength of mind and simplicity of life make it possible for the seer to be the doer of this noble service! For the multitude of homes which must look to the employment office for the supply of this and other forms of domestic service the outlook is appalling.

The changing conditions of home life require constantly higher and higher grades of intelligence in the service. To meet the requirements of this service, we find a multitude of untrained women with no comprehen-

sion of the problems in whose solution they are to be the working agents; with no personal interest in improvement, because the demand for service is so much greater than the supply, of even an inferior quality, that they can easily secure regular employment and good wages, however inefficient they may be.

The census of 1890 reports 852,306 illiterate women and girls, of ten years of age and over, engaged in "gainful occupations." Of these 56.79 per cent. were engaged in agriculture, fisheries and mining. The next largest percentages of illiterates were found in "domestic and personal service," the numbers in this department aggregating more than 119,000. Under the heads of "Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries" and "Trade and Transportation" more than two thousand occupations are tabulated, in which 1,255,663 women and girls are engaged. The great majority of these occupations are simple and monotonous, requiring less than a tithe of the intelligence needed in domestic service. Yet, in these occupations the percentages of illiteracy were so small as to be insignificant. The average wage is lower than that paid for domestic service, if we count at its lowest market value the cost of board and lodging which is furnished the domestic employee, in addition to the stipulated weekly or monthly wage. Few occupations require so small an expenditure for clothing, and almost no other can give to a homeless woman the protection which the domestic employee finds in the home of her employer. It is generally conceded to be a most healthful employment. Yet the other occupations are crowded, while the demand for domestic workers is always greater than the supply.

The Committee on Domestic Reform of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston has given fifteen months of thorough, systematic work to the task of learning from hundreds of women their reasons for preferring the shop or factory to domestic service. Their report, published in April, 1898, is a valuable contribution to the New Oikology, in what it suggests as well as in what it tells. Only 20 per cent. of the women interviewed report any dislike of housework. Some consider it too heavy for their strength. The chief objections urged are the social stigma, long and indefinite hours of service, and the industrial isolation. A considerable number object to being employed by women, on the theory that women are less definite than men in making contracts and less exact in abiding by the terms of a contract after it has been made. This study of the problem of domestic service from the point of view of the employee has been made under favorable conditions, and with such care as leaves no room for doubting the accuracy of its results. The solution of the problem must await an equally full and frank report from the point of view of the employer.

Women's clubs, in all the larger cities, are organizing departments of Home and Education, for the earnest study of problems which only women can solve. In the last quarter of the century women have learned to combine their efforts for benevolent objects outside of home as never before. Would it be practicable for them to act in combination to secure certain advantages within their homes? Is it practicable to establish training schools in which the incompetent may learn to render efficient service? Would adequate training, and formal recognition of the value of the training, do for domestic service what it has done for the art of nursing—lift it from the rank of labor to the rank of a profession, and so remove the "social stigma"? Can domestic service be so specialized as to allow of the hours of service being shorter, and the requirements more definite? Can much

of the work, such as sweeping, and cleaning in its various forms, be done by specialists who come at stated times, do their work and go to their next engagement, instead of living in the home of the employer? Is it practicable for the women of a city or town to maintain fixed standards of work and wages, by uniting to establish and control their own bureaus of employment for all departments of service? Affirmative answers to these questions would strike at the very root of that conservatism which clings to old ways for fear of the untried. It is true that employment offices conducted by irresponsible people give us unsatisfactory service. It is true that every department of the home suffers from lack of a grade of intelligence in its service which cannot be secured under existing conditions. It is true that, in the multiplicity of its cares, home sometimes brings more of weariness, more of anxiety, than of rest. Yet, even as it is, it enshrines what is most sacred in life.

While some question, others go forward, A few schools of domestic service have been established. The principal of one of the largest and best of these schools writes: "In our school we teach principally the young ladies who expect to have homes of their own, or who expect to instruct others. We prepare young ladies to teach in public schools and in normal schools. Positions can be obtained immediately for any number of graduates." In this school, as in others of its class, instruction is given not only in the art of cooking, but in the chemistry of foods, chemical elements of the body, chemical uses of food principles, chemistry of fuels, house sanitation, including plumbing, drainage, ventilation, gas fixtures, etc. A young woman who has taken a course of training in such a school can never be a helpless victim of the "improvements" in her own home, as some of her older and less instructed sisters have been. Departments of Household Economics have been established in some of our colleges and universities, notably in the University of Chicago and in the University of Wisconsin. Lectureships have been established in several other institutions. It is interesting to see that this movement, instead of finding its strongest support in women's colleges, as might have been expected, is confined almost exclusively to co-educational institutions, so far. The Association of Collegiate Alumnæ is doing valuable work. Lucy Maynard Salmon, Professor of History in Vassar College, has published a volume on "Domestic Service," which has taken rank immediately as the most thorough and scientific treatise known on the subject. The failure to provide for instruction in domestic service and art, in colleges whose reason for existence has always been held to be woman's need of training different from that afforded by men's colleges, must be counted as among the unfathomable mysteries sacredly preserved in the conclaves of boards of trustees. The great need of the home is light, more light. It is only darkness that is to be feared.

The most exacting ideal of home life that the world has ever known was given more than eighteen hundred years ago by the Great Teacher of the Art of Living. He was a close observer, a keen critic, a discriminating philosopher. His regard for woman, and for her relation to the home, was such that He counted a look coupled with irreverent thought of her as crime. He was once called to judge between two types of womanhood—one distracted with much serving in conventional ways, the other sitting at the feet of the Teacher, learning his philosphy of life. His highest commendation was given to the learner.

MARY CLARK BARNES.

THE UNLUCKY RIGHT WING.

No battle plans have been more generally used than the flanking movements intended to overwhelm one end of an opponent's fighting line, to the great and probably fatal weakening of the rest of his position. The Confederates used these tactics in their most successful battles of the Civil War, and it is worthy of notice that their attacks which were particularly daring and successful were almost invariably made against the Federal right wing.

The troubles peculiar to that unlucky part of the Northern armies began at Bull Run, and continued, East and West, for over two years. At that battle the Federal right wing made a well-planned movement against the Confederate left. Both sides fought well for new troops, "Stonewall Jackson" earning his battle name by the resistance he and his men made to the attack against them; but the Federals had gained ground and were still advancing, when fresh Confederate forces fell on the regiments at the right end of their line of battle. The historical stampede that followed was an unfortunate but perfectly natural result.

The long wait while McClellan was organizing the Army of the Potomac followed. Then came the slow progress up the Peninsula toward Richmond, and the right wing was again in trouble. Stonewall Jackson had been threatening Washington; but before it was known that he had even left the Shenandoah Valley, his army reinforced Lee before Richmond. Their combined attack at Gaines's Mill drove the Federal right wing from the field; this was at the beginning of the Seven Days fighting that ended at Malvern Hill. A few weeks later Stonewall Jackson, in his masterly little way, went around the right of Pope's army; and while it is hard to say which part of the Federal line was the most unfortunate in the second battle of Bull Run, which was the immediate result of the Confederate movement around the right wing, that part of the army was directly opposite Jackson's own men, and suffered heavily.

Within less than three weeks the armies were facing each other at Antietam. Stonewall Jackson was again in front of the Federal right, and as big a stumbling block as ever. The three army corps that made up the right wing of the Army of the Potomac were thrown against him, with practically no favorable results and with very heavy losses. Numbers seemed to make no impression on Stonewall Jackson and his "foot cavalry;" so called from their wonderful marching powers.

But the greatest and the crowning military work of his life was his last, the attack on the Federal right at Chancellorsville. Lee's army was hardly half that of Hooker in numbers: and yet in defiance of all ordinary military rules, it was divided into two parts. Stonewall Jackson led his half directly across the front of the Federal lines. giving rise to the belief that the Confederates were retreating on Richmond; and late in the day he fell on the Federal right again. The blow caught this unlucky part of the line totally unprepared for resistance, and the resulting panic was the first of the disasters that were showered on the right wing in the three days of battle that ended in the retreat across the river.

It was a dearly-bought victory for the Confederacy, however, for Stonewall Jackson was mortally wounded and died soon after; and the Army of Northern Virginia was never quite the same after his death. The old courage and determination were there, but Chancellorsville saw the last of those brilliant flanking movements in which lay Jackson's military greatness.

In the West, the right wings of the Federal armies were also unfortunate. Fort Donelson was the most important of the early struggles, and a less determined leader than Grant might easily have been demoralized by the way in which the Confederate attack broke up his right division. The Confederate success for the time being was so complete that the entire garrison could have escaped; but they thought they could serve the rest of the Federal line in the same way, and they held their position, only to be hopelessly shut in by the most successful general the war produced on the Northern side. Lew Wallace rightly says that the turning point in Grant's career was the recapture of the position from which his right had been driven by the garrison of Fort Donelson; its escape would have put Grant under a cloud that might have hidden his greatness.

The army of the Cumberland was the next sufferer from the truly Confederate habit of demoralizing Federal right wings. At Murfreesboro, or Stone River, the Confederate Hardee led his corps against McCook of the Federal right, in a way that would have done credit to Stonewall Jackson himself. The right wing was wrecked; and the Confederates were only stopped when they had over-run half the battle-field and were nearly in possession of the Federal lines of communication with the North.

Nearly eight months later the same armies, led by the same commanders, Rosecrans and Bragg, fought one of the most desperate and dramatic battles in history at Chickamauga. There was a day of desperate fighting, with honors about even; but about the middle of the second day the Confederate columns made a heavy attack at a point in the Federal right that had just been left unprotected by the transfer of a division to close a supposed break in another part of the line. The charging columns immediately rushed into the real break in the line, and another Federal right wing was smashed. Thomas with the left, and what remained of the right, made the historic stand on Snodgrass Hill that saved the army of the Cumberland. Two months later it did great work in the magnificent fighting that drove the Confederates from Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.

In the East, the bad luck of the Federal right was closely associated with the fact that Stonewall Jackson generally chose that wing for a target; after he was mortally wounded at Chancellorsville, the troubles that befell the Army of the Potomac were more evenly distributed.

In the West, the right wing was demoralized for the last time at Chickamauga, only a little over four months after Chancellorsville, the last misfortune of the kind in the East. There was no Stonewall Jackson in the West to create a comparative monopoly of smashing right wings; and it is very fortunate for the re-united country that there was not.

GILBERT TOMPKINS.

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THE REORGANIZATION OF THE NAVAL PERSONNEL.

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I. THE SUGGESTION OF A SOLUTION.

In its issue of April 15, 1898, the *London Engineer,* a leading technical journal of England, conveyed the impression, then quite general throughout Europe, that the American navy was inferior to that of Spain. Commenting upon the displacement, speed, weight of metal thrown and fire-energy of our fleet as compared with that of Spain, it said:

"There is an important difference, too, as regards speed and handiness in favor of the Spanish vessels, the average rate of her ships being 23.67 knots per hour against an average of 19.63 as ruling in those of the United States. This degradation in the average is due to the comparatively slow steaming of the three battleships. It is difficult to see where the usefulness of these heavily-armored floating citadels comes in, except to capture and sink the 'Pelayo.' The main factors of projectile-weights and fire-energy which

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the American squadron possesses are due to the slow-firing 13-inch and 8-inch guns of these battleships. Yet there is small chance of their ever catching a glimpse of the swift and handy armored cruisers of the 'Vizcaya' type, and still less chance of their getting an effective shot at them. . . . We fear that the United States may find that their obstinate determination to arm their new vessels with guns which are the creation of their own genius, has landed them in a dilemma at this juncture. Spain . . . is relatively in a better position now as regards the armament of her recent vessels than the United States. . . . In point of fact we do not believe that the Yankees thoroughly understand the spirit of mischief that they seem so determined to evoke."

In the light of what took place in Manila Bay about two weeks later, when Dewey's squadron, solely the creation of Yankee genius, met the Spanish squadron, and later still, when the "slow steaming" Oregon and her sister battleships caught "a glimpse of the swift and handy-armored cruisers of the 'Vizcaya' type" just off Santiago, it is quite evident that foreign naval experts underestimated "the speed and handiness" and efficiency of Yankee warships, and the "mischief" they were capable of doing when manned by Yankee seamen.

That the foreigner should have left us out of the account of fighting forces on land and sea was but natural. For a whole generation we had neglected the army, and, for the greater portion of that time, the navy also, while we had steadily pursued the policy of non-intervention in foreign affairs from the beginning of Washington's administration.

The remarkable success of our navy in these two great naval engagements has ended the policy of national isolation for the United States. It has won in the Philippines freedom for an oppressed people, who had endured for three centuries a worse than mediæval barbarism, and it has established a great naval and commercial base over which our flag is destined to wave. Spain's sovereignty in this hemisphere is ended and Porto Rico is to-day American territory.

The inevitable consequences of our victory are the rapid growth of our ocean shipping and merchant marine, a far broader Americanism, with the extension of our Government to newly acquired territory, the appearance of the United States as a factor in Asian affairs, and the expansion of our naval establishment to a size commensurate with our new needs and duties.

In the new era which is opening to the United States, there will be not only distant islands to defend, but there should be as well a great merchant marine, traversing every sea, to protect. In

addition to our widely extended coast line, our West Indian and Alaskan possessions, we shall have a chain of naval stations across the Pacific, from California to the China Sea. To the defense of territory there will be added, then, the guarding of those communications which are vital elements of strategy and of victory in naval war. Without adequate force upon the sea, these objects cannot be attained. For the successful holding and development of our island territory and of our sea-borne commerce, a powerful fleet will be essential.

Of the elements which make up an efficient navy, experience has shown that the *personnel* is the most vital. "The man behind the gun" and the unseen heroes beneath the protective deck have met, during the recent war, an instant appreciation of their deeds which is an instinctive and popular recognition of a principle in naval history long since established; that the men, not the ships, are of the first importance. When John Paul Jones made his famous and defiant answer, "I have just begun to fight!" his battered hulk was sinking beneath his feet, and yet the "Serapis" struck her flag to him. The *matériel* failed; but, by unyielding valor, the *personnel* won the day. In considering, then, the subject of our territorial expansion beyond the sea, it is well to remember that the success of our colonial policy will lie largely in the efficiency of our fleet, and that, of that fleet, the *personnel* is the vital factor.

The interest of the writer in naval affairs, and especially in the *personnel*, has extended through several years. I was elected to the 54th Congress from a Brooklyn district in which is located the largest of our navy yards. This station has been practically, since the formation of our fleet, the chief center of naval industry in construction and repair. At its docks were equipped the great majority of the vessels which have done such noteworthy service in the recent war.

My assignment as a member of the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives brought me at once face to face with the Line and Staff contention, which, for more than thirty years, has made the official body of our navy discordant. While the fidelity and gallantry of our naval officers, as a whole, cannot be questioned, it is still a lamentable fact that, under the antiquated organization which had been inherited from the days of sail-power, the importance of the engineer was minimized. In place of a

united force, corps was arrayed against corps, the Line officer holding to his historic prestige and domination, the Engineer claiming, with ever growing insistence, his natural right to rank and to a share in the internal administration of the ship. It is pleasant, however, to say that this strife was purely a matter of corps and influenced officers only in their official duties, while the personal friendships between members of the line and staff were unaffected.

The prime importance of engineering in this era of mechanism is apparent to the most casual observer. On land and sea, wherever men labor, the engineer is omnipresent. In the passing of the centuries, the war-vessel had been transformed, from the galley of Carthaginian days, through the sailing age of Drake, Nelson and Farragut, to the aggregation of mechanism which, to-day, constitutes the battleship. Times had changed; the seamen, of necessity, had changed also; but the organization of the past still remained. There could be no more impressive example of the unwisdom of this principle, when carried to extremes, than the swift disaster which befell the Spanish squadrons off Santiago and in Manila Bay. With ships which were machines purely, the Spaniards had neglected engineering entirely. They had no skilled engineer corps. The subject was not included in the curriculum of their line officers. They relied upon hired machinists of foreign birth, who left their ships when war came. In the crucial hour of battle, then, the Spanish officers, brave as they were, could but face, in helpless ignorance and despair, the fighting engineers who stood behind our guns and in our engine-rooms.

Considerations such as these led me, early during my service in Congress, to introduce a bill giving to our Engineer officers a position in some degree commensurate with the importance of their work and the weight of their responsibility. The main provisions of the bill were those granting actual rank, military title, and adequate numbers to the Corps of Naval Engineers. The popular appreciation of the value of engineering, afloat as well as ashore, was notably demonstrated, to my associates and myself, by the generous support which the measure received from many institutions of learning and engineering bodies. As the Engineer Corps was still set apart as a separate body, leaving our Line officers untrained in that science, the step seemed but a partial one. But it was all that seemed practicable under existing conditions.

During the close study of the *personnel* problem which advocacy of this measure enforced, I became impressed with the similarity of the education and duties of Line and Engineer officers. At the Naval Academy, the curriculum was identical for all cadets during the first three years of the course, the differentiation into corps and the specialization in studies coming only in the fourth year. Again, the Line officer, in his service afloat, was placed in charge of much machinery with whose manipulation and maintenance he must—to be efficient in his work—be acquainted. Finally, the Engineer officer, in addition to his professional duties, controlled necessarily large bodies of men, whose discipline lay almost wholly in his hands. The logical conclusion from these premises seemed apparent—that the solution of the problem of the *personnel* lay in the combination of the Line and Engineering branches of the navy into one body of officers, whose members should be trained to all duties on the bridge, with the battery, and in the engine room.

These views were strengthened further by consultation with able officers, whose wide experience and sincere desire for the welfare of the service gave their opinions great weight. As a member of the Board of Visitors to the United States Naval Academy in June, 1897, I brought the subject to the attention of my associates. Among the number were Capt. John Wilkes, the oldest living graduate of the Academy; Capt. J. W. Miller, a graduate and former instructor at Annapolis, who has since been instrumental in bringing the naval militia of New York to its present high efficiency; and Mr. Geo. E. Garretson, a graduate of West Point—all gentlemen of expert knowledge and large information upon naval and military affairs. That board, as a whole and after careful investigation, embodied in its report the following paragraph, practically recommending the amalgamation of the Line and Engineering branches:

> "That the four years' curriculum be alike to all, so that every graduate shall enter the service under like conditions and be assigned to alternating duties on deck, in the engine room, or in charge of the purchasing and commissary departments of the vessel. The graduate thus becomes, at the end of his four-year course, a naval officer, enters the wardroom as an ensign, is trained to habits of command, and associates under like circumstances with his brother officers of higher rank."

This recommendation was also included, in greater detail and in more emphatic form, in the report of Capt. Miller, Chairman

of the Sub-Committee of the Board on Conditions of Admission, Subjects of Study, and Standard of Scholarship. From that report, the following extract is taken:

"*Subjects of study and standard of scholarship.*—These depend upon the aims of the Academy. The report of your committee, from the short time in which it must accomplish its work, must be more or less superficial, but we have based our conclusions upon views received from distinguished officers and civilians who have been in the navy.

"While the Naval Academy is to-day graduating alumni second to none of those from any college in the country in technical knowledge and scientific ability, it is not sending into the service the best sea officer possible, considering the time and money expended on his education. Looking about for the reason of this condition of affairs, we do not think it lies altogether within the walls of this institution. The various drills which have been witnessed show the highest standard of proficiency. The practical exercises in boats, sailing, seamanship, navigation, and athletics are highly commended. The discipline is excellent and fully up to the high standard expected of this Academy. The evil must therefore lie either in the theoretical studies, or perhaps rather in the trend of thought which has permeated many educational institutions during the past few years, and which has exerted an influence in the navy as well as in the other walks of life. This influence places scientific attainment above the study of man; it advances theories against practice; it produces critics instead of leaders; it places personal preferment above patriotic devotion. As applied to the navy in general, we find undermining evils of a most definite character, which should be at once eradicated. The first aim of the Naval Academy should be to make sure that no seed of discord, which may injure the service as a harmonious whole, should enter the minds of the youths. The studies and exercises should be confined to preparing young men for all junior positions on board ship, and technical study should be simply a groundwork for future development at a postgraduate course.

"A curriculum of four years is certainly sufficient to fit the young men for all subordinate work on board even a modern man-of-war. Each and every graduate after a four years' course, alike for all, and under exactly similar conditions, would then enter the service and could be assigned to alternating duty, either on deck, the engine room, in command of the police of the ship, or in charge of the purchasing and commissary of the vessel. In short, the graduate becomes a naval officer, entering the wardroom as an ensign, trained to habits of command, and associating at a proper age, under like circumstances, with his brother officers of higher rank. The present staff of the navy asks for lineal rank; in this way each alumnus has it. The line wishes homogeneity on board the ships; it thus obtains it. The country demands the strictest discipline and submission to one-man power, and it gains it; differences occasioned by present rival claims of different corps cease to exist; the staff disappears and the all-round man comes to the front.

"The strife between staff and line up to the present time has not been altogether an evil, as it has produced a rivalry and developed men capable of interchangeable duties. Instances are not rare to-day of graduates who have fitted themselves for all positions and lines of research, but they have not accomplished this at the Naval Academy, but after leaving it, and from experience and digested study; but the tendency to magnify the knowledge of *matériel* has led thought away from the true scope of naval training,

while the *personnel*, by wrangling over individual preferment, has lost sight of the true dignity and development of the sailor."

Later, after my return to Washington, a further discussion of the matter with Col. Roosevelt, then the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, developed the fact that he agreed, in the main, with the views embodied in the report of the Board of Visitors. His article in this number of the REVIEW tells of the way in which the recommendation made by that board was finally elaborated into the measure, known as the Personnel Bill, which is now before Congress.

Despite the maintenance of an obsolete organization, the logic of events has forced, at our naval school, an educational evolution leading to amalgamation and to the training there of the composite naval officer of the future, whom Col. Roosevelt aptly terms the "fighting engineer." From its foundation until the outbreak of the Civil War, the academic course had little reference to engineering, and the old methods of making a sailor prevailed. That war showed the uselessness of vessels which were not steamers, and Gideon Welles, then Secretary, foresaw and predicted the ultimate absorption of Line and Engineer officers into one corps.

In 1866, a few Acting Assistant Engineers were ordered to the school as students, and the midshipmen also received a limited amount of instruction in engineering. This system did not last long, and in 1871 Congress authorized the annual appointment, by competitive examination, of a small class of Cadet Engineers, to receive a two years' course at the Academy. A further act, in 1874, directed that this course be extended to four years. In 1882, as a result, it is said, of Line and Staff strife, the grade of Cadet Engineer was abolished, and with it the excellent system of competitive examination by which these officers entered the service. All Cadets then pursued the same studies and the Naval Academy began, with regard to its whole student body, to assume the appearance of an engineering school.

It was hoped that the law of 1882 would make the service more homogeneous and check the strife within it. This end was but partially accomplished, however, since the cadets, after graduation, were still separated into two corps, but with duties many of which were similar, and so related as to make the question of control a debatable one. This was notably the case with electric machinery, which was under the direction of the Line offi-

cers, who also directed the manufacture of ordnance, which had become of high-class mechanical engineering. There were thus, practically, two engineer corps, one confined to the propelling machinery, and the other absorbing gradually all remaining technical work. With but a change in the time of separation into corps, this wholly irrational system continues to this day. There will be noted, however, the fact that, despite its disadvantages, its inevitable friction, and the overwhelming influence of tradition and conservatism, the needs of an age of steam, steel and electricity have slowly but very surely turned the whole trend of education at the Naval Academy toward engineering, and toward the evolution of the naval officer of our time—Col. Roosevelt's "fighting engineer."

Careful study of the Personnel Bill which is now before Congress, leads me to say that I regard its enactment into law as of paramount importance to our Navy. Our fleet, although always relatively small, has set, in not a few respects and on not a few memorable occasions, the pace for the navies of all nations. Its latest fighting, its triumphs in engineering and in ordnance, show that the old spirit animates still the designers of our ships and the men who handle them in battle. It is but fitting, then, that it should be the first of the fleets of the world to be controlled by the wholly modern *personnel* which this measure will provide.

Perhaps the greatest advantage coming from its passage will arise from the fact that the battleship, in place of having two corps of officers, each limited to certain work, will be handled by one body, of double the number at present included in either corps, capable of performing all duties above and below deck. The recent war was happily almost without casualty among our naval officers. Such good fortune is, however, abnormal, and seems to have been due solely to the incapacity of our opponents. The modern sea fight between combatants fairly equal in ability, courage and strength, must be necessarily a scene of swift and wholesale carnage. Every officer who can be added, therefore, to the force which shall be effective wherever needed, at the battery or in the engine room, increases, by that much, the fighting strength of the ship.

This union of duties now distinct will, in my view, detract, in no way, from efficiency in the performance of the special branch of work which each corps now follows. Many men in civil life, in

addition to their professional ability, are skilled in arts and sciences which often differ radically in kind from their regular occupations. The present duties of the Line and Engineer officers show no such dissimilarity. They are so nearly alike that to require the Line officer of the future to be skilled in both branches is really to ask less than is often met in the accomplishments of men of but ordinary attainments on shore.

It should be remembered, too, that the whole course at the Naval Academy is a rigid weeding out process directed against inferior capacity and that, in the final survival of the fittest, its graduates form a body which can be fairly assumed to be above the average in ability.

Another advantage, of which I can speak from personal knowledge, will lie in the changed relations to each other of officers of the now distinct branches. There will be no more warring corps in aggression or defence. Internal strife will give place to a sincere unbiassed desire for the highest efficiency of the service. The improvement in *morale* which will result, can be measured only by one familiar with the discord and bitterness of the past.

While I regard the proposed amalgamation as by far the most important feature of the Personnel Bill, and have limited my remarks solely to this subject, there are other matters, set forth in the measure, which would appear to be both wise and just. The provisions for a proper regulation of promotion and of pay seem to deserve favorable consideration by Congress; and the clause which gives all Staff officers actual instead of relative rank, will remove a source of discontent which has been a serious menace to the efficiency of the Navy.

If we are to have a Navy equal to the new demands created by the war with Spain, it will be economy to make it not only the best on the *matériel* side, with its ships, guns and machinery, but it must be best, also, in its *personnel*. The officers make or mar the *personnel*. Unless they are thoroughly proficient in all branches of the profession, the *personnel*, naturally, will not reach the highest standard of efficiency. The Personnel Bill will give us, I believe, the most skilled naval officers in the world, and for this reason it should have the support of every friend of the Navy and should soon become a law.

FRANCIS H. WILSON.

II. THE GENESIS OF THE PERSONNEL BILL.

Not long after I became Assistant Secretary of the Navy my attention was called, by a number of occurrences, to the fact that there was much friction in the *personnel* of the Navy between the Line officers and the Engineers. It was not so much that any one officer, or set of officers, made charges against another, but that the point of view on both sides showed a state of affairs which, if allowed to continue, would certainly be detrimental to the efficiency of the navy. It was very unpleasant to find officers of the highest standing displaying toward brother officers of a different corps a feeling of jealousy, which was emphatically unworthy of a service with such noble traditions, and of officers so single minded in their devotion to the flag.

This state of affairs demanded investigation, in order to ascertain whether something could not be done to do away with the conditions that had called it into being, and to make every officer in fact, as he already was in desire, an active helper in the upbuilding of the efficiency of the navy.

Consultation with members of the Naval Committees of the Senate and the House revealed the fact that the trouble was chronic, and had caused serious damage to the navy in Congress, for every Congressman who was doubtful as to the policy of upbuilding the navy was apt to be changed into a positive foe of the navy by this "Line and Staff" fight.

Various measures had been proposed in Congress to remedy the evils complained of; but they had always been drawn only from the standpoint of one side or the other, and did not go to the root of the matter; though one or two of them showed exhaustive research and painstaking thoroughness of work, and proved invaluable aids to us in getting up our final bill.

In the early part of the summer of 1897, the Hon. Francis H. Wilson, who had been a member of the House Naval Committee for some time and had just returned from a visit to the Naval Academy, called my attention to a plan, which he had submitted to the Board of Visitors, for increasing efficiency by educating all the cadets at Annapolis alike, and thus fitting them for duty either as line officers or engineers. About this same time, Professor Hollis, of Harvard University, formerly a naval officer of distinguished reputation, favored me with his views on this

subject, and sketched out a plan which in some respects supplemented that of Congressman Wilson.

As these plans involved the coming together of the previously hostile factions, it was obvious that the next step was to secure the views of officers on the two sides. Accordingly, I requested an expression of views regarding these plans from officers of recognized merit. The mere discussion of the subject disposed both sides to be more reasonable, and a scheme of a bill working out the details of the previous plans was prepared and submitted to a number of officers. The idea was that the matter should be carefully investigated and discussed by large numbers of Line officers and Engineers, in order to prepare a sentiment in the service favorable to united and sincere action. The next step was to get a Board appointed by the Secretary for the special consideration of the organization of the *personnel* of the Navy, in order that a report might be submitted looking to necessary improvement. It is needless to say that Secretary Long had taken an active interest in the subject from the first, and that but for his cordial approval the matter would never have been pushed.

In November of last year the Board, of eleven naval officers, many of whom had national reputations, and all of whom were men of recognized professional eminence, was appointed by Secretary Long. To me was assigned the duty of presiding at their sessions.

These eleven naval officers showed commendable promptness in getting down to business. The views of the two sides were formulated, and on the very first day the essential feature of the Personnel Bill was proposed by Captain Evans, namely, the amalgamation of the Line and Engineer Corps on a basis to be determined after further discussion. This proposition was submitted on Saturday afternoon, and was, of course, of such great importance that it was felt better not to take a vote on it until the following Monday. On that day, after some further discussion, the proposition was adopted. After this, the labors of the Board really consisted almost entirely of formulating the details to make this plan workable. At first, each side evidently viewed the other with some suspicion; but, as time wore on, it became evident that all the members of the Board were animated by the same feelings of disinterestedness; each desired the highest efficiency of the service, and was willing to make concessions.

The result of the labors of this Board, lasting just a month, was the bill which is known as the "Personnel Bill." I propose to discuss it chiefly from the standpoint of the administration of the Navy Department.

The change in the organization of the *personnel* which is proposed by this bill seems radical; but this is not the case. It is proposed simply in order that the officer may fit the work; because the work itself has radically changed since the present organization of the navy was devised. The advent of the steam engine, with the consequent gradual growth of machinery on board ship, is of course the cause of the change. Even as late as our Civil War, sailing ships were still employed as part of the fighting force of our navy, although the active work was performed by steamers; but it was evident to careful students at the end of that war that the day of sailing ships had passed as completely as that of the galleys, with which, two thousand years before, the wars for the mastery of the Mediterranean had been waged. Since that time the importance of machinery on board our vessels has enormously increased, while sails have entirely disappeared; and, with the growth of the machinery, the duties of the line officer have changed, until he has become in fact, although not in name, an engineer. As I stated in my report to the Secretary of the Navy:

"Every officer on a modern war vessel in reality has to be an engineer, whether he wants to or not. Everything on such a vessel goes by machinery, and every officer, whether dealing with the turrets or the engine room, has to do engineer's work. There is no longer any reason for having a separate body of engineers, responsible for only a part of the machinery. What we need is one homogeneous body, all of whose members are trained for the efficient performance of the duties of the modern line officer. The midshipmen will be grounded in all these duties at Annapolis, and will be perfected likewise in all of them by actual work after graduation.

"In making this change we are not making a revolution; we are merely recognizing and giving shape to an evolution, which has come slowly, but surely and naturally; and we propose to reorganize the navy along the lines indicated by the course of the evolution itself."

The reasonableness of this reorganization seems still more apparent if looked at in the light of the lessons of history. About two centuries and a half ago, the navies of the world underwent a radical change. There was then, also, an amalgamation of the man who fought the guns and the man who directed the motive power; or, in other words, the soldier and the sailor were amalgamated. Some of England's greatest admirals of that period were

men who had been successful land generals; but their success at sea was not on account of their ignorance of the management of the motive power, but in spite of it. England's victories at that time were won because other navies were as inefficiently organized as hers. The Englishman, like the Dutchman and the Frenchman of that date, had a better "fighting edge" than the Spaniard, and he prevailed; just as, within the last few months, the descendants of the victors of two centuries ago were again the victors over the descendants of the vanquished of that time.

The work of the Department in detailing officers for duty will be vastly simpler under the new scheme than it has been in the past, because every officer of the new line will be capable of performing any of the duties which involve the management of large bodies of men, or the control of machinery. The *personnel* thus becomes very much more elastic, and the task of selecting officers for any duty is made very much simpler. It also means, for the Department, an end of an enormous amount of petty bickering, which was inevitable under the present system, but which has been a cause of much bitterness, and destructive of that unity of feeling which should exist among all officers. The mere agreement upon this bill of the officers concerned has already been productive of the very best results in increased good feeling; and, in fact, I am informed that on a number of ships it has already been partially put into effect, for officers have volunteered for duty foreign to their regular work and have performed it with excellent results. It need hardly be said that, if the mere agreement upon the proposition is productive of so much good, the actual working of the scheme will give still better results. Personally, I believe that it will give us a navy whose efficiency will be far ahead of that of any other country, and I know that this opinion is shared by the very great majority of our naval officers.

Besides this question of reorganizing the *personnel* so that it would conform to the improved *matériel*, there was another of just as much importance to the efficiency of the service, namely, a rational scheme of advancement whereby the best officers would be retained in the service and would attain positions of responsibility at a sufficiently early age to insure the efficient performance of duty. It might seem to the layman that, with our splendid school at Annapolis, we were sure of getting officers sufficient-

ly well trained to answer any call upon them; but the fact is that the existing system of promotion, if it had been purposely devised to the end of putting a premium on mediocrity, could not have been more successful. At present, no matter what the talents or attainments of an officer, he can only be advanced by the death, retirement or resignation of those above him. Now, the natural and proper organization of the list of officers necessarily makes the number required for subordinate duties many times greater than the number in the command grades; so that, if it is expected that all officers are to pass through all the grades by mere seniority promotion due to ordinary natural waste, it is simply impossible that their terms of service in the various grades should be properly divided. Reference to any actuary's tables would enable the non-professional man to predict the very state of things that now exists; for, at present, officers spend four-fifths of their active life in subordinate grades, and then rush through the command and flag grades so rapidly that they have not time to perform adequate service in them. One of the evils of this system springs from the fact, well recognized in all departments of life, that, if a man is to be really successful in positions of great responsibility, he must ordinarily be given an opportunity to assume this responsibility before he becomes too old. Anyone who looks on the gray-haired lieutenants and lieutenant commanders and realizes that many of them will be fifty-five years of age before reaching command rank, will also realize that they may then be too old to make thoroughly efficient commanding officers; for it is almost an axiom of naval life that the successful commander is the one who is willing to take risks in order to accomplish a great purpose. A man who has been a subordinate all his life cannot shake off the habit of reliance on another, when he is suddenly thrust into a position of responsibility at an advanced age.

The remedy for this condition of affairs is obvious in a general way. It must consist in some provision which will enable officers to attain command rank at a reasonably early age, the one fixed by the Board being forty-five years. But, when we come to consider the details necessary to carry out this plan, there are several methods which might be adopted, some of which are actually in use in other navies. Indeed, it may be said in passing that our navy is almost the only navy, worthy of the name, where the proper promotion of officers has been left absolutely to chance.

One method is to take specially talented officers and promote them before others of their date, keeping up this process of selection for advancement in all the grades, so that the result is an aggregation of the best talent in the higher grades at a moderate age. This, however, has the serious disadvantage that it arouses jealousy and discontent, and it tends to accumulate in the subordinate grades a crowd of old men who are not physically capable of performing the duties which fall to junior officers. Moreover, it is difficult to devise a system which in time of peace will result in the best man being chosen; in time of war, the likelihood of the choice being right is far greater.

This method, and that of the British Navy, where there is an age limit for each grade, and the best officer is just as likely to be retired as the poorest, were thoroughly understood by the members of the Board, and they endeavored to formulate a plan which, while accomplishing the desired result, would avoid defects of other systems.

The idea in the plan recommended by the Board is to keep the general average high, by retiring the least desirable officers, provision being made that, when the rate of promotion falls below that which is necessary to keep the ages for the various grades correct, a certain number of officers who have been at least twenty years in the service shall be retired. It has been urged as an objection to this plan that the officers so retired will be disgraced, but that is not a fact. They are not retired for incompetence, but because, as some must get out of the way for the benefit of the whole service, it is manifestly better that the least desirable should go, rather than that chance should be allowed to set aside the best or the worst indifferently.

The discussion also brought out very clearly the further fact that the choice for retirement of the "least fit" will comprehend all the qualities that go to make up a useful naval officer, and that every part of an officer's record will count in the consideration. Instances are numerous of men of exceptional mental attainments who, in the past, have found themselves totally unsuited to a naval life, and have resigned to become highly successful as scientists, college professors or business men. Something of this sort will be true of the selections for retirement, and it may often happen that those retired will be men who stand high mentally, but who are lacking in other essential re-

quirements. The retirement will therefore mean, not that the one selected was incompetent or worthless, but that on the whole he was not as useful to the navy as others.

The Board's plan, then, retains the best officers, and, like the others, will fill the higher grades with them; it assures young officers for the junior grades, where youthful vigor is a very important element of success; and it leaves no soreheads in the service to impair efficiency by their discontent. Moreover, it puts all choice of officers for retirement in the hands of a board of high naval officers, so as to eliminate as far as possible that political pressure, which, wherever it exists, is the bane of any service.

These, then, are the two vital elements of the Personnel Bill; the unification of the duties of officers, resulting in vastly increased efficiency, due to the greater elasticity of the system and to the immense improvement in the *esprit;* and the rational promotion of officers, whereby the country is assured that the best men are retained in the service, so that every grade will have officers of the proper age and physique for the highest performance of duty.

One other important feature is the question of pay. This, too, has been a cause of discontent in the navy for many years, and, combined with the slow promotion, has resulted in the loss of many of the most brilliant young officers, whose poor prospects in the service have led them to accept offers of lucrative positions in civil life. The scheme proposed in the bill is to pay the navy at exactly the same rate as the army and marine corps. In these two branches of the military service, the pay is somewhat higher than in the navy, which doubtless results from the fact that the navy pay table was arranged some thirty years ago, when conditions as to promotion were very different from what they are now, and when probably it gave a result about equivalent to that of the army. No valid reason can be assigned why public servants performing almost identical duties, which require the same order of ability, should not receive the same rate of pay. Indeed, naval officers claim, with good reason, that owing to their enforced absence from home and family, and their voyages in foreign countries, their expenses are materially greater than those of their brothers in the army. Surely, the American people will not grudge this act of justice to the men who fought

under Dewey, Sampson and Schley, and who made all Americans forever their debtors.

I have seen the statement in the papers that prize money in the navy was intended to offset this difference in pay, but that is simply absurd. Until this spring, there had not been a war for over thirty years, and, even in the war which has just closed, the number of naval officers who received prize money is a very small fraction of the entire list. The practice of giving prize money is one which is repugnant to modern ideas, and there can be little doubt that naval officers would offer no objection should the whole system of awarding prize money be abolished by Congress.

The limits of space forbid my dwelling upon the features of the Personnel Bill relating to bettering the condition of the enlisted men, which are worthy of high commendation, and which will undoubtedly receive favorable action by Congress. But the vitally important part of this particular bill is that relating to the officers who train the men, and on whose efficiency that of the whole navy depends. It is useless to spend millions of dollars in the building of perfect fighting machines, unless we make the *personnel* which is to handle these machines equally perfect. We have an excellent navy now ; but we can never afford to relax our efforts to make it better still. Next time, we may have to face some enemy far more formidable than Spain. In my judgment, the Personnel Bill will markedly increase the efficiency of our already efficient officers ; and its enactment into law is of interest to the whole country.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

III. A LINE OFFICER'S VIEW.

BEGINNING with 1883, and continuing down to the present time, Congress has provided with more or less regularity for an improvement and reorganization of the *matériel* of the navy, which, fortunately, had reached such a condition at the beginning of the war with Spain that our navy, although still small, was composed of thoroughly modern ships, which enabled our *personnel* to come off victorious in every engagement. The importance of having ships, guns and machinery thoroughly up to date in every respect cannot be overestimated ; but the human factor is, after all, the one of greatest importance. As our best known

writer on naval subjects, Captain Mahan, has admirably expressed it: "Historically, good men with poor ships are superior to poor men with good ships." In other words, however admirable the weapons which far-seeing statesmen provide, they will not necessarily insure victory unless the *personnel* represents the same perfection of training and organization.

The natural ability and devoted patriotism of American officers have enabled us to gain brilliant victories in the war now ending, in spite of an organization of the *personnel* which has certainly become obsolescent, if not obsolete. For a number of years past, officers of the two largest branches of the service have been endeavoring to secure reforms and reorganization, and committees of Congress have devoted considerable attention to the subject; but, owing to divided counsels on the part of the officers, the work has always come to naught.

Within the last two years, however, the broadest minds in both Corps have been nearing a solution of the problem, and about a year ago a Board was organized under the presidency of the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, for the purpose of devising an organization of the *personnel* which should be abreast of the times, as thoroughly as the ships they are to command and fight. The Board, after a month's deliberation, reported a bill to the Secretary of the Navy which received his cordial approval, and was by him transmitted to Congress. After exhaustive hearings, this bill, with slight amendment and some additions, was reported favorably, without a dissenting vote, to the House.

As I understand the scheme of the discussion of this bill which is to take place in this REVIEW, it is not necessary for me to develop the matter historically, as others will do that; but I am to present the reasons, from the standpoint of a line officer of the navy, why this bill should pass, and why it will bring the efficiency of the *personnel* of the navy to the highest point.

The essential features of the bill, as originally reported, fall under three heads: First, the amalgamation of the Line and the Engineer Corps; second, provision for the retention in the service of the best officers, and for assuring suitable ages for the officers in the different grades; and, third, an additional warrant rank for enlisted men as an encouragement to the men of the engineers' force.

It is a fundamental principle that every navy should be organized to secure the greatest fighting efficiency, and therefore, other things being equal, that navy will be most efficient where the largest percentage of officers and men are able to take their place in the fighting line. I would not be understood for a moment as depreciating the value of officers or men whose duties do not call them to the actual work of handling the battery; but, as the primary object of the ship is to fight, the more men she has who can work with the guns, the less chance there is of her being compelled to run away through a large percentage of the men at the battery being disabled.

Before the advent of steam in our naval vessels, nearly every officer was trained to take his place in the battery, and every man had this training. With the growth of the machinery department of the vessel, a larger and larger percentage of the ship's crew, together with a considerable percentage of the officers, were specially employed for the propulsion of the vessel. This has at last reached a point where, in some of our ships, the engineers' force forms nearly fifty per cent. of the crew, and the officers whose duty lies entirely with the machinery form at least thirty per cent. of the total number of officers.

Now, the whole tendency of the age is more and more toward the substitution of mechanical methods of doing work for simple manual labor, and the navy not only recognizes this, but has taken advantage of it to the fullest extent. The increase in the amount of machinery necessarily requires an increase in the *personnel* handling it; but, if we are going to allow the officers and men who do duty with the machinery to do nothing else, we are losing a very large force which, under certain circumstances, could be of the greatest benefit in the fighting line.

Fifty years ago, when the naval officer of the period knew absolutely nothing of machinery, when the vessels were propelled entirely by sail power, and when guns were simply iron castings, the proposition which is now made, to combine in one person the line officer and the engineer, would have been ridiculous; but, as time has passed, the line officers' training has had more and more to do with machinery, until to-day the thoroughly proficient line officer must of necessity be a good deal of an engineer. The modern guns are themselves highly complicated machines, and they are designed and cared for by line officers. The electric

machinery for lighting and other purposes, the torpedoes and the air compressing machinery for them, are also under the control of line officers. To make the line officer an engineer, therefore, is simply to take the final step in the evolution.

On the other hand, the engineers since 1866 have been almost entirely recruited from our Naval Academy, where for three years their training is almost absolutely identical with that of the line officers, and where they take part in all the drills and military exercises. Their tours of duty at sea have given them the sea habit, and trained them in the command and discipline of large bodies of men; so that they require only additional work in seamanship, navigation and ordnance to fit them for the new duties.

The fundamental studies for the two classes of officers at our Naval School are now exactly the same, and the Board of Officers which prepared the bill—a majority of whom had had experience as instructors at the Naval Academy—were satisfied that the curriculum can without difficulty be so changed as to give the future officers a thorough training for their new and enlarged duties.

The advantages of having the officers who are principally concerned with the management of the ship and the discipline of the crew all members of one homogeneous body, instead of forming two separate corps, appeal very strongly to a commanding officer. It practically doubles the number of officers available for duty of every kind, thereby greatly increasing the elasticity of the system, and providing for every contingency. It seems inevitable that, where the line of demarcation between bodies of officers is clearly marked, there will grow up a spirit of pride in the Corps instead of pride in the Service, and such a condition has at times in the past caused an unfortunate amount of hard feeling between the different corps of the service ; but the very agreement upon this bill has already reduced this to an inappreciable minimum, and with the passage of the bill it will necessarily vanish.

A very ready comment adverse to the scheme has been made by those not thoroughly familiar with modern naval conditions, by quoting the well-known adage about "jacks of all trades." Now, it may be remarked that a sneer is not an argument, and an adage, however venerable, is not necessarily always true. This is exactly such a case. We are told that the tendency of the age is toward specialization, and that in the Personnel Bill we are running directly counter to it. There never was a greater mistake. In the

first place, while the tendency of the age is toward specialization, this is true only of great congeries of people, as in our large cities. One does not find in a small country town the oculist, the aurist, the throat specialist, and the numerous specialists among surgeons. The analogy here suggested with the navy is reasonable, in that each ship is a little unit of itself, and there is no place for specialization carried to the extent that is appropriate and efficient in great communities.

But the actual fact is that, so far from making the naval officer of the future a "jack of all trades," we are making him a specialist of the most marked type. Matters have gradually so shaped themselves that the efficient naval officer must be a man who, to the preliminary training of an engineering course, adds that of the skilled military officer. There is no other military officer who needs in the same way to be an engineer, and there is no other engineer who needs in the same way to be a military man ; consequently, the naval officer, being trained for the efficient performance of these highly specialized duties, is a thorough specialist in the best sense.

I do not lay claim to any special engineering knowledge myself, my early training having taken place before machinery had occupied the position that it does now ; but, as having commanded a number of steam vessels, some of them of the most modern type, I feel that my opinion as to the possibilities on board naval vessels is entitled to some weight, and I certainly see no difficulty in carrying out the scheme of this bill. The fact that such capable engineers as the Engineer-in-Chief of the Navy believe that the machinery will, under the new system, receive as thorough care and attention as it does now, ought to satisfy anyone who has any doubt on that point.

The second division of the bill is one which is of vital importance to the highest efficiency of the new organization, namely, the retention in the service of the best officers, and the assurance that the ages of officers will be suitable to the grades which they occupy.

This is a question which does not arise in civil life, or, rather, it solves itself there by a process of natural selection ; but the highly specialized nature of the duties of naval officers prevents natural selection from having full play. No one in private life would think of managing a large and important business by arbi-

trarily discharging all of his employees when they reach a certain age, and filling the highest positions with the employees longest in service, irrespective of their special fitness for them. When presented in this way, the idea seems perfectly absurd, and yet this is exactly the system under which the navy is organized to-day. It is true that we insure a fairly high average of ability by the weeding out process which occurs at the Naval Academy, and by the examination for promotion from grade to grade afterward; but the fact remains that so long as an officer behaves himself and passes the examinations he is sure some day to reach the highest position in the service, regardless of his special fitness for it. Ours is the only navy in the world in which matters are allowed to go in this fashion.

It has several serious disadvantages. From the very nature of things the number of officers in subordinate grades must vastly exceed that in what may be called "the command ranks," and the disparity is such that it is impossible, by simple seniority promotion, to guarantee such a steady progress of the individual officer through the various grades as to insure his reaching them at ages when he can perform the best service. As a consequence of this, there are periods of stagnation in promotion, followed by other periods when it is extremely rapid; these, in turn, being again followed by stagnation, with the result that the ablest of the young officers who come into the lower grades at a period of stagnation have such a poor outlook that many of them are impelled to leave the service and seek a better financial return for their work in civil life. This necessarily tends to lower the average ability, and, what is worse, removes from the service the men whom the Government had a right to count upon some day for service as brilliant Commanders-in-Chief.

The stagnation of promotion has the effect of keeping officers in subordinate grades altogether too long, and until they have reached an age when the acceptance of serious responsibility for the first time is apt to have a very disastrous effect upon their *morale*. The navy has been suffering from just such a stagnation for the last twenty years, with the result that many of the older lieutenants are now over fifty years of age, with the prospect of not reaching command rank until they are nearly sixty. It is not right that men of such an age should be assigned to watch duty and the details which belong to a divisional officer. They should have

passed through this stage of their professional career before reaching the age of forty. The consequence is that the Government does not get the best service for the money it expends, and, while the officers are faithful and do their work with all the zeal possible, it can be readily understood that they have not that snap and vigor which would be displayed by younger men, and which is essential for the highest efficiency.

The Personnel Bill is carefully drawn to avoid all these evils. It provides for a definite rate of progress, so that an officer will have passed out of the subordinate grades before he is forty, and after an intervening period in the executive officers' grade, will become a commanding officer at forty-five, a time when he is in full vigor and thoroughly able to accept responsibility without its wearing upon him. This is accomplished by the provision that, when the natural waste of the service from age retirements and casualties does not provide a sufficient number of vacancies, a Board of Officers of the highest rank is to select officers in the various grades (not to exceed limited numbers) to be placed on the retired list, and the officers who are so selected are to be the ones considered by the Board least fit to remain on the list. This does not mean that they are incompetent, but that where only a certain number can be retained to insure efficiency, they are the ones who can best be spared.

Various systems of promotion, designed to secure in the highest grades the officers of the greatest ability, are in vogue in foreign navies; but I believe the system recommended in the Personnel Bill is the one which, while securing the desired result, has the fewest objections. To the plan followed in the French navy, of selecting specially brilliant officers for promotion before others of their date, there is the objection that it engenders heart-burnings and hard feeling which remain in the service and tend to create dissatisfaction. The system in the Personnel Bill removes from the active service those who are least worthy, and if they have any grievance they take it along with them. It is easy to see that after a period of, say, twenty years, the officers filling the upper grades will be just about the same, whichever method is adopted.

In connection with the selection of officers for retirement, it is to be noted that it does not of necessity involve anything in the nature of disgrace, for the reason that all the qualities which

go to make up a desirable officer will be taken into consideration by the board of selection. Health, as well as brilliant professional attainments, will be a consideration, and there can be little doubt that some of the officers who would be selected to go on the retired list would be men noted for their mental ability, but of such feeble health that their duties at sea could not be efficiently performed. Again, it is to be remembered that the ability to command men is one of the most important qualifications of the successful naval officer, and it often happens that a man of moderate ability in other directions displays exceptional talent in this one. There can be no doubt that this would be given due weight and that the brilliant officer who cannot handle men, or get work out of them, would not have the advantage of the less brilliant one who can make a ship thoroughly efficient.

The stimulus to all officers to do their very best work and make their record the very best possible from every point of view under such a system, will at once be seen to be very great. At present, for an officer of ordinary ability there is no stimulus, except the sense of duty, to make him do more than simply perform his duty satisfactorily. That our officers have, in spite of the discouraging conditions which surrounded them, kept themselves so efficient, speaks very highly for their sense of duty.

I have seen it stated that this plan of promotion is an invention of young officers, who want to get rid of the older officers above them simply from selfish motives. To my mind such a statement is utterly untenable. The plan is simply an effort to do what all other navies which try to keep efficient are doing in the way of putting officers in the places where they can render the best service; and, after careful study of the various systems in foreign navies, I am satisfied that this plan is the best.

The third feature of the bill is the establishment of the grade of Warrant Machinist. This holds out a reward for the best men of the engineers' force, who at present see nothing to encourage long and faithful service except the pittance of an additional dollar per month for each re-enlistment. There can be little doubt that the establishment of this grade of warrant officers will encourage a better class of men to come into the service as enlisted machinists, and to remain in the service, thus giving us men familiar with naval discipline, and thoroughly trained to their duties, and so increasing the efficiency of the whole service.

As I have already said, the Personnel Bill offers a scheme which will greatly increase the efficiency of the *personnel* of the navy and place it thoroughly abreast of our *matériel*. It depends upon Congress to take this final step to place our navy ahead of all the other navies of the world. Members of Congress have repeatedly said that if the officers of the navy would ever agree upon any measure and present it unitedly, they would gladly pass the bill. This measure is not only one presented unitedly, but one which has been carefully thought out by some of the ablest officers in the navy, and whose sole aim is to secure the very highest efficiency. A majority of the Board were men who have but a few years more to serve on the active list, so that they cannot be suspected for a moment of having been influenced by personal motives, and I believe the same high sense of duty actuated the younger members of the Board; but even more convincing as to the merits of the bill is the fact that the officers of the service, almost as a unit, approve of it and want it passed.

The navy has rendered valuable service to the country in the war which is now ending, and it believes that the Personnel Bill will cure evils which have existed in the past and provide hope for the future, thus, in a sense, being some reward for its work during the war. Will the Congress pass the bill? Under all the circumstances, it seems to me the answer must be in the affirmative.

JOHN W. PHILIP.

IV. AN ENGINEER OFFICER'S VIEW.

THE laws of sea power are changeless, but the mechanism for their execution varies with the age. Modern naval war presents, therefore, marked contrasts when compared with that of the days of sailing fleets. A single generation, in fact, has seen a revolution in the *matériel* of navies. Nelson's "Victory" and our own frigate, "Constitution," were both but little over 2,000 tons displacement—mere gunboats in our day—and Farragut's "Hartford" was not one-half larger. While the "Iowa" is of 11,340 tons, our new battleships will reach 12,500, and Great Britain has vessels with a tonnage of 14,900. As to speed—although that, in the old days, was a very variable quantity—the sailing line-of-battle ship, under most favorable conditions, could make but 12 knots; her successor now attains 18 or 19, and, ap-

parently, the limit, as to this, has not been reached. In ordnance, the advance is not less marked. The "Constitution's" puny, but ever victorious, broadside discharged a weight of metal of but 800 pounds, and, in the same time, the swifter and more powerful guns of the "Indiana" and her class will send forth projectiles weighing over six tons.

While the modern battleship is thus more formidable than a full fleet of her predecessors, her advance in power has been attended by conditions which limit its exercise and maintenance. She is no longer practically self-contained and independent of friendly ports. She can no longer, as in the past, sail to the most distant seas, needing only water and provisions at long intervals. The coal endurance of the typical battleship is usually not more than 6,000 knots, and, when that distance has been steamed over, she must seek fresh supplies.

Again, on the modern war vessel of all types, hand labor has given place largely to mechanism. By touching a button or moving a lever, she is controlled and operated in great degree. As a result—filled as the ship necessarily is with machinery of every type for every purpose—her structure is complicated and delicate, and even a few weeks of cruising on blue water make a refitting port desirable, if not essential. These are the conditions—the vital needs of the modern "fleet in being"—which have led to the successful use by our navy in the recent war of repair and supply ships, with a large force of colliers. In the vast increase in the tonnage of the battleship, in its speed and in the weight of ordnance carried, there are visible the results of a revolution in naval *matériel* wrought, within the memory of living men, by a single agency—steam.

The United States fleet has felt the effects of these changes more suddenly and more fully than the navy of any other great power. The abandonment of sail for propulsion came, with relative swiftness, in the inception of our Civil War; and after that war's close, our fleet went practically to decay. Within the past fifteen years, it has, in the quality of its ships, taken again the foremost rank, and, in their number and strength, has risen from the twentieth to the sixth place among nations. With this advancement in our ships to meet modern conditions, our *personnel*, in its organization, has not kept pace. The long history of the sea shows nothing so steadfast, nothing which withstands the

years so firmly, as the naval law and custom which govern the duties of officers and men. For fully half a century steam has been a steadily growing factor in naval science; a generation since the United States fought the great war of modern times in which our guns afloat were borne on steamers, almost wholly; since that war the horse-power of naval vessels has grown from the maximum of 1,000 in 1864 to the 20,000 of the "Minneapolis," with machinery increasing from the scant half dozen engines of the "Monitor" to the 171 steam cylinders of the "Columbia," and with engineer officers now controlling from 25 to 50 per cent. of the crew; and yet, despite all this, the organization of our *personnel* is practically that which prevailed during the Civil War. Vice-Admiral Colomb, R. N., describes vividly the peculiar conservatism of navies as to this, when, speaking of steam and mechanism as the coming guest and the seamanship of the past as the friend who bids farewell, he says:

"Instead of frankly going out, shaking hands, and bidding good-bye to the parting guest, and wishing him well, and going down the steps to meet the new one and bring him in, we are holding on to the coat-tails of the old one and trying to shake hands with the coming guest with the left hand, or, perhaps, with only one finger."

Under a naval organization which was based on the needs of days when steam was only an auxiliary, but which has continued to the present, it could not be otherwise than that the varying interests of Line and Engineer officers, with their widely distant points of view, should produce the conflict which has been waged between these branches of our Navy for more than thirty years. Discord was inevitable—the friction between the old order, fated to pass away, and the engineer, who, in great degree, represented that which was to succeed it. The Line officer, justly proud of the past achievement of his corps, was disposed to yield none of his military functions to the newcomer; while the Engineer, trained in the same naval school and side by side with his brother of the Line, could not but see injustice in a system which gave him a vast responsibility in the care of the machinery of all types on the modern man-of-war, with the control, in some cases, of half her crew, and yet refused him the right to command enlisted men, classed him, despite his equal danger in action, as a non-combatant, and denied him the military title which, through centuries, has been associated with the fighting man.

Many able and patriotic men, within and without the Navy,

recognizing the danger to a military service whose house was thus divided against itself, have, time and again, made efforts, until recently in vain, to find a solution of the problem which would reconcile all differences. To the Hon. Francis H. Wilson, of Brooklyn, N. Y., who, three years since, took up in Congress the cause of the engineer corps, is due, primarily, the movement which has now such strong promise of success. The present Secretary of the Navy, viewing the matter with marked impartiality and breadth of view, ordered a board of seven Line and four Engineer officers for its consideration, with, as chairman, Colonel Roosevelt, until recently Assistant Secretary, who has taken a deep interest in the subject. The outcome of the deliberations of this Board is the Personnel Bill, which meets the approval of ninety-five per cent. of the Line and Engineer officers of the Navy, which has been transmitted to Congress by the Secretary with his cordial approval, and which has been reported favorably to the House.

The most important feature of this measure is the proposition for the complete amalgamation of the Line and Engineer branches. The Engineer Corps, as it now exists, will disappear, its functions becoming a part of those of the new Line, which will perform all duties above and below the protective deck. It is worthy of note that this proposition originated, not with the Engineers, but with a Line officer, Captain Robley D. Evans, U. S. N., to whom is due the credit of suggesting this radical change in naval organization.

Colonel Roosevelt has put, briefly and strongly, the reasoning which has led to the proposed amalgamation. In his report upon the bill he says:

> "On the fighting ship the fighting man must stand supreme; only he must know how to handle his tools, and must change as the ship changes, so that precisely as he once knew about sails, now he must know about engines. . . . A change like that which took place two hundred years ago must take place now. As then the sailor man who knew only how to handle a ship had to be merged in the trained officer, while the sea soldier who had once commanded his troops either ashore or afloat became also a sailor man, so now the line officer and the engineer must become one. . . . In short, it is absolutely essential that the best naval officer of the future shall be proficient in engineering. The fact that Farragut knew nothing of engines has no more bearing on the case than the fact that Blake knew nothing of sails. Exactly as Nelson, who succeeded Blake, had to know details of naval matters of which Blake was ignorant, so the Farragut of the future must know what the great victor of New Orleans and Mobile Bay had no chance to learn."

The Line officer of our day is, in his knowledge and present functions, the representative of a career of absorption of various professions, extending through centuries on the sea. Originally, he was but a soldier afloat, a hand-to-hand fighter, who served indiscriminately on sea or land. Macaulay says:

"At Flodden, the right wing of the victorious army was led by the Admiral of England. At Jarnac and Moncontour, the Huguenot ranks were marshalled by the Admiral of France. Neither John of Austria, the conqueror of Lepanto, nor Lord Howard of Effingham, to whose direction the marine of England was confided when the Spanish invaders were approaching our shores, had received the education of a sailor. Raleigh, highly celebrated as a naval commander, had served during many years as a soldier in France, the Netherlands, and Ireland. Blake had distinguished himself by his skilful and valiant defence of an inland town, before he humbled the pride of Holland and of Castile on the ocean."

The pre-eminence of the soldier on the sea in the early part of the sixteenth century is shown by the complement of the "Great Harry," which, in 1512, was: Soldiers, 349; sailors, 301; gunners, 50. As time passed on the influence of the sailor gradually rose and his force increased. Thus, in 1558, we find on the "Victory" but 100 soldiers, with 268 sailors and 32 gunners. The master, or navigating officer, however, remained still a subordinate, and the Line, or combatant officer, was still untrained in the handling of his ship. Such conditions were essentially unstable and bred incessant strife within the *personnel*. Admiral Sir William Monson, writing early in the seventeenth century, says:

"The seamen are much discouraged, of late times, by preferring of young, needy, and inexperienced gentlemen captains over them in their own ships; as also by placing lieutenants above the masters in the king's ships."

Again he notes that "the master repines to have a lieutenant above him"—a feeling which seems not unnatural, since the master, as navigating officer, bore the responsibility, while the unskilled captain had the rank and authority. Indeed, as late as 1650, the regulations then in force permitted the captain to lay the blame for the loss of his ship on the master's shoulders.

These unsatisfactory conditions lingered long in the British Navy, both with regard to navigation and to gunnery, which was becoming a science also, although the Line officer was a sailor long before he was either navigator or gunner. Thus, Commander Robinson, R. N., commenting in his work, "The British Fleet," on the times of Queen Anne, says:

"The master and his mates were the sole navigating officers, and up to

quite the end of the war (1815), it was held no disgrace to an executive (line) officer, providing he was a good sailor man, to be neither navigator nor gunner."

Turning to our own navy, we find the tradition, at least, of these conditions lingering in the grade of "sailing master," which existed for many years; and, as to gunnery, Secretary Welles stated, in his report for 1864, that, when it "became a specialty, it was inconsiderately and unwisely proposed to have a corps of ordnance officers engrafted upon the naval service."

In commenting upon the evolution of the Line officer of our day, Captain Mahan says:

"The command of fleets and of single vessels was often given to soldiers, to military men, unaccustomed to the sea and ignorant how to handle the ship, that duty being entrusted to another class of officers. Looking closely into the facts, it is seen that this made a clean division between the direction of the fighting and of the motive power of the ship. This is the essence of the matter, and the principle is the same whatever the motive power may be. The inconvenience and inefficiency of such a system were obvious then, as they are now, and the logic of facts gradually threw the two functions into the hands of one corps of officers."

History shows, then, that the modern Line officer was, in his origin, a soldier simply; that, by successive absorptions, he added to his primary military functions those of the sailor, the navigator, and the artillerist. The advent of the Engineer and the omnipresence of machinery in the warship, have again made "a clean division between the direction of the fighting and of the motive power." If the teaching of history be followed, it seems certain that Captain Mahan's "logic of facts" will again throw the two functions into the hands of one corps—that the process of absorption will be continued to include the Engineer.

The amalgamation of the Line and Engineering branches, either wholly or in part, is by no means a new proposition. There have been, in the past, farsighted men on both sides of the sea, students of naval history and familiar with a navy's needs, who have advanced it with regard to modern fleets. In his report for 1863, Gideon Welles, then Secretary of the Navy, said:

"It is a question, indeed, as sails are subordinate to steam, whether every officer of the line ought not to be educated to, and capable of performing, the duties which devolve upon engineers."

And, in 1864, we find him repeating and emphasizing these words thus:

"It is respectfully submitted, in view of the radical changes which have been wrought by steam as a motive power for naval vessels, whether steam

engineering should not be made to constitute hereafter a necessary part of the education of all midshipmen, so that, in our future navy, every line officer shall be a steam engineer. . . . Seamanship and steam engine driving will each be necessary to make the finished professional officer. Objection may be made that the duties are dissimilar and that steam engine driving is a specialty, The duties are not more dissimilar than seamanship and gunnery."

In the years 1875-6, a committee was appointed in Great Britain, under the presidency of the late Admiral A. C. Key, R. N., to inquire into the methods of training Engineer officers for the Royal Navy. One of the recommendations of this committee was as follows :

"The Engineer branch of the navy is, at present, classed with the civil branch of the service, as distinguished from the Military or Executive branch. This distinction appears no longer necessary. The chief engineer has a large body of men under his immediate orders, many of whom are quartered at guns, and have to take an active part in action. His duties are, in many respects, executive. . . . We are, therefore, of opinion that Engineer officers should in future be classed with the Military or Executive branch of the profession, among those who would not on any occasion succeed to command."

The late Admiral C. Fellows, R. N., testified before the committee thus :

"I would suggest that the engineers should be placed on a totally different footing from that on which they now stand—that is, that the Chief Engineer and his senior assistants should be considered executive officers—*i. e.*, placed in the military branch. Men-of-war are now floating machines and are, more or less, under the direction of the Chief Engineer, and, in my opinion, he should have the power of giving an order to any man in the ship without the possibility of that man disobeying the order, or even questioning it."

The amalgamation of the Line and Engineering branches presents few difficulties in the United States Navy—perhaps fewer than in any other—because of the similar training received by the younger officers of both corps. For thirty years, Engineer officers have been graduated from the Naval Academy, and a majority of this corps is now composed of men who, for three years, at this school, received precisely the same education as their brothers of the Line, with, in addition, a special course in engineering during the fourth and final year.

As to our Line officers, it may be said that, under the present system, in passing for promotion, they undergo an elementary examination in engineering ; that a part of their daily duty is the handling—although not the care and repair—of dynamos, turret machinery, ammunition hoists, etc., of all types ; and that they

design and build all great guns for the Navy, which, in itself, is strictly engineering work. Natural inclination and this favorable environment have made many officers of the Line competent in one or more branches of engineering.

While the proposed plan, like all things earthly, falls short of perfection, it is believed, in view of these facts, that it presents still a working solution of the intricate problem which confronts our naval *personnel*. It involves no violent changes. The elder Line officers, unaccustomed to the handling of steam machinery, will continue to perform familiar duties ; the elder Engineer officers, although given military rank and title, will supervise still the work of the engine and fire-rooms and engineering construction and repair on shore. For a year or two, even the duties of the younger men will be but little altered. Then, by degrees, the young Line officer of the present system will be required to stand watch in the engine room, and the young Engineer officers of to-day will familiarize themselves with the duties of the battery and the deck. Meanwhile, the Naval Academy, with a curriculum much extended in engineering, will be graduating officers trained for all duties above and below—fighting engineers in fact, if not in name. If it be urged that the performance, with success, of these composite duties will demand a very high order of capacity, the answer is that this demand has existed since ships-of-war were first floated, and that there seems no reason to fear that this advance will meet less success than each preceding one has found.

The proposed amalgamation promises to be far-reaching in its beneficial results upon the Line and Engineering *personnel* of the United States Navy. With these branches united, harmony will replace the long-standing discord, which was as inevitable as it was regrettable. There should be, further, a marked increase in the efficiency of the ship, considered as a fighting machine purely. Instead of two distinct corps of officers, one devoted solely to the direction of the battery and the other solely to the management of the motive power, there will be one homogeneous body, all of whose members will be fitted to take their place in the fighting line, if there be need. This will give, also, a much greater elasticity to the system, since, eventually, every officer will be available for every duty, above and below. A further benefit of importance will be the simplification of discipline, and its full maintenance, without friction, in all departments. At present there is, unavoid-

ably, more or less clashing between the corps, in this matter, especially so, since the officer of the Line has military rank and the Engineer has relative rank only. In the full development of the system, we shall have an officer whose engineering knowledge will make him fully fitted to command his ship, as a whole and in every part; and, in the engine room, we shall have another who, untrammeled, shall be able to preserve the maximum efficiency of the machinery, at sea and in port, and whose military rank will give him unquestionable authority with regard to the discipline of his force.

It is by reason of wars that navies exist, and a navy's right of being rests only in its ability to bear itself bravely and ably in conflict on the sea. To the development of its strength for this, all efforts in peace should turn. The teaching of history has, time and again, shown that, of the factors of naval strength, there is none so vital as the *personnel*. Ships, armor, ordnance, may be without superiors, but, if the man behind the gun or the man before the furnace-fire fails in battle, the flag must be lowered in defeat. Therefore, we should consider well the *personnel*. If it be not effective, all other effort to build up the fleet will be as nothing in the end. Spain, in the most crushing defeats of all naval history, has met the disaster which surely follows an obsolete and neglected *personnel*. Her "Invincible Armada" put to sea at a time when the sailor was a vital element of navies; but, lingering in the past, she still kept the soldier paramount in her fleets. In writing of the Armada's fate, Professor Laughton, an eminent authority, says:

"Even if the men had been equal in quality, the Spanish ships were terribly undermanned. The seamen habitually gave place to the soldiers and soldiers commanded; the seamen did the drudgery and not one was borne in excess of what their soldier masters thought necessary. The absolute numbers speak for themselves and one comparison will be sufficient. The 'San Martin,' of 1,000 tons, the flagship of the Duke of Medina, had 177 seamen and 300 soldiers. The 'Ark,' of 800 tons, the flagship of Lord Howard, appears to have had something like 300 seamen and 125 soldiers."

Three centuries have passed and the shattered Spanish ships which line the Cuban coast and lie in Manila Bay tell the same story. In an age when a gun is but a powder engine, and that speed which is a primary requisite in naval war is obtained only by complicated mechanism, Spain has failed to recognize the engineer and her navy has no organized corps of these officers. In place of

men of education, training, and adequate rank, whose fitness was commensurate with the toil and skill required to care properly for naval machinery in war, the belated authorities of that country have contented themselves with foreign engineers—practically but machinists—who cared nothing for the Spanish flag, whose reward lay neither in rank, position, nor patriotism, but in the hired man's wages only.

The penalty of this national folly has been almost unprecedented national disaster, if not dishonor, on the sea. Before Cervera's fleet sailed from Ferrol, many of the imported engineers had left; at the Canaries, the remainder departed; and from that time onward, under incapable Spanish care, the deterioration of his ships progressed so rapidly that they reached Santiago de Cuba practically unfit for battle. That they were supposed to be faster than the American vessels was the only argument for the Spanish Admiral's final *sortie* in open day; but, in that race of death, his wretched *personnel* failed him; the original speed of his ships—which might have saved them—could not be developed; and their engine and fire rooms became scenes of demoralization and despair. A writer in the "*Revista General de Marina,*" of Madrid, shows some appreciation of this, when he says: "The Americans are making constant voyages in all seas with their vessels, so that they have a trained *personnel*, for their machinery. We have the greatest scarcity of machinists and hardly any firemen at all." Again, he says: "In order to have a squadron, it is indispensable to have a trained *personnel*, navigating constantly and taking many exercises. If this is not done, there can be neither machinists, nor firemen, nor gunners." Admiral Montojo, in reporting on his fleet's annihilation at Manila, adds further testimony, when he gives, as one cause of it, "the inaptitude of some of the provisional machinists," on whom he had to rely in battle. Even these writers seem not yet to have learned that something more than the "machinist" is needed for the care, and conduct in action, of the modern battleship with its huge enginery; that, in this age of mechanism, only the educated and trained officer will suffice; that the *personnel*, the vital factor of naval war, must change with the changes of the ship.

While amalgamation is the most radical and far-reaching feature of the Personnel Bill, the measure embraces other matters of grave importance to the effectiveness of our fleet, one of which is

the method of selection suggested to insure a proper flow of promotion. In this review, I have desired to limit myself to the question of amalgamation as it affects the Engineer Corps, leaving to others the discussion of the proposed plans for promotion. I will say, however, that the method of selection which is proposed, has my strong approval in this, that it selects certain officers to be retired and not certain officers to be advanced. The key-note of this policy is that an ambitious officer can use his personal and political influence only in preventing his enforced retirement and not in securing his advancement. The provisions which replace relative with actual rank, and which extend the privileges of retirement with the rank and pay of the next higher grade to staff officers who served creditably during the Civil War, will favor all corps equally and commend themselves to fair-minded men. The bill proposes also to substitute for the present naval pay, the pay-table of the army. Owing to the fact that legislation on the question of naval pay has been enacted for different corps at different periods, it presents many incongruities. Some comprehensive system is required. The army pay-table is such a measure and has been in force for many years with satisfaction to all of its corps. The proposition, therefore, to substitute it for the naval pay seems a wise one, and one which will avoid experiment. It is true that the pay of naval officers will be, thereby, somewhat increased ; but there seems no reason why officers of equal rank in the army and navy should not receive the same compensation ; and, in any event, the expenses of naval officers, owing to their wandering life, measurably exceed those of their army brethren.

The provision of this bill which increases the number of officers of the Marine Corps, but complies with manifest justice. That corps has a full brigade of 3,000 men, and yet its commanding officer has but the rank of a Colonel. Again, its proportion of Line officers is abnormally low as compared with the army, although its needs are much greater, since its force is divided into many small guards on ship and shore, while that of the army is stationed in fewer and much larger detachments of troops.

The Personnel Bill is not a hasty measure; it is, in effect, the outgrowth of years of consideration of this vexed question. The Board which prepared it was composed of officers, a majority of whom had grown old in the nation's service, and who will, in a

few years, pass from active duty. It has been transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Navy with his strong approval, and will meet the support of practically the whole official body of the Navy. In the war which has just ended with such unparalleled swiftness of success, the Navy has not only maintained the best traditions of its past, but has done much to give the nation new territory and a new glory beyond the sea. In this, all of its corps have joined with singleness of aim. Our Line officers on Manila Bay, off Santiago, and in the weary waiting of the blockade, have shown, in their vigilance, daring, and superb gunnery, that the spirit of our early naval heroes animates them still. Our Engineers, in the constant preparedness of their machinery, its instant answer to every call, in the memorable cruise of the "Oregon," and the magnificent bursts of speed off Santiago, have won the distinction which the tireless training of years had presaged. Our Marine Corps has, in the words of the Secretary of the Navy, but "added new glory to its already gallant record," not only in its service afloat, but in being the first force to land on Cuban soil, in its heroic bearing there under most adverse conditions, and, not the least, in the watchful care of its troops ashore, which made their sick list less, proportionately, than that of the fleet. The medical officers of our Navy in the ambulance ship "Solace," in their complete preparedness for every emergency, and in the low percentage of the ill afloat, despite a most trying service in a tropical climate, have made a record which no nation has yet equalled and which cannot be surpassed. And, lastly, the multitudinous labors of the Pay Corps in furnishing supplies for large squadrons, widely scattered, have been attended with such success as to have left no want unfilled. This is the *personnel* which now, with duty fitly done, turns to the Congress for relief. It cannot be otherwise than that the nation, through its representatives, will enact into law a measure which will so strengthen and unify the officers of this gallant service.

GEORGE W. MELVILLE.

V. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE PEOPLE.

THE American people are justly proud of the American Navy. In our recent war with Spain every branch and corps of the naval service distinguished itself with conspicuous honor. While only a few names have been added to "the scroll of eternal fame," yet,

nevertheless, the American people know that there is not a man in the American Navy who would not have merited this distinction had the opportunity presented itself. Too much credit cannot be given to the chiefs of the great bureaus in our Navy Department and their assistants, who were the "organizers of victory," and who, by providing and thoroughly equipping the vessels of the fleet in every department, enabled the men in the actual line of battle to win the brilliant victories in which the nation glories. This war has proved that we have been constructing our ships upon correct ideas, and that, ship for ship, our Navy is as good as any other navy in the world. The American Navy, from the humblest coal-passer in the hold to its greatest admiral on the bridge, has won the everlasting gratitude of an appreciative people in making a record which will shine as gloriously as that of any period in our naval history. This is the position of the American people towards the American Navy.

To have a Navy, we must not only have ships, but also men. We must legislate not only for the *matériel* but also for the *personnel*; and, while we seek to have the best ships made by our most skillful American ship-builders upon the most improved ideas of our best naval authorities, we should at the same time study well the important question of the *personnel* of our Navy, so that it may in all respects fit the *matériel*. The American people want such an organization of the *personnel* of the Navy as will produce the best naval officers.

The so-called Naval Personnel Bill is a measure which represents the best thought of the best minds of our naval service. The greater portion of it was prepared by a Board of naval officers, of which the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was Chairman. That Board consisted of two Chiefs of Bureaus who stand eminently high in our naval service, six prominent officers of th line, and three engineers of splendid attainments. This measure was introduced, at the request of the Department, in the House, and referred by the Speaker to the Committee on Naval Affairs, where it was subsequently re-referred to the sub-committee on Organization, Rank and Pay. This Committee held exhaustive hearings upon the measure, and finally reported it to the House in substantially the same form in which it was originally introduced, adding to it some desirable changes in other branches of the naval service.

The distinguishing feature of the bill is the amalgamation of the Line and the Engineer Corps. At first glance, this might appear to be a most radical proposition, and yet, when carefully considered, it will be found that, in consequence of the mighty evolution which has been made in the construction of our ships during the last generation, by which steam has not only become the motive power of our ships of war, but is now actuating the machinery by which ammunition is hoisted, guns trained, turrets turned and torpedoes ejected—and it might be said that everything is done by machinery on board a ship, whereas a generation ago everything was done by hand—the necessity becomes apparent that the man who is to thoroughly command the ship must understand engineering and the powerful mechanism which is to move at his will.

The proposed Personnel Bill recognizes the necessity which is obvious to-day, and which will grow more so in the future, that the naval officer should be an engineer, as well as be proficient in ordnance and in navigation and in the other duties incidental to command. When one realizes that from a fourth to a half of the crew of our ships is in the engineering department, one appreciates how important it is that the commanding officer should widen his curriculum of study, and understand the tools and the machines, and the power which runs them and runs the ship, so as to make himself indeed an officer worthy to command. One of our prominent Captains in the Navy said substantially, not long ago, that, if he had any timidity and fear when in command of a great battleship, it arose from his ignorance as to what might occur in the engine room when he had given his signal from above.

The practical application of this scheme of amalgamation is already in force in the Navy to a limited extent. The younger line officers are now taking charge of the engines on the torpedo boats. They have some engineering education, but not so much as they will have under the new order of things. The curriculum at Annapolis will have to be changed, so as to give all the students a more thorough course in engineering. Through this plan, the American naval officer of the future will be a man who will thoroughly know his ship from stem to stern, and if there is any position where the old adage is true, that "knowledge is power," it will be in the case of the captain of one of our battleships when he knows that every man under his command is doing his full duty.

Another important feature of this bill is the provision it makes for a properly regulated flow of promotion, so that a man will not have to spend twenty years or more in one grade, as is the case with a large number of officers in the naval service to-day, before reaching a higher grade. It is a disgrace to the American Navy that we have a system which keeps men who are fifty years of age and more in the grade of Lieutenant, when in any other navy in the world they would at least have reached the rank of Commander. Admiral Farragut once well said: "I consider it a great advantage to command young, having observed as a general rule that persons who come into authority late in life shrink from responsibility, and even break down under its weight." All our best naval authorities are united upon the proposition that thirty-five years of age is much nearer the proper age of command than fifty-five, which is about the average age to-day of those in command of our ships. This bill would make the average age of command about forty-five.

There is no good reason why there should be any difference between the pay of the Navy and the pay of the Army. One service is as important as the other, and both should be paid alike. Under the present organization, however, our military officers, rank for rank, receive somewhat greater compensation than that allowed the officers of the Navy, a discrimination which is corrected by a section of this bill. In this connection it might also be said that the provision of our laws permitting the allowance of prize money to our naval officers in time of war should be repealed, as it is entirely inconsistent with the spirit of the age and of modern naval warfare, and remains simply and purely a relic of barbarism.

There are other details in connection with the bill, such as, for instance, giving the staff officers proper rank, that is to say, making their rank actual instead of relative, the same as it is in the Army; the elimination of the two years' course at sea for naval cadets, by which we will increase our number of officers, a step much needed in consequence of the increase in the number of ships; the establishment of a new grade of commissioned officers below that of ensign, which will be opened to enlisted men who have served honorably and faithfully; and lastly, the reorganization of the construction department and the Marine Corps, which has been greatly desired for some time. But these features of the

bill are more readily understood, and as there has been little, if any, objection to them, I will not discuss them in this article.

What the Navy needs, the people are desirous that it should have. I believe that they are confident that our naval authorities will ask nothing of Congress which would not improve the efficiency of the naval service. The American people have faith in the American Navy and in the high efficiency of the Navy Department. The matchless record which the Navy has made entitles it to every consideration, and there is no better way in which the American Congress can show its appreciation of the splendid deeds of the American Navy than by speedily enacting into law a measure which has the approval of the united naval service, the much discussed, and long needed, Naval Personnel Bill.

GEORGE EDMUND FOSS.

THE SCIENTIFIC PREVENTION OF YELLOW FEVER.

BY ALVAH H. DOTY, M.D., HEALTH OFFICER OF THE PORT OF NEW YORK.

THE appearance of yellow fever among the United States troops in Cuba during the past summer and the recent outbreak in the South, combined with the published investigations of Prof. Sanarelli and others as to the specific micro-organism of yellow fever, have again brought this disease prominently before the public. The increased importance of the subject will doubtless be an incentive to Congress to renew the discussion begun at the last session in regard to the establishment of a national department of health. The consideration, on the part of Congress and the people of the South, of the subject of yellow fever and of the methods required for its suppression, has extended over a long period; and that the public is patient and long suffering is evident from the tolerance which has been shown toward this continued discussion. For years, more or less friction has existed between the health authorities of Southern towns, cities and States, and between the authorities of these States and the Federal Government, and to a certain extent these differences still continue. Therefore, the appearance of a case of yellow fever in one of the Southern States is not always the signal for combined and harmonious action to prevent the extension of the disease.

Competent and conscientious Southern health officials are frequently unjustly censured at these times, and there is often a public clamor for some change in the management of the outbreak; this at least indicates a lack of confidence on the part of the people. The disastrous effect on commerce and on travel of the quarantine measures which immediately follow an outbreak of

the disease, and which range from the primitive "shot-gun" quarantine, to the proper measures enforced by duly authorized health officials, is only too well known. The periods during which the outbreaks occur are usually prolific in the creation of bills, the destination of which is Congress. It is firmly believed by the supporters of these measures that they have at last found a remedy for the evil; but the fact that almost all of them differ materially in their provisions, is a sufficient proof that those who present them are not of one mind as to the proper procedures in preventing the introduction or extension of yellow fever.

A careful investigation shows that quarantine, as a means of controlling the outbreaks referred to, has not been as successful as we could wish, although carried out in a most rigid manner, varying somewhat in form, however, in the different States and municipalities. To those who have depended upon quarantine alone, the outlook is not particularly hopeful. Therefore, we are stimulated to look for some other means of securing the desired result.

In order to study this subject intelligently we must be familiar with the cause of the disease and the manner in which it is propagated. We know that yellow fever is due to a specific germ, which multiplies in the human system and produces the characteristic symptoms of the disease; that this micro-organism may infect a town or circumscribed area, provided certain climatic and local conditions are present, and that those exposed to the infected locality are liable to contract the disease. Yellow fever is not contagious in the strict sense; that is, it is not communicated from persons to persons, as is smallpox or scarlet fever. Those outside of an infected locality do not contract the disease, even when brought into close and prolonged contact with persons suffering from it. Therefore, outside of the infected locality or zone (that is, those regions which furnish the climatic conditions necessary for its propagation) the disease is harmless. In corroboration of this, I cite the following resolution, passed by a most notable assemblage of sanitarians, the Third National and Sanitary Convention, held in New York, in 1859:

"Resolved, That in the absence of any evidence establishing the conclusion that yellow fever has ever been conveyed by one person to another, it is the opinion of this convention that the personal quarantine of cases may be safely abolished, provided fomites of every kind be rigidly restricted."

In order that the specific micro-organism of this disease shall thrive outside of the human body, certain climatic and local conditions are essential.

The climatic conditions are not all clearly defined. It is known, however, that there must be a long continued high temperature, with more or less moisture and a low country. Yellow fever rarely extends above an altitude of 1,000 feet. Although there may be some doubt as to what are the climatic conditions necessary to propagate the disease, there is no difference of opinion as to what are the local requirements. I refer to filth and defective drainage. There is no city in the world to-day where yellow fever is epidemic which does not afford substantial proof of this fact. The same conditions, perhaps to a less extent, are found to exist in those sections where yellow fever occasionally prevails. The specific organism of yellow fever, like that of the bubonic plague, is nourished and kept alive by decomposing organic matter. If supplied with plenty of food in the shape of filth, the germ of yellow fever will thrive in spite of quarantine. If starved by cleanliness, its development is stopped. Dr. Parke, the eminent English sanitarian, speaks of yellow fever as being often singularly localized, and he refers to repeated outbreaks occurring in barracks at Bermuda, Trinidad, Barbadoes and Jamaica, while no other places on these islands were affected. In the same way, at Lisbon, Cadiz, and many other cities, it has attacked only one section of a town. Dr. Hardie, an American physician, writing in the early part of this century, says: "Yellow fever is not contagious in pure air." La Roche, in his classical work on yellow fever, strongly asserts the non-contagiousness, as well as the locally infectious character, of this disease. Dr. Reynolds, in concluding an article on this subject, says: "A survey of the whole history of the disease leaves it still to be concluded that, at the most, contagion is to be admitted as a merely possible supposition, extremely hard even for its advocates to trace with certainty in any definite instance, while the geographical relation of the disease and its promotion by local unsanitary conditions are palpable and overwhelmingly important." Were it necessary, I might add similar testimony from others who have carefully studied this subject from a practical standpoint, to prove the power of filth as a factor in the propagation of yellow fever. The importance of this fact has not been properly considered in the delib-

eration of bodies brought together to formulate rules and regulations for the protection of the South against the invasion of this disease.

We know that yellow fever under certain aggravated conditions may extend in a territory outside of the yellow fever belt. The conditions referred to consist of bad drainage and filth, whereas the disease rarely affects the out-of-town territory where pure air exists, even within the yellow fever zone. On this point Dr. George M. Sternberg, Surgeon General of the United States Army, speaks emphatically as follows:

> "When yellow fever prevails as an epidemic, physicians and nurses are apt to contract the disease, because they are necessarily exposed in the infected localities, not because they come in contact with the sick. . . . During the season favorable for the epidemic prevalence of the disease, its propagation without doubt depends largely upon local insanitary conditions, and it is doubtful whether it could effect a lodgment in a clean and well paved city. . . . In Havana, Rio de Janeiro and other endemic *foci* of the disease, it is especially prevalent in low lying, filthy districts with unpaved streets."

My personal observations in Havana and Vera Cruz fully confirm what Dr. Sternberg says. In the report of Dr. Hardie describing the outbreak of yellow fever in New York between 1798 and 1805, he clearly and unmistakably shows that the disease was confined to a locality about Front street and Coenties and New Slips, which was at that time notorious for its filthy and unsanitary condition, and that, after this section had been properly drained and placed in good sanitary condition, the disease entirely disappeared. With this mass of evidence before us based on experience, we must regard filth and bad sanitation as the local conditions which favor the propagation of yellow fever. A realization of this is being shown in countries where yellow fever is endemic, and among people who are not so far advanced in sanitary science as we are. I will refer, for example, to Santos, a seacoast town of Brazil. Until recent years, the mortality from yellow fever in that place has been very large, the drainage primitive and defective, and the sanitary condition particularly bad. Mainly through the enterprise of engineers from this country, a new system of sewerage has been recently introduced which has resulted in a marked reduction in the number of cases of yellow fever. The cause of this is fully apparent to the inhabitants of the town, who now co-operate with the health officials in

enforcing the sanitary regulations which are necessary for the protection of the public health. Memphis in our own country has had a bitter experience, and now knows full well the value of good drainage and cleanliness.

With a keen appreciation of what has just been stated, it does not seem reasonable that quarantine alone can be depended upon to prevent the introduction or extension of yellow fever. Quarantine has important functions. Its value, however, is greatest at the seacoast, or ports of entry. An infected ship may be kept under close observation, and the infection destroyed by disinfection, but a land quarantine can always be evaded. It should not surprise us, therefore, or reflect unpleasantly upon a health official, if an outbreak of yellow fever in the South is followed by an extension of the disease to other points where the local conditions are favorable to it.

New Orleans and other Southern cities, which are frequently visited by yellow fever, are not, strictly speaking, in a good sanitary condition. The lowness of the land upon which New Orleans is built, in its relation to the Mississippi, makes the ordinary modern sewerage system impossible, inasmuch as the proper fall cannot be secured for the main sewers, which, under ordinary circumstances, discharge into an adjoining waterway. The streets in this and other Southern cities, or at least some parts of them, are imperfectly paved and graded, and are not properly sewer connected. The health officials of these towns realize that these conditions are a menace to the public health, and in many instances have been industrious in their efforts to obtain appropriations large enough to secure proper sanitary conditions. The results, however, have been discouraging, inasmuch as funds sufficient for the purpose cannot be obtained. It is apparent, therefore, that the Southern people do not yet fully appreciate the imperative necessity of having the best and most modern sanitary appliances, good drainage and clean streets. If the agitation in the South, which is always present during an outbreak of yellow fever, could be turned in this direction, I have no doubt as to the good results which would follow. The lay members of a community are not expected to make a study of this or any other disease, and it is necessary that they should be made acquainted with the important facts bearing upon the subject.

I feel certain that, if the streets of the Southern cities within

the yellow fever zone were to be properly paved, or made smooth, graded and well cleaned and drained, if new and improved sewerage systems were introduced and every precaution taken to insure strict cleanliness, that yellow fever would practically make no headway, and the terror which the appearance of a case of this disease now inspires would be a thing of the past. To the public it would be educational, inasmuch as it would require individual co-operation to keep the different towns in a good sanitary condition. Opposition on the part of the public or press toward any health ordinance makes its enforcement extremely difficult.

Assuming that the improvement which I have suggested would involve considerable expense, it would be exceedingly small compared with the loss involved by the destruction of commerce and transportation which always follows the establishment of a rigid inland quarantine in the South. I am satisfied that in no other way will the South ever be freed from the danger, both to life and commerce, which an outbreak of yellow fever now carries with it. I have no desire to belittle the importance of a sensible and thorough quarantine, but it is not a radical measure, and, after its removal, the locality involved is just as susceptible to the disease as ever. I refer more particularly to the quarantine methods which are in force in the interior.

It now remains to consider from what source comes the yellow fever infection, which from time to time is introduced into the South. A careful investigation cannot always decide this question, but, although infection may be brought from South American ports, it is safe to assume that in some way it generally emanates from Cuba. No other place in the world to-day offers such a menace to the public health of this country as the Cuban seaports, notably Havana. The close proximity of that city to the United States, combined with the fact that it is one of the filthiest cities in existence and the home of yellow fever throughout the year, makes it at present a very undesirable neighbor. Here also the remedy is very simple, and, if carried out, would transform into a healthy and beautiful city a sickly town reeking with filth, having badly paved streets and suffering from an entire absence of a modern and effective sewerage system. In Havana may be seen the degradation of sanitary science. I have never met in that city a public health official who seemed to have any conception of what is necessary to insure even a fair sanitary con-

dition. Any rules and regulations which may have been promulgated from time to time for the ostensible purpose of protecting the public health, have proved worse than useless. The streets in some sections of the city are almost impassable from the filth which covers them, and which rapidly decomposes and furnishes rich nourishment for the germs of yellow fever and every other disease which thrives on the product of uncleanliness. Certain areas in the city are practically cesspools, and the soil and woodwork about the water front and docks could not be more filthy. Thus we have in Havana every requisite in an exaggerated form for the growth of the yellow fever germ and for the extension of the disease. It would seem that now, when the Government of the United States has its hand upon Cuba, the time is propitious for insisting upon radical changes in the sanitary arrangements of Havana and other Cuban towns which are in direct and constant communication with the United States.

The placing of United States sanitary officials at Havana and other Cuban ports, to warn outgoing vessels of the danger which they are leaving and to inform quarantine and health officials at the United States ports of the number of cases of yellow fever which exist in Havana and elsewhere in Cuba, and the issuing of certificates to those who are immune, are undoubtedly valuable provisions. They serve as an aid to quarantine officers in dealing with incoming vessels, but they are entirely superficial, and do not deal directly with the causes which have made Havana and other Cuban ports such a menace to the Southern States, neither will the strictest sanitary regulations which may be imposed upon vessels and persons leaving Havana, or entering the United States, remove the danger. At present, commerce between Cuba and the United States is greatly fettered by sanitary regulations, both upon leaving Cuban ports and again upon reaching our shores. These have become almost unbearable. No permanent improvement in the sanitary condition of Cuba will be apparent until its seaports are subjected to a complete overhauling, and until every vestige of the old and defective sewers of every description, and all the filthy and infected woodwork of the docks along the water front are removed, and new and modern systems of sewerage are substituted. The streets should be paved and graded, in order that the surface water and filth can find an easy exit. All vaults and cesspools, which always constitute a menace to

the public health, must be cleaned, disinfected and filled up, or properly sewer connected. It is essential that the streets should be flushed with water at frequent intervals, in order that all filth and organic matter may be frequently removed. When this is done and proper sanitary rules and regulations are made and observed, then, and only then, will the Cuban towns cease to be a menace to this country. When the solution of the problem is so very easy, and we have at our command means of placing the South in such a position that it need not again fear such formidable epidemics of yellow fever as have visited it in the past, and with the opportunity of securing the co-operation and confidence of the Southern people instead of their antagonism in matters pertaining to the public health, and when the means are before us of making it not only probable but certain that Havana and other seaport towns of Cuba can be placed in good sanitary condition and the danger from yellow fever reduced to the minimum, it can hardly be understood why the importance of cleanliness and proper drainage has not received the consideration to which it is entitled. This seems the more unintelligible, as writers upon the subject of yellow fever have for the past century followed but one text, viz., filth and bad sanitary conditions are essential to the spread of yellow fever. Yet we disregard this, and seek to find some means of making quarantine—which in some instances has richly earned the appellation of "commerce destroyer"—more rigid and exacting.

Quarantine is necessary and cannot be dispensed with, particularly when used with its most powerful ally, scientific and thorough disinfection; but quarantine should be used as an adjunct to cleanliness and proper sanitary conditions, instead of replacing them. Communities as a rule reluctantly admit that they harbor bad sanitary conditions, and they are slow to make improvements in this direction, even if the money necessary for the purpose is available. It is this reluctance which must be overcome, before success is attained in our effort to prevent the introduction and spread of yellow fever.

It is remarkable how completely the fear of yellow fever has saturated the minds of the people of the United States, especially as our knowledge of the disease does not justify it. As already shown, yellow fever is not contracted by personal contact, and outside of the yellow fever zone is not a menace to the public

health at any season, provided ordinary sanitary conditions are observed. Cold weather stops the propagation of the disease, either within or without the yellow fever zone, and even within it during the summer months strict sanitary regulations reduce to a minimum the danger.

The fear of yellow fever among the people has almost entirely obscured the danger from diphtheria, tuberculosis and typhoid fever, and other infectious diseases which confront us at all times and during all seasons. The danger from a case of diphtheria in New York at any season of the year is far greater than the danger from a case of yellow fever in the same place; still, persons who would shun a street where a case of yellow fever existed would deliberately enter the apartment of a person suffering from diphtheria. A serious outbreak of typhoid fever creates but little consternation, and the presence in our midst of innumerable cases of tuberculosis, a disease which is responsible for an incredible number of deaths, is looked upon with indifference by the public. This misconception in regard to the danger from this class of diseases often renders the efforts of health officials ineffectual.

For a long time sanitarians and others, who have fully appreciated the importance of taking such action as would bring tuberculosis, typhoid fever, etc., more under the control of health authorities, have endeavored to secure the establishment of a national health bureau or department, which shall not only have general supervision over quarantine matters, but shall also have jurisdiction over sanitary matters in the interior, which is even more important. This feeling has found expression in a bill introduced in the United States Senate last winter by the Hon. John C. Spooner. It is the intent of this bill to establish a department which shall be sufficiently broad in its scope to have general supervision over health matters throughout the United States, both at the coast and in the interior. It is not its aim to obstruct or interfere with local health officials in the proper performance of their duties, but to assist and co-operate with them, and to harmonize their action; and to instruct and thus gain the confidence of the public. No one conversant with the subject can fail to see the value of such a department, and there is reason to believe that during the next session of Congress the bill referred to will again receive serious and proper consideration.

ALVAH H. DOTY.

STUDIES IN CHEERFULNESS.—I.

BY MAX O'RELL.

In our family life, in France, we preach a delightful philosophy. We preach the gospel, the duty, of cheerfulness.

This is not the sort of gospel which is usually taught in England. Although the Anglo-Saxon people hear it given with apostolic authority that we are to rejoice always and again rejoice, they listen with listless eye and unmoved hearts. They find life very serious and often very sad. "This is a sad world," say all the Anglo-Saxon teachers. And they sigh. Thomas Carlyle scolds the world for trying to be cheerful and happy, and sneers. "The world is made up of fools and rogues," he exclaims, and he was neither a fool nor a rogue. The world has never been improved by scoldings. Josh Billings and Artemus Ward have been greater benefactors of mankind than Thomas Carlyle.

To us French the world is not at all sad. We preach moderation, calmness and toleration, in order that we may be cheerful. "If some of us are doubters," said Ernest Renan, the great apostle of the gospel of cheerfulness, "we urge people who are quite sure of everything to let other people be wrong." We have no particular respect for people who make a fat living by their belief, and we have far more regard for that Christianity which manifests itself by deeds, than for that which spends all its time in expounding theories about the next world and does not help to make this happy and beautiful.

If there is something which is bound to strike the foreigner who pays France a visit, it is the cheerfulness written on the faces of the people. There is, pervading the whole country, an air of contentment and happiness that comes from the satisfaction of aims that are attainable because they are not too high. Most Frenchmen work to secure the comforts of life, material

and intellectual. When they have attained that object, they knock off work and take life easy. Very few, indeed, run after wealth, practically none do outside of Paris. The race after wealth, with its anxieties and falls, the very attaining of it, with its suppression of any more desires, kills cheerfulness.

Thanks to their artistic temperament, the French are able always to look at the bright side of things and see their beauty. Always childish (and who can be cheerful and happy without being a little childish ?) and of a gay philosophy, they have more than once accepted a *bon mot* as a consolation for a national disaster. They are glad they are alive, and with that feeling the battle of life is won. They despise from the bottom of their hearts the sad man, the narrow-minded, small-hearted, small-souled, small-brained man who sighs and dreads joy and cheerfulness, and wails over the sadness of this "vale of tears." Away, they cry, away with the conscious or unconscious humbug who yells at the top of his voice that he may be called at once to heaven to occupy the "special place" that is being reserved for him, and who would be particularly grieved to see his request complied with at once. Away with the man who is not cheerful, who is not grateful to God that he is allowed to breathe the perfume of flowers, to enjoy the hallowed joy of a pure woman's love, to hear the prattle of children, the sounds of Beethoven's symphonies, to set his eyes on Raphael's pictures, to contemplate the glorious beauty of nature.

The world is full of joy, full of beauty, and we want the great thinkers to make us discover it. We do not want Carlyles to scold us ; we do not want prelates, with incomes of $100,000 a year, to lecture on thrift to poor factory girls sweated on three dollars a week. The masses of the people hear a good deal of the joys that await them in the next world. By and bye, they will want a bit of heaven on this earth. They will ask for it, nay, they will demand it, and, believe me, they will get it.

* * *

We love the society of women under whose influence we live altogether. The Frenchman is brought up by his mother, and, even if he marry, he remains under her influence until she dies. When he marries, his wife leads him, discreetly and diplomatically ; and when he has a daughter, on whom he generally dotes, this young lady very soon joins the other two in ruling the easy-going, good-tempered man. When you see a Frenchman, take it

for granted that you see a man who has been, who is, or who is going to be, under the government of three generations of women, and he enjoys every one of them. He is master in all the great questions of life, but his conduct, in all the details of every-day life, is on the principle of the *rule of three.* I hope never to see the day when man will be subjected to woman, but I hope never to see the day when he will cease to be under her sweet and wholesome influence.

Outside of the aristocracy and of the wealthiest classes, we have practically no club life. We prefer the mixed company of men and women. We take our women everywhere. Our cafés, for instance, are not saloons forbidden to the respectable people. They are decent, cheerful places where we can sit down with our wives and daughters and enjoy light refreshments in their company. We feel sure that neither their eyes nor their ears will be offended. I am not trying to extol my country and my countrymen, especially extol them at the expense of other nations. If I can say anything positive about myself, I can safely say that I am a perfect cosmopolitan, not only in mind, but in body. I prefer dining in France to dining anywhere else, but I have had meals in Germany and in Arkansas and was not the worse for it. But I say this : We take our pleasures gaily, and no foreigner who visits France could repeat the exclamation of a Frenchman after visiting England : "Life there would be quite tolerable but for its pleasures!"

On Sundays, the masses of the French people throng to hear good music under the trees of our public gardens, or crowd the museums to behold the masterpieces of all the schools of the world. Then they sit and partake of refreshments that never inebriate. Our public resorts are free from swearing, free from drunkards. The masses of the people indulge in their pleasures in a spirit of moderation. They are gay without being riotous. They are truly cheerful.

Of course, Paris is like all the other large cities in the world. It has its black spots, and if you make improper inquiries as to where they are, and you get properly directed, there is a chance for you to find them out. But these places are hidden, and the freedom of our cities is not conferred upon vice, as in America. Our streets are clean, attractive, cheerful.

When I take my ladies to a theatre in Paris, there is nothing

we like so much as to walk along the boulevard at midnight, after the play, and sit for half an hour in one of the cafés. In New York, after the play, we often liked to walk along Broadway or Fifth Avenue, back to our hotel. Neither in Paris nor in New York did I once regret it. In London (the English must forgive me for saying so, but they know it is the truth), I have to see that the carriage is brought right opposite the door, so that I may quickly push my ladies inside and take them home like criminals, to spare them a minute's sight of the London West End nights.

And, while on the subject, let me say how tired I am of hearing about "the gay Paris" in songs given to the English and American public in their music halls. I once went to one of those "gay Paris" places. I found it fearfully dreary. It was low, but not even wicked, if this word can be used in an artistic sort of way. What was perfectly wanting, was cheerfulness; but the deepest impression I received in that place that night was the enormous amount of English language that I heard. And I interviewed the manager. "Why, my dear sir," he said, "if it was not for the English who come here, we should have to put up our shutters (*nous aurions à fermer boutique*)."

* * *

The more nations I make the acquaintance of, the more deeply confirmed I get in this conviction, that the Frenchman, with all his faults and shortcomings, is the happiest man in the world. Of course, the wealthy classes have everywhere found the way of enjoying life, more or less; but to the observer of national characteristics these classes are uninteresting. Good society is good society everywhere. For a study, give me the masses of the people. And it is among the masses, in France that, after all, I find the greatest amount of happiness. The Frenchman is a cheerful philosopher. He knows best of all how to live and enjoy life. Moderate in all his habits, he partakes of all the good things that nature has placed at his disposal, without ever making a fool of himself. He understands temperance in the true acceptation of the word, which means, not total abstinence, but moderation. When you say that a country has a temperate climate, you do not mean that it has no climate at all; you mean that it has a climate which is neither too hot nor too cold. We have no teetotalers, because we practically have no drunkards. A Frenchman would be as astonished to find that the law prevented him from enjoying a

glass of wine, because a few imbeciles use wine to get drunk with, as he would to find that the law forbade him to use knives in his quiet and peaceful home, because there are a few lunatics who use knives to commit suicide with or to kill their fellow creatures.

The Frenchman is badly governed ; he is a bad politician, and a worse republican ; but, if he can envy the public life of most European nations, they, in turn, can envy his private life. The French workingman goes to the theatre and can be heard humming operatic airs ; he knows every picture that is to be found in the Louvre Museum ; he is an artist, who can impart to his work that artistic feeling which is the result of several generations that have beheld the national works of art and have learned, not only that they are beautiful, but why they are beautiful.

The masses of the French people live well and enjoy luxuries that are unknown to the corresponding classes in England, in spite of their free trade. "Nothing like the poverty exists in Paris," says the Paris correspondent of an English paper, "which exists in London. The Paris workman would despise the humble British bundle of dry bread and meat and tin can of cold tea. No, he enjoys his soup, his *ragoût*, his salad, cheese, half bottle of wine, coffee, cognac and cigarette. That there is poverty, that there is misery, that there is injustice, no one attempts to deny ; but the real social evil in France is not material."

His wife is cheerful and intelligent. She does not think that, because she is married, she has nothing more to do to keep alive the interest of her husband. She knows that love is a fragile flower which is revived by a mere sigh, shattered by a mere breath ; she knows that love feeds on trifles, lives on illusions, and that the very best dishes may become insipid if served with the same eternal sauce. She feels that, to retain happiness in matrimonial life, it is not a question for her to remain beautiful, it is a question for her to remain interesting. "I have been married twenty years," once a Frenchman said to an Englishman, "and I can't make my wife out yet." "You should not complain of that," replied the Englishman, "I have been married twenty months only. I can make mine out—perfectly."

* * *

The Frenchman will never allow even business to interfere with his happiness. His comfort, and that of his wife and family,

are his first consideration. Money making is not for him an end, but only the means to an end, comfort and happiness.

And do not tell me that this interferes with the wealth of the French nation, a nation where, out of a population of 37,000,000, you find over 7,000,000 of landed proprietors; a nation where, outside of its capital, you find that seventy-two per cent. of the population own the houses they live in.

The Frenchman is no speculator. His fortune is not very large, but it is steady, stable. And it is stability of fortune and the equalization of wealth all over a country, not the congestion of it in a few privileged pockets, which constitutes real national riches. Let a Frenchman of forty or forty-five, in the provinces at any rate, amass a little fortune of from one to two thousand dollars a year, safely invested, of course, and he will retire and give some one else a chance.

"Look on this picture, and on this."

Some three years ago I was spending a Sunday afternoon in Chicago, in the house, or, I should rather say, in the palace, of a young married man who possessed twenty millions—the poor fellow! He had a beautiful and most interesting wife, and the loveliest little girl of about three or four years of age that I ever saw in my life. That lovely little girl had the good taste to take to me at once. We had a little flirtation together, first in the distance; then she drew towards me nearer and nearer, put her finger in her little mouth and looked me straight in the face. I said "yes." She jumped on my knee and asked me to tell her stories. I started at once. Now, you understand, I was not allowed to stop; but, by and bye, I took breath, and I said to her: "But does not your papa tell you long, long stories on Sundays?" That lovely little round face grew sad and quite long. "Oh, no," she said, "papa is too tired on Sundays." "Too tired to tell you stories," I said; "my poor darling, you don't say so!" A few weeks after I left Chicago, that man was taken ill with a disease, not an uncommon disease in America, that starts from the top of your head and takes from two to three years to kill you in a lunatic asylum among drivelling idiots and imbeciles, and no twenty millions have ever been known to cure it. When, eighteen months later, I was in Chicago again, I made inquiries and heard that the poor fellow was expected to exist a few weeks, or perhaps a few months, longer. Ah! what a pity. I thought that this beautiful

woman had not enough influence over that good husband to stop him. Don't offer me twenty millions at that price. Put a lovely little girl of three on my knee on Sundays, and I will tell her stories from sunrise and go on till sunset, even if, on that account, I were to be prosecuted by the Lord's Day Observance Society.

Last September twelve months I was returning to England from Brittany *via* St. Mâlo and Southampton. When we got to St. Mâlo we found a delightful beach, and, as the weather was beautiful, we decided to stop a few days before crossing the Channel—the English Channel, as the English call it. (Why "English," I don't know.) I went to the proprietor of the hotel and asked him where I could get a straw hat. He reflected some time over that serious business, and said: "At M. Anfray's, in the High street; it's an old established firm." "Well," I said, "I only want a straw hat, it does not much matter how long the firm has been established." At twenty minutes to one o'clock, I went up the hill and made for the High street and M. Anfray's hat shop. When I got there I tried the door, but found it locked. I shook it and the noise attracted a young, pretty, neatly-dressed, most lady-like little woman, who seemed perfectly astounded to see me and at a loss to understand what it was I wanted at that hour. I felt I was intruding, and, in apologetic tones, I said: "Excuse me, I wanted a straw hat." "That's very awkward," she said, "but we are at dinner." "Please excuse me," I repeated, "I am awfully sorry to disturb you." "Would you mind coming back at two o'clock?" said the little woman with the sweetest of smiles. "Not at all," I said, "I shall be delighted." I had then practically just returned from America. I liked the scene, it was a change after Chicago. At five minutes past two I went back. The door was open, and the same pretty, lady-like little woman was there alone. She rose and came towards me: "That's very awkward," she said, "you promised to come back at two, and my husband waited for you; but you did not come. Now he's gone across the road to the café with a friend." "That's very awkward," I said, "isn't it?" "Would you mind going to the café?" she kindly suggested as a solution of the difficulty. "Not at all," I said, "I shall be delighted." I was beginning to enter into the humor of the whole thing. I went to the café and asked the waiter: "Do you know M. Anfray?" "Yes, sir." "Is he here?" "Yes, sir." "Where is he?" "It's that gentleman over there playing dom-

inoes." "Thanks," I said, "that's good." I went towards the table that was pointed out to me and, taking my hat off, I said: "Excuse me, sir, have I the pleasure of speaking to M. Anfray?" "*Oui, monsieur.*" "Well, I should very much like to have a straw hat." "Do you mind my finishing this game?" he suggested. "Not at all," I said, "I shall be delighted." I made inquiries at the hotel, and learned that M. Anfray was about forty years old, and enjoyed a little fortune of about 5,000 francs a year. Besides, he had a fairly large custom, and he was not going to change his ways for a new and casual customer. Well, this man may seem a very small man to an American, but I say that this man, who locks the door of his shop from half-past twelve till two o'clock, so as not to be disturbed by customers while he is having his dinner with his wife, and a good time with the children, I say, this man has solved the great problem, the only problem of life, happiness, far better than the American or the London city man who, at one o'clock, will stick at his door: "Gone to dinner; shall be back in five minutes." Five minutes to dinner, just think of it! The greatest event of the day. And what is the result of that *five minutes to dinner* in America? The result is that the whole continent, from New York to San Francisco, from British Columbia to Louisiana, cities, forests, prairies, the whole landscape is spoiled, made an eyesore of, by the advertisements of liver pills.

Be cheerful, spend your life in returning thanks that you are alive. Rejoice, be happy, make as many people happy as you can. Live well, and live long. You will never have another chance.

MAX O'RELL.

THE LATEST ASPECTS OF THE NICARAGUA CANAL PROJECT.

BY CORRY M. STADDEN.

If history be philosophy teaching by example, the records of the ages show that war excites the latent energies of a nation. It gives loud voice to the necessities of the people and suggests many remarkable methods for meeting them. The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands has been a mooted question for quite half a century, and several abortive efforts have been made to accomplish that result. The prospect of a war with Spain emphasized the necessity of acquiring that important military base for the protection of our Pacific coast without needless loss of time. The call to arms and the participation in actual hostilities precipitated action in Congress, and the annexation problem, which had vexed so many previous administrations, was solved in a miraculously short time. So, too, the cruise of the battleship "Oregon" down the Pacific coast, around Cape Horn and up the Atlantic to Caribbean waters, at a time so fraught with danger for single warships, though ever so powerful, awakened the nation to the full realization of the importance of owning in fee simple an interoceanic waterway across the isthmus, that would permit the largest war vessels to pass back and forth, concentrate against the enemy's fleet, and afford immediate protection to any threatened point on the country's vast coastline. Had the construction of the canal been a matter of days or months, rather than of years, there is small doubt that all obstacles would have been swept away by Congress with the same expedition that marked the annexation of Hawaii, and the money to pay for the work would have been forthcoming from the people with the same promptness and generous impulse that marked the sale of the war bonds.

The urgent necessity for the maritime canal is to-day apparent to nearly every man, woman and child in the United States. Even foreign powers concede that the construction of the waterway is a question of high public policy. The reasons why the canal should be built are, perhaps, neither more nor less numerous than they were one hundred years ago ; but, as the value of anything depends largely upon the need for it, so the existing emergency impressed the public mind with the importance which such an ally as this would have been, had our forefathers had the wisdom and courage to build it. It is not the province of this article to enter upon elaborate argument why either strategically or commercially the trans-isthmian water route is essential to our happiness or well being ; yet in passing it may be remarked that a military education is not required to understand that, if one fleet is able to patrol the entire coast of the United States, steaming quickly from one extreme to the other without being obliged to pass around the "Horn," the necessity and the expense of maintaining two fleets is obviated. There are enormous advantages, also, to agricultural and industrial interests, as well as to coastwise trade, in cheap water transportation by this route.

Historically, the proposition to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by a waterway is not new. Columbus was searching for a passage to the far East Indies when he discovered America; and in the sixteenth century the Portuguese, as well as the Spaniards, recognized that with a water route across the isthmus they might compete for trade in the East. Twenty-one concessions have been granted by the governments of Central America for the construction of a canal, and four of these to the United States. The negotiations of this government have covered a period of nearly eighty years, and have been participated in by every President since and including Mr. Monroe. All have favored the construction of an interoceanic communication across the isthmus, to be practically under control of this government, open, however, to the commerce of the world. Numerous elaborate and expensive surveys, with full details of every route proposed, from Mexico to Colombia, have been conducted by the United States to discover the best practicable route. These surveyors, the most competent engineers and officers of the army and navy, have concurred in the opinion that the proposed route, by way of Lake Nicaragua, is the best.

Though Congress had long felt a friendly interest in the surveys, it was not until near the close of President Arthur's administration that it was thought prudent and necessary to take up the subject in its general aspects. At this time, the Frelinghuysen-Zavala treaty was submitted to the Senate for ratification. This treaty was with Nicaragua; and the United States, according to its stipulations, had an opportunity to secure control over an area of country twelve miles wide, through which the canal, projected in that instrument, was to be constructed. In return, the United States proposed to pay to the government of Nicaragua $4,000,000. The provisions for the construction, maintenance and protection of the canal under the Frelinghuysen-Zavala treaty were full and complete. A majority of the Senate favored its ratification, and possibly the necessary two-thirds might have been secured for it ultimately, had President Cleveland not interfered. Opposed to the treaty were a number of Senators who feared that the United States might become involved in an entangling alliance with the government of Nicaragua, which was quite contrary to the policy of our early presidents. Others withheld their votes, believing that this treaty violated the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, by the terms of which we solemnly promised to take Great Britain into partnership in building a canal at any future time. This was open repudiation of the previous solemn compact without going through the polite form of declaring it abrogated. The strength of the opposition, on these two grounds, therefore, was sufficient to prevent the ratification of the treaty during the closing days of President Arthur's administration, and Mr. Cleveland, when he became President, promptly withdrew it. He concurred in the opinions of the opposition Senators, and forthwith took occasion to make it clear to Great Britain that his policy should be the reverse of that of his immediate predecessors. Secretaries Blaine and Frelinghuysen regarded the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as not binding upon the United States, so far as it related to the construction of a canal through Nicaragua, although their efforts with Lord Granville to bring about the abrogation of the instrument diplomatically were by no means successful. But if the treaty at that time was not binding upon the United States, President Cleveland's recognition of its validity made it so. While his public policy would brook no treaty with Nicaragua, President

Cleveland was not averse to the construction, control and ownership of the canal by citizens of the United States.

The failure of the Frelinghuysen-Zavala treaty was a severe disappointment to the friends of the canal project, but it did not discourage them. A company of private citizens, capitalists and promoters, was organized, which at length took the name of the Maritime Canal Company. Fair and full concessions were secured from the government of Nicaragua, while similar articles were also signed with the Republic of Costa Rica on account of imagined ownership of a portion of the territory through which the canal was to pass, though it has been shown subsequently, in the settlement of the boundary dispute between those two governments, that Costa Rica's rights in the matter were solely riparian. In due time Congress was called upon to grant a charter to the Maritime Company, which asked nothing more than this, being then quite confident that it had ample resources to prosecute this important work to a successful finish during the ensuing ten years. Congress may have had a faint suspicion that the company was overburdening itself with responsibilities, and that at some time in the future it might find an occasion to cry out for financial help, so there was inserted in the chartering act an amendment prepared by that famous objector, the late Judge Holman of Indiana, providing that "nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to commit the United States to any pecuniary liability whatever for any account of said company, nor shall the United States be held in any wise liable or responsible in any form or by any implication for any debt or liability in any form which said company may incur, nor as guaranteeing any engagement or contract of said company."

This amendment was submitted to the House of Representatives January 4, 1889, and Judge Holman said in part:

"It is not the necessary corporate power these gentlemen are seeking for; they have that already. It is to obtain at once the moral and ultimately the financial and political resources and power of the United States that these enterprising gentlemen are aiming at—the old story repeated, the power and resources of government employed to enrich the few at the expense of the many. . . . If this enterprise shall be successful under the policy of this bill these enterprising corporators and others will reap a rich harvest and amass wealth; if disaster shall befall it, such as all enterprises of magnitude and all others are exposed to, these corporators of Europe and America and others connected with them will amass fortunes out of the stocks and bonds you authorize this corporation to issue, for when you enter

upon this work in the manner and form proposed by this bill you cannot escape the inevitable consequences."

Congress ratified these opinions by adopting the Holman amendment—the Senate accepted it without debate—and the Maritime Canal Company eagerly approved the condition imposed, saying that they did not want a dollar from this or any other government; that the initial strength and inceptive favor of the enterprise itself would attract and draw to them all the capital that would be needed for the prosecution of the design.

The incipient distrust of the Maritime Canal Company in the Fiftieth Congress became more pronounced in the succeeding Congress. The Senate, in executive session, on the 11th day of April, 1890, adopted a resolution inquiring, "What are the present conditions and prospects of the enterprise?" and the Committee on Foreign Relations was instructed to consider and report what, in its opinion, the interests of the United States may require in respect of that interoceanic communication. The following January, Senator Sherman, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, presented a report under the resolution and an accompanying bill, which made the first bold proposition to render the canal company financial assistance. The bill, in brief, proposed to violate the terms of the charter—the Holman amendment—and guarantee the bonds of the Maritime Company in the amount of $100,000,000, to reimburse the company the amount expended in promoting the enterprise, and that the United States should accept in return for these favors $70,000,000 of the company's stock. The committee's report explained: "The gentlemen engaged in the enterprise are confident of their ability to execute the work. They did not express a desire for aid, but seemed to have entire confidence of their success. They have already expended, as we are advised, about $4,000,000, and are negotiating contracts and loans." The report concluded: "If it appeared at any time that the interests of the United States are in jeopardy from any cause, it can purchase the majority of the stock and become the controlling owner of the canal by paying its own bonds to an equal amount."

Congress, however, did not guarantee the company's bonds. The company, without such guarantee, was unable to raise the necessary capital, either in the United States or abroad, and the financial crisis of 1893 so overwhelmed it that all active opera-

tions on the isthmus were suspended, and they have never been resumed. The same issue, the guaranteeing of bonds, has come up from time to time in succeeding Congresses, but not until the second session of the Fifty-fourth did it appear to have much chance of being decided in favor of the company. The opposition in the Senate, where it was first considered, was strong, and the arguments advanced against the bill were clear, sound and forceful. The advocates of the measure were pressing for a vote, but almost at the supreme moment a note was received from the State Department, accompanied by a communication from Minister Rodriguez, the representative of the Greater Republic of Central America, setting forth several unassailable objections of his government to the methods of procedure. This final thrust determined the fate of the bill, and a vote on it was not taken.

From 1891 to 1897 each new bill offered to the House or Senate—sometimes the bills were identical—sought to impress the United States with better terms. The one which was objected to by Minister Rodriguez not only guaranteed the company's bonds to the amount of $100,000,000 and reimbursed it in the sum that it had expended in promoting the enterprise, etc. —$4,500,000—but it reduced the number of directors from fifteen to eleven, providing that one should represent Nicaragua, as stipulated in the concessions, one should represent Costa Rica, for like reasons, one should represent the Maritime Canal Company and the remaining eight should be appointed by the President of the United States. By the terms of the concession, the President of the United States was to appoint four of the number allotted to him from the list of promoters of the Maritime Canal Company. These four, together with the directors representing the company, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, gave the canal interests a representation of seven in the board of directors, leaving but four who might be disinterested appointees of the United States. In other words, the bill was intended to convey the impression at home that the United States would own and control the canal, and abroad that it would be constructed and managed exclusively by the company.

In studying the several propositions that Congress has had to deal with for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, it is important to note the character of the opposition, which obviously has been very strong, since no measure of this description, save the chartering act of 1889, has been passed. The opposition may

be considered under two general heads, that which is founded upon legal or constitutional grounds, and that which is not, or which may be termed partisan, and due somewhat to prejudice. The last, being of lesser importance, shall be discussed first. The Populists in Congress have not been antagonistic to the idea of canal construction, but their favor depended largely upon the methods proposed. Though they might agree to an appropriation of funds from the Treasury of the United States, the gold reserve, for instance, to the amount of $100,000,000, for the purpose of ditching the isthmus, the doctrine of their party forbade them giving anything but determined, unalterable opposition to any plan based upon an issue or a guarantee of bonds. A vote for bonds, no matter how crying the necessity might be, could give rise to a suspicion that a Populist was controlled by the "Gold Bugs," and to this he never would consent. The trouble resulting from the connection of the United States with the Pacific railroads project, has created a lasting impression upon the minds of millions, not confined to the Populist or any one political party; so it is not surprising if some of the national legislators, who may not be familiar with the questions of law involved, do permit their prejudices to influence their votes on a question involving governmental support of a private corporation.

That opposition to the proposed canal legislation based upon legal or constitutional grounds is so strong and unassailable that it is extremely doubtful if any bill which has not some further treaty negotiations as a condition precedent, can secure enough votes to pass the Senate. The principal objections to the bills which the friends of the canal company have offered during the past eight years were, that they trenched upon the rights of Nicaragua and utterly repudiated in a most contemptuous manner that solemn instrument, signed by Great Britain and the United States in 1850, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The material points of Minister Rodriguez's criticism, which caused the Senate bill in 1897 to be withdrawn, were that some of the vital provisions of the cessions under which the Maritime Canal Company had the right to construct the canal were violated, as follows:

1. This bill takes it for granted that the American government is to furnish the money necessary for the construction of the canal by the Maritime Canal Company and to take an important part in the enterprise. But the concessions granted by

Nicaragua to the company in 1887 expressly provide that it "shall in no case be transferable to governments or to foreign public powers," and Article 53 provides that any contravention of this stipulation shall entail a forfeiture of contract.

2. Article 47 of the contract provides that the final surveys shall be undertaken at the expense of the company, by a commission of competent engineers, two of whom are to be appointed by the government of Nicaragua. This bill, notwithstanding, provides that the canal shall be constructed under the surveillance of the Department of Engineers of the United States Army, and three engineers shall be designated by the President for that purpose; which provision conduces to the forfeiture of the contract.

3. Article 10 provides that the Board of Directors is to be composed of persons at least one-half of whom shall be chosen from the promoters, who may yet preserve their quality as such. But the bill organizes the Board of Directors with eleven members, eight of whom are to be appointed by the President of the United States.

4. Among the benefits which Nicaragua reserved to herself, in consideration of the valuable privileges and rights which she surrendered, was 6 per cent. of the shares, bonds, certificates or other obligations which were to be issued with a view to raising the capital. Notwithstanding that the company has made several issues, it has not fulfilled this obligation; and nothing is established in this bill with regard to the shares that would belong to Nicaragua, and it might happen that Nicaragua would get none.

5. By the plan involved in the bill, "the present company is extinguished, and nothing remains of it in its relations with the enterprise save the shadow of a personality represented by a vote in a board of directors of eleven members; while in its relations with Nicaragua it may always claim full personality as the holder of the concession, although having none of the means necessary to enable it to meet its obligations."

6. While the bill contravenes and sets at naught stipulations of the contract, it does not state whether the remaining stipulations still remain in force or not.

Some of the ablest gentlemen in the Senate, including Caffery of Louisiana, Turpie of Indiana and Daniel of Virginia, all close students of international law, and two of them members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, have concurred in every

point raised by Minister Rodriguez, and it was so clear that the bill nullified the concession that it was not pressed to a vote.

The next feature worthy of consideration is the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the abrogation of which was attempted by President Buchanan in 1856, and by Secretaries Blaine and Frelinghuysen in the early eighties, but with little success. Buchanan withdrew from his position when Lord Napier suggested that Great Britain would agree to the abrogation in the event of the United States formally recognizing the *status quo* of 1850, which would be tantamount to a ratification of Great Britain's claims to British Honduras, the Mosquito Coast and the Bay Islands. Blaine and Frelinghuysen labored in vain, with theoretical arguments and historical objections, to convince Lord Granville that the instrument was without validity. Lord Granville refused to be convinced, and furthermore President Cleveland, by promptly recognizing the treaty, on coming into the Presidency in 1885, quite sustained the British contention. To-day some of our most learned international lawyers maintain that the old treaty is valid and binding, at the same time confessing the confident belief that in all probability Great Britain is quite as willing that it should be abrogated in the proper way, relinquishing her right under it to share in the construction, control and protection of a maritime canal through Nicaragua, as we are to have it done. The relations between the United States and Great Britain at the present time are more friendly than ever before, and there is little disposition to give her affront by rudely abrogating the instrument as proposed in the canal bill. Declaring to the people of the United States that the waterway was to be constructed by the government, and to Great Britain that a private corporation, the Maritime Canal Company, assisted only in a financial way by Congress, would control and operate it, would be an evasion that would excite at once the indignation and contempt of all the world. If, in view of our most amicable relations with the mother country, and the fact that the present Secretary of State, the Hon. John Hay, so recently represented his government at the Court of St. James's and did much to promote those friendly feelings, an abrogation of the treaty cannot be arrived at smoothly in diplomatic channels, then let Congress and the administration come out boldly and nullify the instrument, exciting indignation if necessary, but maintaining the respect of the nations.

In addition to the foregoing objections to the enactment of a bill guaranteeing the bonds of the Maritime Canal Company, Senator Turpie raises a serious doubt as to the lawful authority of Congress to guarantee the note of a citizen of the United States, or of a corporation. He concedes that there is nothing in the Constitution that prohibits Congress from doing this, and at the same time contends that it is not an answer to a constitutional objection to say that the power questioned is not forbidden in the provisions of the instrument. He argues that the Constitution is an instrument of granted powers, and where powers are not granted they do not exist. And, therefore, as this power is not granted, not purposed to be granted, not implied as granted, not by any possible intendment granted, he concludes that in doing so Congress would exceed its Constitutional authority.

As it is the present situation which most concerns us, later aspects present themselves for careful examination. A new administration has come into power. Its policy as to the construction of the trans-isthmian waterway is yet to be disclosed.

Another commission, appointed and instructed to take surveys of the proposed route and make careful investigation as to the practicability and cost of the project, has concluded its work and is about to make its report. Semi-officially it is known that the commission concurs in the opinion expressed by previous commissions, that the canal can be dug along the Nicaraguan route at a cost varying between a minimum of $70,000,000 and a maximum of $150,000,000, establishing conclusively the feasibility and practicability of a ship canal from Brito to Greytown. The time is at hand for the re-assembling of Congress, and for the President to communicate to that body a statement as to the public policy in his annual message. Momentous and interesting events are transpiring in Central America, which in regard to the canal question have paramount importance. A new federation of States has been formed, a new constitution has been adopted and the first election of federal officers under it is about to be held. The effect upon diplomatic relations with the United States should be immediately felt. The concession granted to the Maritime Canal Company in 1887 for a period of ten years, subject to extensions, in which to do the work, has about run its limit. The Central American government is not disposed to renew it, and the canal company is eagerly trying to patch

a truce with Congress and secure the acceptance of its latest proposition.

On June 20th last, near the close of the recent session of Congress, Senator Morgan, for the Select Committee, reported a new bill, having, like all similar ones heretofore presented, the guaranteeing of $100,000,000 bonds as a fundamental principle. The canal company generously offered to sell out to the government, of course being reimbursed the money already spent in promoting the enterprise. Previously, it had offered the United States eight of the nine directors, not counting those representing Nicaragua and Costa Rica. It went one better, and increased the number to nine; then, to clinch the bargain, further agreed to the provision that "the directors appointed by the President are prohibited from being interested, directly or indirectly, in any contract made by the reorganized company." In addition to all of this, the proposition includes the assent of the Maritime Canal Company to any provision of law that Congress may enact for securing the United States. How the Senate Committee reconciles itself to the point blank violation, by this proposition, of Article 10 of the concession, which sets forth, in clear and unmistakable language, that the "Board of Directors shall be composed of persons, one-half at least, of whom shall be chosen from the promoters, who may yet preserve their quality as such," is not recorded in the report. Precisely the same objections that were raised against a similar bill in the Fifty-fourth Congress can be cited in opposition to this measure. Moreover, the committee's frank declaration that in this bill "private ownership of the stock is completely eliminated," materially strengthens the position of those who contended that this was in direct violation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

The only ground, therefore, upon which all concerned may stand in complete harmony, for it must be remembered that the opposition is not against the construction of the canal, but the methods suggested, is that which provides for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, either by diplomatic negotiations or by Congress on a manly appeal from the Executive; and for further diplomatic negotiations between the United States and the government of Central America for a treaty whereby we may have, as Senator Turpie expressed it: "An American canal under American control, meaning thereby a canal built and owned by the

people and government of the United States, and under the control of the Congress and President of the great republic." This is the consummation devoutly to be wished.

Nicaragua, as it would appear from very recent press dispatches, according to the old saying, is not putting all of her eggs in one basket. In great enterprises the end sometimes justifies the means, and this little state, had she the military strength of the United States or Great Britain, might, without fear or favor, summarily annul the concessions held by the Maritime Canal Company and look elsewhere for capital and labor to construct the waterway. But, as a republic, and later as a state in the new Central American Confederation, she has stood fairly and honorably by her solemn contract with the Maritime Company, which on the 8th of October will expire by limitation. The Managua dispatches set forth that President Zelaya has entered into a new agreement with a company of contractors and capitalists, of New York and Chicago, by which the latter shall become the residuary legatee, as it were, of the Maritime Company, and succeed to the concessions after next October. Though lacking, as yet, official verification, these reports in part may be true. It is reasonable to suppose that Nicaragua, while waiting for the Maritime Company to fulfill its contract or for the United States to undertake the work, is not letting pass a good offer from responsible Americans, to complete the project after all other efforts to do so have failed. Nor does it follow that American interests are permitted, in any way, to suffer, through an understanding between the new corporation and Mr. Zelaya. The United States of Central America, it may be stated without fear of refutation, is desirous that the United States of America shall construct, control and operate the canal. And before a new concession may acquire validity, it must bear the ratification of the Federal Congress. Any contract, agreement or understanding, therefore, between Mr. Zelaya as President of Nicaragua and the company, would have no consideration or weight in law other than that of a recommendation from the state to the Federal Government.

The United States alone is master of the situation. "The way to resume is to resume," said Mr. Sherman on the resumption of specie payments. The way for the United States to build the Nicaragua canal is to cease debating it, get to work and build it.

CORRY M. STADDEN.

DO NATIONAL BANK EXAMINERS EXAMINE?*

BY THE HON. THOMAS L. JAMES, PRESIDENT OF THE LINCOLN NATIONAL BANK, NEW YORK

IT has sometimes occurred to those who read the newspaper reports of the failure of national banks and the consequent suffering of depositors and stockholders, that there must be some defect, either in the method of bank examination, or in the system itself. Sometimes there comes a sudden revelation of financial dishonesty which has practically cut a bank out of all its resources, impaired its capital, and left nothing for the depositors except trivial assets. Only those who hold the notes of the bank are protected, through the perfect operation of the National Banking Act. The wonder is, how, if a bank examiner does his duty, it is possible for a series of acts, either criminal or careless, or consequent upon bad judgment, to have been continued long enough to destroy an institution which obtains its charter from the Federal Government, and is under its supervision.

It should be remembered, however, that a rule is sometimes, with reference to its efficiency and value, to be determined by the exceptions which are found in its operation ; and, even in this superficial view, there is nothing in the entire record of the supervision of national banks, in the thirty-five years since the system was adopted, which does not justify the principle and the methods that have characterized the federal department which has the supervision of the national banking as its responsibility.

The official head, so far as the Government is concerned, of the national banking system of the United States, is the Comptroller of the Currency. While his powers, generally, are limited under the statutes, still they are ample enough to treat such emer-

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gencies as may not be provided for in the statutes. It is for him to say whether the hundreds of millions of deposits placed with the utmost confidence in the national banks are perfectly protected ; if not, what measures the Government shall take to give the depositors all that may be obtained for them, and to prevent further losses. In order to do this, the Comptroller of the Currency must have the assistance of a large number of trained, prudent, impartial, clear-headed men. It is upon their reports that he depends for information ; it is upon their examinations that he takes such action as the law prescribes, or as, within the discretion which is allowed him, he may deem prudent.

The national bank examiner is generally selected with a view to his experience as a banker ; but always his character, his capacity to conduct rigid investigation uninfluenced by friendship or enmity, and to make faithfully accurate reports to his superior at Washington, are essential qualifications. It may be said that, if he has these qualities and thoroughly does his duty, no national bank ought ever to reach such a precarious condition as to justify the interference of the Government.

But, in the first place, it should be remembered that the business of banking goes on from day to day, from week to week and from year to year, and that, in the conduct of that business, the Government places, and ought to place, reliance in the integrity and ability, not only of its managing officers, but of its directors. The officers are engaged in their duties every day. In the banking business, as in every other business, all depends upon faith, confidence and judgment ; and, as no human judgment is infallible, it is not to be expected that the opinion, even of the astutest financier, can always be correct with reference to credit, value of property, or the advisability of making loans. At least once a week in the larger cities, and certainly at frequent intervals everywhere, the directors meet. They are required to have accurate information and report from the officers, upon the business done, upon the resources, upon the profits or losses, and to pass judgment upon them. Necessarily, upon this direction the Government must rely for a part of the time ; for it would be impossible to keep a national bank examiner busy with daily or even weekly examination, into the condition of one bank.

The examiner, having been appointed, has authority over a certain district. Where the business is large, as in the greater

cities of the United States, the examiner's jurisdiction usually is confined to a compact district. Where the banking business is widely scattered, his field covers a large territory; but it is the design of the Government, as it was of those who drafted the National Banking Act, that a bank examiner should have no greater territory or number of banks than would make it possible for him to conduct his examinations with the frequency that seems requisite; and the result of the experience of bank examiners is that semi-annual examinations will meet all requirements. So, throughout the country, these investigations into the condition of the national banks are now made twice a year; although, formerly, the banks of the larger cities, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago, were examined but once each twelvemonth. Congress, adopting the reasonable rule followed by many of the more important corporations of the United States, made it imperative that there should be critical outside inspection of the condition of the banks, at least once in every year. That is the system pursued by many corporations. Some are in the habit of calling in expert accountants or professional auditors, that they may obtain from them an accurate, impartial opinion as to the precise condition of the corporation.

One would think it impossible that anything short of absolute, intentional, deliberate dishonesty could so impair the resources of a national bank, between one examination and another in six months' time, as to render ineffective the system of examination pursued; but the fact that ruinous transactions have found their origin and attained their full growth within the space of a few months—yes, and within a few weeks—demonstrates the practicability of such perversion of a bank's funds. It is well known in banking circles that distress and difficulties come to banks, not wholly as a result of one single transaction—excepting, possibly, in times of panic, when all must stand or fall together—but as the culmination of a long series of mistakes of judgment, of careless acts, of criminal dishonesty, or, what often happens, the unexpected failure of a house or corporation of high credit. Dishonor of that kind is necessarily, in each case, comparatively small; otherwise, unless the entire officers and directors of a bank are engaged in it, it would be instantly discovered.

It is often asked: What are the duties of the bank examiner? But any man of business experience ought to be able to answer

that question, without referring to the National Banking Act or inquiring of the Comptroller of the Currency. The technical method, however, of carrying out these duties may not be so well understood. The examiner is expected to, and, unless he be a dishonest man, always does, appear at the bank which he purposes to examine, without having made any preliminary announcement of his purpose. The bank is not prepared for him; he catches the officers and employees exactly as they are; there can be no "best dress" put on for the occasion; there can be no "fixing" of books or "temporary loans." Invariably, the president, cashier and other officers find the examiner and his assistants at the bank on their arrival there at the opening of business in the morning; and I may say in passing that it is only in the larger cities, such as those before named, where the banking facilities are large and numerous, that assistants are employed by the bank examiner. The examiner of a district comprising the small cities and towns, does the work unaided. This, of course, is not practicable in a city like New York, for, were the examiner required to conduct the examination without assistance, it would entail the entire suspension of the bank's business, perhaps, for many days.

First of all, the assistant examiners take charge of the paying and receiving tellers' departments and count the cash, the chief examiner himself taking up the loans, securities, etc., in the custody of the cashier, and examining the same. The counting of the cash in the hands of the tellers may be an operation involving long and tedious work; it depends upon the amount of cash and the shape it is in. That is the basis. After the chief completes his examination of the securities in the cashier's keeping, he puts himself in communication with the general bookkeeper, whose department is the vital nerve, so far as the record of the business of the bank is concerned. That is the starting point. There he obtains the report of the loans and discounts. Thus informed, he examines the notes, and the collateral or indorsers. Having verified these securities and their totals and having passed upon the credit behind time paper, he next takes the daily "proof" from the general bookkeeper, examines each item and substantiates it. It is the rule for the examiner to direct his assistants to make an examination of the individual ledgers; in fact, following the system pursued by expert accountants. If the business of the bank has been honestly conducted, and if an expert

accountant who is a master in concealing dishonest transactions has not manipulated the books, this examination will reveal with absolute accuracy the condition of the bank.

Faith is, after all, the basis of banking; and, if there be no faith, there can be no banking. For that reason, it is possible for those who are skilled in bookkeeping, but who are dishonest, to carry on, sometimes for a series of months or even years, dishonest methods by which even the most expert accountants are deceived, and can be deceived as long as this dishonest man can have access to the books. The recent record of embarrassments or failures has, in almost every instance, made clear, upon examination, that dishonest methods of this kind were carried on by those who had daily access to the books; in one case, for a period covering at least fifteen years. In that case, the dishonest employee, knowing that his safety depended upon his ability to reach the books, refused to take a vacation. If the officers of the bank are unable to detect dishonesty of this kind—even if they adopted the most approved and scientific method of bookkeeping—it is beyond reason to expect that a national bank examiner can do it.

An anecdote may, perhaps, best illustrate this statement. At a time when there had been in one of our largest cities a startling revelation of a long series of dishonest acts committed by one of the most trusted of employees, the president of another bank stated with absolute confidence that he had perfected a system of bookkeeping, consisting of checks and counter checks so delicately adjusted as to instantly reveal any dishonest conduct or any mistake. He said to friends that there could be no embezzlement, misappropriation or breach of trust in his bank, without detection in twenty-four hours. Yet, within a month after he made this confident announcement, it was accidentally discovered that one of his employees had been misappropriating funds for nearly two years, taking in all some thirty or forty thousand dollars. After all, this only goes to show that "eternal vigilance alone is the price of safety."

The best that bank officers can do is to adopt reasonable, thorough and competent bookkeeping methods; and, after that, they must rely upon the faith which they repose in their employees. There is now in vogue in many of the larger banks a method of keeping books, the tendency of which is to prevent the continued falsification of entries—and it has been found to

be very effective—and that is the transfer of bookkeepers from ledger to ledger, at irregular intervals, and comparison of the pass books with the ledgers, by individuals other than those making the records. Under this system, the bookkeeper not knowing when or by whom he is to be succeeded, there is little probability of any attempt at collusion.

It follows, of course, that a bank examiner has, so far as the ascertainment of liability is concerned, to rely upon the machinery of the bank as he finds it. He can only observe and recommend methods, and, if need be, insist upon their adoption.

Experience, not only in national banking, but in all banking except that of the "wild cat" order, has shown that peril to banks comes from three directions. One is that which panic creates. A panic is a financial tornado. But few institutions can resist its tremendous fury. It will tear down many solvent banking institutions, as the tornado destroys whole cities and devastates wide districts. Its coming is sudden and unexpected. The only safety for a banking community at any time is in "union, which is strength;" and this strength is called upon in a day of sudden financial violence. Thus, in the city of New York, at the time of that needless and senseless panic of 1893, it was the bold and defiant way in which such bankers as Frederic D. Tappen, Henry W. Cannon, George G. Williams, A. B. Hepburn, William A. Nash and J. Edward Simmons, representing the associated banks of New York, met the storm, that prevented widespread calamity. Mr. Tappen, as chairman of the appropriate committee, sat in the office of the Clearing House for many days, receiving in trust the securities of the banks of the association, and issuing the Clearing House certificates for which those securities were held as collateral, the certificates being then, so far as the Clearing House was concerned, legal tender for the payment of the debts of the banks to it. He issued, in this manner, nearly fifty millions of certificates, and thus protected the entire business community of the United States, and held that panic at arm's length, until the fears of the people had subsided. I may be permitted to say here, that due justice has never been rendered Mr. Tappen and his associates for the dauntless courage and the inestimable services which the overthrow of that panic involved.

A national bank examiner could not have protected the depositors of a national bank in a crisis like that, nor could any

system have been devised which would have given depositors in that, or any other time of panic, absolute assurance of safety.

The other causes of danger to national banks, or any banks, are those which carelessness or error of judgment may involve. The national bank examiner, however, has no authority, with respect to the judgment of the officers and directors of a national bank. He cannot tell them, "you must not loan to this man, or upon these securities," because that is beyond his power. He is not responsible for the management of the bank; nor would it be possible to so extend the powers of a national bank examiner as to give him this authority; for, to do that would make an irresponsible and outside official really the manager of the business of the bank. His function is to determine, after the bank has acted, the character and value of the securities and the indorsements, upon the credit of which money is loaned. That involves judgment on his part just as much as it involves judgment on the part of the officers of the bank. He may be in error as to the value of securities, or as to the credit of a maker or endorser of a note. He can, however, determine whether a security is a quick asset or not; and he knows, as soon as he makes his examination, whether a loan is a loss or not. If he discovers that a large number of loans are dead losses, or that the value of securities upon which loans have been made has seriously depreciated after hypothecation, then it is his duty to determine whether the aggregate losses reach or exceed the capital and resources of the bank. If the loss affects only the surplus or the profits, he can do no more than report the fact to the Comptroller of the Currency; but, if the losses show serious impairment of the capital, the Comptroller of the Currency must act instantly, so that there may be no further impairment, and that what is left may be saved.

Sometimes the judgment of the examiner is relied upon by the Comptroller of the Currency, so that the harsher measures are not taken, but opportunity is given to the stockholders, either by reduction of capital or by making good its impairment in other ways, to place the institution upon a sound financial basis; and this is almost always done without any publicity. A public report of a condition which would require vigorous action on the part of the Comptroller of the Currency would instantly affect the credit of the bank, and would be sure to result in swift withdrawals by depositors, which would make it impossible for the bank to pro-

tect itself. It is not uncommon for the bank examiner to advise the officers of a bank regarding discounted paper, of the character of which he has been enabled to secure information, or of which he is in doubt, thus enabling the officers of the bank immediately to protect themselves. He does it usually by giving a hint, or by asking "if there is not a good deal of this paper out," or by saying that he wonders why "so and so" is asking for so much discount nowadays.

He is able sometimes to give information respecting the character of securities which it would have been impossible for the officers of the bank to obtain; and his suggestions, in many ways, are of the highest value to the officers of the bank which he at the moment may be examining. This brings me to what I regard as the most important service rendered by the national bank examiners, a service which thoroughly vindicates the system and justifies the framers of the National Banking Act in providing for this method of examination. The public hears now and then of the failure, through dishonesty or misfortune, of a national bank. The disposition is to wonder how it could have happened that a bank should have been so long rotten, notwithstanding the examinations of the examiner. Earlier in this article, it is in some measure explained how a condition of that kind could exist; but it should be remembered that the isolated cases—one here, one there—aggregating in the course of a year a remarkably small percentage of the national banks of the United States, have come in spite of the most approved methods of bank examination, often in spite of the vigilance of the president, cashier and directors. While the public hears of these things, it rarely hears of other services done by the national bank examiners, which has prevented failure after failure, or wreckage after wreckage. The examiner discovers a little weakness here or there; he reports it to the Comptroller and to the officers of the bank. The weak spot is immediately strengthened. He finds that even the capital of a bank may be slightly impaired. It would be within the authority of the Comptroller immediately to close the bank. But, after a thorough examination, it may be deemed best not to do so drastic a thing as that, but to give an opportunity to the stockholders to strengthen the resources, to make good the capital; and, when that is done, the bank goes on, having the value of the experience.

If the story of such services could be told, the people would perceive the strength of the system, and the supreme service it has rendered to the millions of depositors who have taken advantage of the national bank. Since the national banking system was established, the deposits in the banks have reached figures almost beyond the power of the mathematician to appreciate. The losses occasioned by the failure of banks, in comparison with the immense total of deposits, have been almost inappreciable. Not a dollar of the hundreds of millions of national bank notes that have been issued has been lost through the failure of any bank. Of course, that is simply a perfect record; and it is perfect, because the Government guarantees to the holders of those notes that they will be paid, and retains in its hands the Government securities which the banks purchase and upon which the notes are predicated. The Government cannot guarantee to every depositor that his deposit will be paid back to him; but it assures the depositor that, so far as inspiration, examination and authority of the National Banking Act go, it will do its best to protect him in his deposits; and it is safe to say that in the services thus rendered silently, unknown to the public, it has secured hundreds of millions of dollars by means of the energy, faithfulness, shrewdness and justness of the national bank examiners.

It is a singularly fortunate fact that, during the entire period of business strain and financial anxiety which has been over the American people in recent years, the Government has had, as bank examiners in the district of New York such men as Valentine P. Snyder, now first vice-president of the Western National Bank; the Hon. A. B. Hepburn, who went from the bank examiner's post to that of Comptroller of the Currency, returning to New York as a bank president, and the present bank examiner, William H. Kimball. New York being the financial heart of the nation, and the Association of the National Banks of New York being the vital nerve, not only of this city, but of the country as well, the services of a national bank examiner here entail not only great industry, but thorough knowledge of banking and wise judgment. These gentlemen have fully met all these requirements; and this community owes them a debt of gratitude. In all this period of stress and strain, there was no serious national bank failure.

THOMAS L. JAMES.

OUR INDIAN PROBLEM.

BY THE REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D. D.

HELEN JACKSON has written the history of a hundred years of our nation's dealing with the Indians, under the title of "A Century of Dishonor." Her specifications seem to make the indictment of her title good. Yet I am persuaded that the dishonor which justly attaches to the history of our dealings with the North American Indians is due rather to a lack of prophetic vision, quite pardonable, in the nation's leaders, and an ignorance and indifference, not pardonable, in the nation at large, rather than to any deliberate policy of injustice adopted by the nation. Bad as has been our treatment of the Indians, it is luminous by the side of Russia's treatment of the Jews, Turkey's treatment of the Armenians, Spain's treatment of the Moors, and, if we include the war of Cromwell against the Irish, the English legislation against Irish industry, Irish education, and the Church of Ireland's choice, it compares favorably with England's treatment of Ireland.

When thirteen States—a fringe of civilization on the eastern edge of an unknown wilderness—constituted the American Republic, there was no prophet to foresee the time when the Republic would stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and would include seventy million people. If there were any such prophet he was as a voice crying in the wilderness; no one heard or heeded. The politician is almost invariably an opportunist, perhaps necessarily so, since no great prevision is granted to the children of men. The infant republic did not know and took little pains to ascertain either the extent of the domain which stretched to the west, or the number or character of the people who roamed over it. Each decade was satisfied to provide for its own necessities and leave the next decade to take care of itself. As the boundary line was pushed

steadily westward new treaties were made, by which all territory west of a given boundary was reserved for the Indians forever. I think it was in 1800 that such a treaty was made, securing to them for all future time the land west of the Mississippi River. All future time is a long while, and each new treaty was made only to be broken, as increase of population and incoming immigration made new demands on the continent for support. Thus gradually grew up without design the so-called reservation system. Less and less land was reserved to the Indians; more and more was taken up by the whites; until at last certain relatively small sections were deeded to separate Indian tribes. In these, according to the treaties made, the several tribes were at liberty to remain forever hunters and trappers, freed from the obligations and without the advantages and perils of civilization.

These reservations have been practically prison yards, within which the tribes have been confined. If any member passed beyond the boundaries of the reservation without leave he was liable to arrest. If he raised crops or manufactured goods he could not carry them for sale to the open market; if he wished to buy he could not go to the open market to purchase. The land was owned by the tribe in common, and the idle and industrious shared alike its advantages and disadvantages. Industry received no reward; idleness involved no penalty. Money due the tribe under the treaty was paid with more or less regularity, generally in rations, sometimes in guns and ammunition to fight the white man with, or scalping knives to take from his head a trophy of the battle. The forms of industry to which the men were accustomed—hunting and trapping—gradually disappeared; little or nothing was done to teach new forms of industry or to inspire the men to undertake them. From the reservation all the currents of civilization were excluded by Federal law. The railroad, the telegraph, the newspaper, the open market, free competition—all halted at its walls. By favor of the government, generally freely granted, the missionary was allowed to establish a church, or Christian philanthropy to plant a school. But as an educated Indian was rather impeded than aided in the tribal community by education, neither the church nor the school could do more than save individuals from a population shut up by law to the general conditions of barbarism. No courts sat in these reservations; no law was admin-

istered by those judicial methods familiar to the Anglo-Saxon ; no warrants from local courts outside could be executed ; no Indian, if wronged, could appeal to any court for redress. Such law as existed was administered by an Indian agent, a person of ill-defined, and to the Indian mind, of illimitable power. He was as nearly an absolute despot as can be conceived existing on American soil. He was sometimes an intelligent and beneficent despot, sometimes an ignorant and incompetent one ; but in either case a despot.

Thus there has grown up in America, by no deliberate design, but by a natural though mischievous opportunism which has rarely looked more than ten years ahead, a system as inconsistent with American principles and the American spirit as could easily be devised by the ingenuity or conceived by the imagination of man. It has denied to the Indian, often under the generous desire to do more for him than mere justice, those rights and prerogatives which the Declaration of Independence truly declares to belong inalienably to all men. It has made a prisoner of him that it might civilize him, under the illusion that it is possible to civilize a race without subjecting them to the perils of civilization. It has endeavored to conduct him from the relative innocence of barbarism to the larger and more perilous life of a free and civilized community, and to guard him from the dangers of temptation and the consequences of his own ignorance *en route*. The reservation system is absolutely, hopelessly, incurably bad, "evil and wholly evil and that continually." It was never framed by anyone. It has grown up under the commingled influence of careless indifference, popular ignorance, local prejudice and unthinking sentimentalism. The Indian problem is, in a sentence, how to get rid of it in the easiest and quickest way possible, and bring the Indian and every Indian into the same individual relation to the State and Federal governments that other men in this country are, with the least possible violence of rupture with the past and the greatest possible regard for the rights and the welfare of those who are the least responsible for the present conditions—the Indians themselves.

The reservation system, I say, is wholly bad. The indictment against it is fourfold.

In the first place, the Indian Bureau is, and always has been, a political machine, whose offices are among the spoils which be-

long to the victors. In the twenty years during which I have had some familiarity with Indian affairs, not a single Commissioner of Indian Affairs has been appointed because he was familiar with the Indians or an expert in the Indian problem, and only one who was an expert in that work of education which is, of course, one of the chiefest elements in the Indian problem. They have been, I think, all of them, men of excellent character—honest, able, ambitious to do the best that could be done for the Indian. Some of them have made notable contributions toward the solution of the problem. But each one of them has come into office with little or no familiarity with the problem, has had to acquaint himself with it, and has hardly had more than enough time to do so before his term of office has expired and he has been replaced by a successor who has had to take up the work subject to the same disadvantages. The same policy of political removal and political appointment has characterized the whole Indian administration. Sometimes, the appointments have been made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, sometimes by the Secretary of the Interior, sometimes, practically by local politicians; but in all cases alike not for expert knowledge of Indians but for political service rendered or to be rendered, or from reasons of personal friendship. The notion that there is a continuous and consistent policy to be pursued toward the Indians, and that this requires continuity of service and expertness of knowledge in the administration, has not entered the head of our public men, or, if so, has not been allowed to obtain lodgment there. That so bad a system has secured so many good Indian agents and subordinate officials is a matter for surprise. It is not surprising that it has in more than one instance sent a drunken official to keep the Indians sober, an ignorant official to superintend their education, and a lazy official to inspire them with industry. One recent illustration of the result of this method of administration is to be seen in the removal of Dr. Hailman, the Superintendent of Indian Education, an expert educator, whose retention in his office was urged upon the administration by substantially all those familiar with the work which he had done. An even more striking object lesson is afforded by the outbreak among the Pillager Indians, largely due to three successive appraisals of their timber lands, two of which appraisals have been set aside as inadequate, through the incompetence of the ap-

praisers, the enormous cost of each appraisal having been charged to the Indians.

But even if the Indian Bureau could be taken out of politics and kept out of politics, the reservation system would still be incurably bad. It assumes that the Federal executive can administer a paternal government over widely scattered local communities. For such a function it is peculiarly unfitted. The attempt to engraft a Russian bureaucracy on American democracy is a foredoomed failure. The Federal government does exercise paternal authority over the District of Columbia. But on the decent government of the district the well being, the health and perhaps the lives of the members of Congress depend; the relation between the government and the governed is thus direct, close, intimate. Local communities in the United States exercise some paternal functions, as in the case of the insane, the sick, and the paupers. But here again those directly interested have an opportunity of exercising an immediate supervision over the work and calling the public officials to account. But it is in the nature of the case impossible that a President, a Secretary of the Interior, or even a Commissioner of Indian Affairs, can personally supervise the innumerable details involved in the paternal administration of communities scattered from Minnesota to New Mexico, and from Michigan to California.

An aristocratic government, composed of men who have inherited political ability from a long line of governing ancestry, and who have been especially trained for that work from boyhood, so that both by inheritance and training they are experts, may be supposed fitted to take care of people weaker, more ignorant, or less competent than themselves, though the history of oligarchic governments does not render that supposition free from doubt. But there is nothing in either philosophy or history to justify the surmise that seventy millions of average men and women, most of whom are busy in attending to their own affairs, can be expected to take care of a people scattered through a widely extended territory—a people of social habits and social characteristics entirely different from their care-takers ; nor is it much more rational to expect that public servants, elected on different issues, for a different purpose, can render this service efficiently. Our Government is founded on the principle of local self-government ; that is, on the principle that each locality is better able to

take care of its own affairs than any central and paternal authority is to take care of them. The moment we depart from this principle we introduce a method wholly unworkable by a democratic nation. It may be wide of the present purpose, yet perhaps not as an illustration, to say, that if the United States assumes political responsibility for Cuba and the Philippines, as I personally think it is bound to do, it must fulfill that responsibility not by governing them as conquered territory from Washington, but by protecting and guiding, but not controlling them, while they attempt the experiment of local self-government for themselves. We have tried the first method with our Indians, and it has been a continuous and unbroken failure. We have tried the second method with the territory west of the Mississippi River, ours by conquest or by purchase, and it has been an unexampled success. If the Indian is the "ward of the nation" the executive should not be his guardian. How that guardianship should be exercised I shall indicate presently.

This political and undemocratic paternalism is thoroughly bad for the Indian, whose interests it is supposed to serve. It assumes that civilization can be taught by a primer in a school, and Christianity by a sermon in a church. This is not true. Free competition teaches the need of industry, free commerce the value of honesty; a savings bank the value of thrift; a railroad the importance of punctuality, better than either preacher or pedagogue can teach them. To those, and there are still some, who think we must keep the Indian on the reservation until he is prepared for liberty, I reply that he will never be prepared for liberty on a reservation. When a boy can learn to ride without getting on a horse's back, or to swim without going into the water, or to skate without going on the ice—then, and not before, can man learn to live without living. The Indian must take his chance with the rest of us. His rights must be protected by law; his welfare looked after by philanthropy; but protected by law and befriended by philanthropy he must plunge into the current of modern life and learn to live by living. The tepee will never fit him for the house, nor the canoe for the steamboat, nor the trail for highways and railroads, nor trapping and hunting for manufactures and husbandry. Imagine—the illustration is Edward Everett Hale's, not mine—imagine that we had pursued toward our immigrants the policy we have pursued toward the Indians; had shut the

Poles, the Hungarians, the Italians, the Germans, the Scandinavians, each in a reservation allotted to them, and forbidden them to go out into the free life of America until they had Americanized themselves—how long would the process have taken?

But the capital objection to the reservation system is that it is one impossible to maintain; and it is impossible to maintain because it ought not to be maintained. The tide of civilization, surging westward, comes some day to a fair and wealthy but unused and idle territory. There are forests which no woodsman's axe has ever touched; rivers where waterfalls turn no mill wheels; mountains whose treasures of gold or silver, iron or copper or coal no pickaxe has uncovered; prairies whose fertile soil is prolific only in weeds. "Come," cries the pioneer, eager to develop this useless territory, "let us go in and make those acres rich by our industry." "No!" replies the law; "you cannot." "Why not?" "It belongs to the Indians." "Where are they?" "Hunting, trapping, sleeping, idling, and fed on rations." "When are they going to use this land; to convert this timber into boards; these rivers into mill-streams; when are they going to excavate these minerals and turn these weedy prairies into fruitful farms?" "Never! This land in the heart of a civilized community is forever consecrated to barbarism." The pioneer's impatience with such a policy is fully justified, though his manner of manifesting it is not. Barbarism has no rights which civilization is bound to respect. The question on what basis the right to land rests is one of the most difficult which political economy has to answer. Many scholars who do not accept Henry George's conclusions accept his premise, that the soil belongs to the community, and that individual ownership rests not on any indefeasible right, but on the express or implied agreement of the community. Certain it is that the half a million, more or less, of Indians who roamed over this continent in the seventeenth century, had no right by reason of that fact to exclude from it the several hundred million industrious men and women whom eventually it will support. As little have a tribe of a few hundred Indians a right to keep in unproductive idleness a territory which if cultivated would provide homes for as many thousands of industrious workers. No treaty can give them that right. It is not in the power of the Federal Government to consecrate any portion of its territory thus to ignorance and idleness. It has tried, again and again, to do so;

it has always failed ; it always ought to fail ; it always will fail. English parks kept untilled, yet ministering to taste and refinement, have always been regarded by political economists as difficult to justify ; nothing can be said to justify American reservations, kept untilled only that they may minister to idleness and barbarism.

The editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, in asking me to write this article, indicated his desire that I should write "on the probable future of the Indians in their relations with the Government, and the reforms necessary in the administration of their affairs." It may seem that I have been a long time coming to any definite answer to this question ; but in order to set forth succinctly a reform it is first necessary to set forth as clearly and forcibly as possible the evil to be reformed. That evil, I believe, is the reservation system. The reform is all summed up in the one word, abolish it. Cease to treat the Indian as a red man and treat him as a man. Treat him as we have treated the Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Scandinavians. Many of them are no better able to take care of themselves than the Indians ; but we have thrown on them the responsibility of their own custody, and they have learned to live by living. Treat them as we have treated the negro. As a race the African is less competent than the Indian ; but we do not shut the negroes up in reservations and put them in charge of politically appointed parents called Agents. The lazy grow hungry ; the criminal are punished ; the industrious get on. And though sporadic cases of injustice are frequent and often tragic, they are the gradually disappearing relics of a slavery that is past, and the negro is finding his place in American life gradually, both as a race and as an individual. The reform necessary in the administration of Indian Affairs is : Let the Indian administer his own affairs and take his chances. The future relations of the Indians with the Government should be precisely the same as the relations of any other individual, the readers of this article or the writer of it, for example. This should be the objective point, and the sooner we can get there the better. But this will bring hardship and even injustice on some individuals ! Doubtless. The world has not yet found any way in which all hardship and all injustice to individuals can be avoided. Turn the Indian loose on the continent and the race will disappear ! Certainly. The sooner the better. There is no more reason why we

should endeavor to preserve intact the Indian race than the Hungarians, the Poles, or the Italians. Americans all, from ocean to ocean, should be the aim of all American statesmanship. Let us understand once for all that an inferior race must either adapt and conform itself to the higher civilization, wherever the two come in conflict, or else die. This is the law of God, from which there is no appeal. Let Christian philanthropy do all it can to help the Indian to conform to American civilization; but let not sentimentalism fondly imagine that it can save any race or any community from this inexorable law.

This general and radical reform involves certain specific cures. For example :

1. The Indian Bureau ought to be taken at once and forever out of politics. The Government should find the man most expert in dealing with the Indians—he may be the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs—and instruct him to bring the Indian Bureau to a close at the earliest possible moment. Once appointed to office for that purpose he should stay there till the work is completed. I believe that in one respect an army officer would be the best fitted for such a post, because he would be eager to bring the work to a close, while the civilian would see a hundred reasons why it should be continued from year to year. His subordinates should be Indian experts, and removed only for cause, never for political reasons.

2. There are, it is said, ten or a dozen reservations in which the land has already been allotted in severalty and the reservations broken up. The agents in such cases should be dismissed. If the Indian still needs a guardian, if there is danger that his land will be taxed away from him, or that he will be induced to sell it for a song, the courts, not the executive, should be his guardian. Guardianship is a function the courts are accustomed to exercise. It ought not to be difficult to frame a law such that an Indian could always appeal to a Federal judge to have his tax appraisal revised, and always be required to submit to a Federal judge any proposed sale of real estate.

3. The Indian and every Indian should be amenable to the law and entitled to its protection. I believe that, despite occasional injustice from local prejudice, it would be quite safe to leave their interests to be protected by the courts of any State or Territory in which they live ; for I believe that the American

people, and certainly the American judiciary, can be trusted. The policy of distrust has intensified the local prejudice against the Indian. But it would be easy, if it be necessary, to provide that any Indian might sue in a United States court, or if sued or prosecuted might transfer the suit to a United States court. I assume there is no constitutional provision against such a law.

4. All reservations in which the land is capable of allotment in severalty should be allotted as rapidly as the work of surveying and making out the warrants can be carried on. The unallotted land should be sold and the proceeds held by the United States in trust for the Indians. How to be expended is a difficult question. Not in food and clothing, which only pauperize. The first lesson to be taught the Indian is, if he will not work, neither shall he eat. Perhaps in agricultural implements; perhaps in schools; perhaps in public improvements ; perhaps in all three. When the land is of a kind that cannot be allotted in severalty, as in the case of extended grazing lands, for example, it would seem as though a skillful lawyer should be able to devise some way in which the tribe could be incorporated and the land given to the corporation in fee simple; in which case the shares of stock possibly for a time should be inalienable, except by approval of the court; or possibly the property might even be administered for a time by a receiver appointed by and answerable to the court.

5. Every Indian should be at once free to come and go as he pleases, subject as every other man is to the law of the locality and the processes of the courts where he is, and under their protection. The Indian with his blanket should have the privilege of travelling where he will, as much as the Italian with her shawl.

6. Finally, as fast and as far as the tribal organization is dissolved and the reservation is broken up, the Indian should have a ballot, on the same terms as other citizens; not so much because his vote will add to the aggregate wisdom of the community as because the ballot is the American's protection from injustice.

The reform is very simple, if it is very radical. It is: Apply to the solution of the Indian problem the American method; treat the Indian as other men are treated ; set him free from his trammels; cease to coddle him; in a word, in lieu of paternal protection, which does not protect, and free rations, which keep him in beggary, give him justice and liberty and let him take care of himself.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

THE ATLANTIC FISHERIES QUESTION.

BY P. T. M'GRATH, EDITOR OF "THE HERALD," ST. JOHNS, NEWFOUNDLAND.

OF the subjects claiming the attention of the Joint High Commission now in session, that which undoubtedly gives promise of most difficulty in its settlement is the Atlantic Coast Fisheries question. This is due to the fact that there are three parties to the question, the independent colony of Newfoundland being recognized as having a direct interest therein, not less so than either the United States or Canada. It is the existence of these three factors—each with interests antagonistic to the others—which so greatly complicates the settlement of this matter.

The *crux* of this fishery difficulty lies in the fact that, in order to successfully carry on the industry of cod, halibut, haddock and mackerel catching in the North Atlantic, the American fishermen must obtain supplies of the bait fishes—herring, caplain and squid—which are only to be found in the coast waters of Newfoundland and, to a very trifling extent, of Canada. The deep sea fisheries, enumerated above, are free to all nationalities, because they are prosecuted on the great banks off the Newfoundland coast, but the bait fisheries are the possession of the country whose littoral waters the bait frequent, for they are always taken along the coasts, well within the three-mile limit. The American desire, it is needless to say, is to obtain access to these bait fishes. Newfoundland is willing to concede this in return for free entry for its fish products into the American markets; Canada insists, with England's acquiescence, on participating in any such arrangement.

The American fishing industry is centred along the Massachusetts coast, Gloucester being the seaport mainly dependent upon it. The fishing fleet consists of about 400 sail, of which

300 engage in the branches of the industry which require bait as an essential. The year's operations begin in January, when a fleet of 80 or 100 vessels goes to Placentia Bay in Newfoundland, and loads with frozen herring, for use as an article of food in the New England States and as bait in the halibut fishery on the George's Banks, the scene of Kipling's novel, "Captains Courageous." These herring are taken in seines by the Newfoundland fisherfolk, and exposed to the crisp cold air of the winter days on scaffolds or platforms of sticks, which allows them to become thoroughly frozen. They are purchased by the American vessels at one dollar a barrel, usually, and about 100,000 barrels are annually taken to the United States, besides half as many more which go to Canada in schooners belonging to that country.

In March the American, Canadian and French fishing fleets flock to our coast, to seek for further supplies of herring bait. The Canadians, being fellow British subjects, have the right to purchase the bait on the same terms as our own fishermen; the French we do not allow to obtain it at all, and they only procure supplies through its being smuggled to them by our own fishermen; the Americans are permitted, under the terms of the *modus vivendi*, arranged at Washington in 1888, to enter our waters and purchase bait on payment of a license fee of $1.50 per ton. This license fee also allows them to procure fishery supplies and stores in our ports, and to transship their fish in bond to United States ports, and the like privileges are conceded them by Canada for a similar fee. Last year only 40 American vessels exercised the privilege of entry into Canadian waters, while 135 took out licenses in Newfoundland. This fact should be borne in mind, because of the bearing it has upon the question of the relative importance of the claims of the two countries. Newfoundland contends that, if she refuses to extend baiting privileges to the Americans, she can cripple, if not destroy, their whole fishery. In proof of her ability to make good her words, she points to the mischief she has played with the French, who maintain a cod fishery on the Banks, with headquarters at St. Pierre-Miquelon, the shelter islets which France holds off the south coast of Newfoundland. Some years ago France, to encourage this fishery and make it a nursery of seamen for her navy, voted a bounty equal to half the value of the fish caught. This enabled

her fishermen to sell their catch at a figure far below ours, with the inevitable result that she bade fair to drive us out of the markets of Europe. We retaliated by passing an act forbidding our people to sell bait to the French, and the result is that the French catch has been reduced nearly one-half. This being the outcome when the French have headquarters right off the bay where the bait abounds, how much worse would the Americans fare, who would be a thousand miles away from home, with no place to make for shelter?

But there is no desire on the part of Newfoundland to resort to any such measures as that. The little colony contends that the bait supply is indispensable to the American fishing fleet, and that the present arrangement, which gives the colony only about $15,000 a year in license fees in return for this invaluable concession, is inadequate altogether, and it asks for free entry to the American markets for its own codfish and kindred products. Such a proposition is not unfavorably regarded by the Americans, because in 1890 the late Secretary Blaine concluded a convention with Mr. Bond, the Colonial Secretary of this island, on practically that basis. But that convention was refused ratification by Great Britain because of Canada's protest against it, for reasons which I shall deal with presently.

It may, perhaps, be preferable to first summarize the reasons which induced Secretary Blaine to assent to the principle of fishery reciprocity with Newfoundland. In the first place, the Americans recognize that the island, by its possession of the bait supply, controls the situation, and can do great harm to the United States fishing industry. In the next place, Newfoundland, by reason of her geographical separation from the continent and the varied character of her fisheries, could only ship portion of her catch to the American markets. The codfish taken on the Labrador coast and the north coast of the island could not compete with the American product, because it is cured specially for the European markets, and shipped there direct, and only the codfish taken on the south coast, which is nearest the United States, and part of the lobster catch, would be shipped across to the New England ports. A further reason for American friendliness was the knowledge that, by striking a bargain with Newfoundland, the United States would be in-

dependent of Canada's fishing privileges altogether, and under no obligation to make terms with her.

The contention of Canada then was, and it has just as much force now, that Newfoundland should not be permitted to make an arrangement with the United States and barter away her inshore fisheries, because these were the joint possession of all the British North American provinces. The Canadian protest pointed out that Canadian fishermen enjoyed the same rights to these bait fishes as did those of Newfoundland, and that to dispose of these to the Americans would be to severely handicap the Canadian industry and deprive their people of their just rights. The position was held by Newfoundland to be an illogical one, because Canada could not question the colony's right to make laws governing the industry, or to forbid the taking of bait fishes at all, if she so desired. But the contention, or, rather, Canada's importance as contrasted with Newfoundland's insignificance, served as an excuse for the Imperial Cabinet to veto the Bond-Blaine convention, the plea given being that Canada should be allowed the opportunity of negotiating a similar treaty.

Such is the position at present, and a veritable Gordian knot it must prove to be. The free American market is the prize which the two British competitors are striving for, while the United States, desirous of favoring the smaller, fears that such an arrangement will not be sanctioned, and that then she may be cut off from access to the privileges of either. Canada is desirous of securing entry for her fish into the United States, because her existing markets cannot absorb the quantity caught every year, and because she believes the removal of the existing protective duty will cheapen the cost of fish food for the American consumer, and thus create a very much larger demand, beneficial alike to the American, as well as the Canadian, industry. She is likewise concerned with the possible effect of the American absorption of Cuba and Porto Rico, which consumed large quantities of Canadian fish each year. She also occupies an advantageous position with regard to one of the North American fisheries—the mackerel fishery—which is prosecuted off the Nova Scotian coast. Sometimes the fish go inside the three-mile limit, and if the American vessels follow them they are in danger of being seized by the Cana-

dian cruisers, which are ever on the watch for such violators of international law. The Canadians also lay stress on the value of the bonding privilege, but the Americans possess that now, and yet they make little use of it. The fact really is, however, that the great desideratum of the Americans is bait, and bait they cannot get elsewhere than in Newfoundland waters in any quantity worth having. Herring are obtainable at the Magdalen Islands, a dependency of Canada, some seasons, and in the Bay of Fundy other years, but there is neither the certainty, abundance nor proximity to the main fishing grounds which are obtainable by frequenting Newfoundland for the bait.

To realize the importance of the question to the New England States, it is sufficient to point out that the United States Atlantic fisheries are estimated to be worth about $20,000,000. To jeopardize the successful prosecution of these would be to strike a crushing blow at the prosperity of the coast towns which form the backbone of the industry, and also at the subsidiary interests concerned and the hundreds of thousands who benefit indirectly by the laborious and hazardous operations of the hardy fishermen who man that peaceful fleet. The recent war, too, has imparted a new aspect to the matter, inasmuch as it has made evident the need for a nursery for seamen to man the warships which Uncle Sam must maintain, and where is it possible to find more sturdy or daring "jackies" than among these fishermen, who dare the worst perils of the deep in their little schooners and cockle-shell boats or "dories?" To maintain this American fishing industry in the past, with but slight thought of the nation's naval needs, successive administrations have imposed a tax upon foreign-caught fish entering the United States of ¾ cent a pound. Even with this protection the industry is a declining one, the more palatable forms into which canned meats are being converted each year making it more difficult to dispose of large consignments of codfish and halibut during the hot summer months. Therefore, the fishing ports, Gloucester, Provincetown, etc., are fighting determinedly against any reciprocity arrangement, especially with Canada, because they contend that the effect of such must be to flood the American markets with Canadian fish, which would thus destroy the home industry. Their fear of Canada is a well-founded one, because the train service between the mari-

time provinces and the New England States would enable the fisherfolk of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to venture off a few miles daily in their boats and have their catch exposed for sale next day in Boston or New York, while the American fishing schooner, pursuing her quest for the finny prize on the Banks, 200 miles to sea, could only come to land every two or three weeks, and thus would be hopelessly handicapped. Even as between schooners, the Americans would be fighting an uphill battle. Their vessels, outfits and methods of carrying on the fishery are far more costly than those of the Canadians, their crews get far better pay, and whereas it requires an American vessel to "stock" or earn $15,000 before the season can be regarded as a paying one, a Canadian vessel is making money when she has put up $10,000.

Such are the difficulties which confront the United States fishermen if reciprocity in fish products is arranged with Canada. With Newfoundland the dangers are not nearly as many. The Newfoundlanders do not to any extent prosecute the Bank fishery, which is so largely engaged in by the Americans. Hence the competition from this quarter would be trifling. The Newfoundland boat fishermen, isolated as they are, could not so readily forward their daily takes to the United States markets, and their fish would have to be preserved in cold storage vessels or wet-salted, as is now the practice, and, either way, the Americans could contrive to hold their own, and obtain their full share of the home market. The total value of the fish products Newfoundland could send to the United States under reciprocity would not exceed one million dollars; should Canada share in the privilege, she would probably unload six times as much there. Naturally, therefore, the United States would prefer to deal with Newfoundland, but then comes the question whether Canada is able to exert sufficient influence upon the British Ministry to compel a rejection of such an arrangement, should it be come to. There is the further trouble, view it how one will, as to the ratifying of any treaty drafted by the Commission. It will need to be pre-eminently satisfactory to the United States ere the Senate of that country assents to it; if it contains an agreement with Newfoundland, exclusive of Canada, the latter's Parliament will reject it; if it favors Canada at the expense of this colony, our Legislature is certain to adopt the

like course. The ideal solution, of course, is a treaty containing concessions to both Canada and Newfoundland, but it seems difficult to provide for such a situation without crippling the United States fishing industry.

But, if the Commission disagrees, what then? It is greatly to be feared that strained relations must ensue. Canada and Newfoundland will no longer consent to be bound by the *modus vivendi* of 1888, and the United States fishing vessels will be excluded from British North American waters. Unable to obtain bait, their prospect of making a good fishing voyage will be slight indeed, and neither Canada nor Newfoundland will be much worse off than before. The $20,000 in license fees will be sacrificed, but in return there will be the prospect of our own fishermen securing the American market. With the Gloucester fleet crippled, the price of fish must go so high that we could well afford to stand the duty, and as our vessels can be maintained for about 60 per cent. the cost of the American, the venture will offer sufficient warrant to tempt our traders into it.

All the same, it would be a great pity to destroy the friendly feeling at present existing between the two great Anglo-Saxon nationalities by any rupture on this fisheries question, and the one way of avoiding it should be promptly followed. The United States should grant Canada some special concession on some of the other issues before the conference, with the understanding that Canada shall offer no obstruction to a fisheries arrangement between the United States and Newfoundland.

P. T. McGrath.

THE FASHODA INCIDENT.

BY LIEUTENANT WINSTON SPENCER-CHURCHILL.

It is with great pleasure that I avail myself of the invitation which has been courteously extended to me, to write for an American magazine some explanation of the views and intentions of the British people in respect of the territories which are drained by the Nile River. Every nation, every community, has its own troubles and perplexities to face. These absorb its energies and occupy its attention. There is but little time and very often but little inducement to study the affairs of others. Yet the people of the United States, drawn perhaps by the dramatic story of the loss and recovery of the Soudan, certainly by the reciprocal feelings of cordiality which are entertained on both sides of the Atlantic, have evinced a remarkable degree of interest in the progress of what is now known as "The Fashoda Incident" and the events that have preceded it. To endeavor to gratify, and by gratifying to stimulate, that interest, is an agreeable task; and since antipathy often arises out of ignorance and sympathy cannot exist without knowledge, it is perhaps a duty for a citizen of the Great Empire to speak freely and fairly to the citizens of the Great Republic.

The French Government have, after due consideration, almost after undue consideration, determined to evacuate Fashoda. It is scarcely necessary for us to inquire in what proportion they were influenced by motives of justice, and in what proportion by motives of prudence It is sufficient that they have gone or that they are about to go. After their departure negotiations are to be opened upon the subject of the wide area known as Bahr-el-Ghazal. That is the present position of affairs. But it is necessary, in order to properly appreciate the present, to examine the past; and from the past we may perhaps discern the future.

In the dark and inglorious days of 1885 the Government of Mr. Gladstone, frustrated in its tardy attempt to rescue General Gordon, decided to abandon the Soudan. They advised the Egyptian Government to this effect, and their advice could not well be disregarded. The tide of Mahdism was rising swiftly with impatient waves. The British soldiers hurried homeward across the desert sands, and presently the whole vast region of the Soudan was submerged by a deluge of barbarism. Then the busy modern world turned its attention elsewhere. The telegraph wires no longer carried tales of devastation, of suffering, of death, to the polite nations of the earth. No special correspondents chronicled the unregarded miseries of the peoples of the Nile Valley. Yet those who knew the character of the Mahdist movement and the nature of those who inspired it, did not need to be told what was going on underneath the storm clouds.

It is possible, almost probable, that but for one memorable fact the condition of things described in Slatin Pasha's "Fire and Sword in the Soudan" would have been allowed to continue indefinitely. That fact was the death of General Gordon. Deep in the hearts of the people of these islands lurked the feeling of dissatisfaction and of discontent which must ever result from failure, however explicable, however disguised. To this emotion the name of Gordon gave expression. The private character of that remarkable man has made a profound impression on the people of Great Britain, and perhaps in some degree on the people of the United States. His death at the hands of infidel savages transformed him into something like a martyr. The idea of revenge, ever attractive to the human heart, appeared to receive the consecration of religion. Even Western civilization is not free from fanaticism. And, as the years passed by, there continued an undercurrent of public opinion which ran almost in the direction of "a holy war." To this influence other forces, known to most communities, were added—the desire to restore the ancient boundaries of civilization; the appetite for military enterprise; the expansive force of Jingoism. Thus, although British interest in the Soudan slumbered and slept it did not die; and many people of many conditions continued to cherish the idea of "going back and getting quits."

The unscheduled cycle of events brought the question of the Soudan before men's minds after the lapse of a decade. Circum-

stances were propitious. A ministry had come into office supported by a majority which was so strong that there seemed little reason to expect a change of government for six or seven years. The British ministers were likely to be able to carry any projects they might devise to a definite conclusion. They belonged to that party in the state which had consistently assailed Mr. Gladstone's Egyptian policy. Here was an opportunity of repairing the damage done by their Radical opponents. The comparisons that would follow the accomplishment of such reparation were self-evident and agreeable even to anticipate. And the Cabinet was strong. In Egypt, too, the situation was favorable. Through the careful economy and wise administration of Lord Cromer the finances of that country were in a greatly improved condition. By the perseverance and military knowledge of British officers, it was believed that the Egyptian army had been converted into a formidable fighting machine. That belief has since been justified. Besides all this, public opinion in England had been powerfully stirred by the publication of books like those of Slatin Pasha and Father Ohrwalder. If it were ever desirable to reconquer the Soudan, the year 1896 should see the beginning of the enterprise.

It was for many reasons, which it is impossible even to enumerate still less to discuss in this article, desirable to reconquer the Soudan. And it was desirable to do it quickly. The British Government possessed most complete and accurate reports of the French movements toward the Upper Nile. It was a case of "Now or Never."

In the spring of 1896 the country was astonished by the news that the Government had authorized a forward movement southward in the direction of Khartoum. The Radical leaders at once denounced the project in scathing terms. But the nation, although far from relishing its former experiences in the Soudan, was influenced by the undercurrent of opinion I have described, and acquiesced—timidly. The diplomatist said: "It is to forestall the French." The politician said: "It is to score over the Radicals." The ridiculous person said: "It is to restore the Khedive rule in the Soudan." But the man in the street—and there are many men in many streets—said: "It is to avenge General Gordon." Thus the expedition was launched.

Warlike operations began forthwith. The British General in Egypt—Sir Herbert Kitchener—had made the desert warfare the

study of his life. Within a month the news of a success arrived. Before the year was out the Dongola province was recovered.

The encouragement of success created a volume of feeling throughout England which few have estimated and many have sadly underestimated. It had always been a duty to reconquer the Soudan. Now the path of duty was likewise the path of interest and pleasure. The operations were watched with extravagant attention, and while they progressed the earnestness of the nation increased. As the tides of barbarism were gradually driven back, the old sea marks came one after another into view. Names of towns that were half forgotten—or remembered only with sadness—reappeared on the posters, in the despatches, and in the newspapers. We were going back. "Dongola," "Abu Hamid," "Berber"—who had not heard of them before? Now they were associated with triumph. Great armies fought on the Indian frontier. There was war in the South and the East and the West of Africa. But England looked steadfastly towards the Nile and the expedition that crawled forward slowly, steadily, unchecked, apparently irresistible.

The year 1898 came and with it the scale of the war largely increased. The Anglo-Egyptian army was now within two hundred miles of mournful, far-famed, never-to-be-forgotten Khartoum. It was within two hundred miles of the mysterious and terrible city of blood and filth, that had grown up on the other side of the great river—Omdurman. The interest of the nation, already intense, was stimulated to enthusiasm by the newspapers. Nor were the actual events inglorious. On the 9th of April a great Dervish army, under a famous Emir, which had advanced to drive back the invaders, was destroyed on the Atbara River at a cost of 600 killed and wounded. There followed a summer of waiting till the Nile should rise. At length the waters swelled and the steamers could move freely. Then the final advance began, and with surprising swiftness the climax arrived. On the 2d of September, amid the thunder of sixty guns, the rattle of twenty thousand rifles and the wild whirl of a cavalry charge, the Dervish domination fell in utter and irretrievable ruin, and the people of Great Britain, moved far beyond their wont, sat themselves down to give thanks to God, their Government and their General.

There are no great differences between the moods of a nation

and of individuals. In the hour of triumph few men will tolerate insult. Who, going finely arrayed to a marriage feast, will think amicably of the street boy who throws mud upon his coat? The force of a revulsion of feelings had often been dilated upon. It was now to have a striking instance. The energies which might have been devoted to rejoicing were turned to wrath and disgust. What was the cause?

Two days after we had taken Omdurman, a strange rumor began to circulate in the camp of the victorious army. "The French," they said, "are at Fashoda." It was reported that the crew of a captured Dervish gunboat had declared that the Khalifa had ordered them to proceed to Fashoda; that on arrival at Fashoda they had seen a strange flag, and that thereafter white men had fired at them with small bore rifles, killing nearly forty. The report proved correct. On examination, small bore bullets were dug out of the wood of the steamboat. The camp received the news with a shrug. If there was to be more fighting, let them given the word at home, and——.

It was not so in England. Astonishment and wonder were succeeded by suspense, and when suspense ended in the certainty that eight French adventurers were in occupation of Fashoda and claimed a territory as large as France, it gave place to a deep and bitter anger. There is no Power in Europe which the average Englishman regards with less animosity than France. Nevertheless, on this matter we were all agreed. They should go. They should evacuate Fashoda, or else all the might, majesty, dominion and power of everything that could by any stretch of the imagination be called "British" should be employed to make them go.

I would ask an American to imagine, for an instant, the spectacle of the soldiers that stormed Santiago de Cuba entering the town in triumph, only to find a German flag hoisted over the Government Buildings, and an intimation from a single German officer to the effect that he was in "effective occupation," but that they were welcome to the protection of the German flag. It is not difficult to imagine what such a situation would have led to. It would have led to more shooting.

The people of England were deeply stirred by the successful conduct and triumphant close of the campaign on the Upper Nile. They were suddenly confronted with the fact that a "friendly

power" had, unprovoked, endeavored to rob them of the fruits of their victories. They now realized that, while they had been devoting themselves to great military operations in broad daylight and the eye of the world, and prosecuting an enterprise on which they had set their hearts, other operations—covert, deceitful, behind-the-back—had been in progress in the heart of the Dark Continent, designed solely for the mischievous and spiteful object of depriving them of the produce of their labors. And they have firmly set their faces against such international doings.

France is a great nation ; a nation of brave and brilliant men ; of witty and beautiful women. She has long filled a splendid place in history. She is one of the Great Powers of the earth. If she had desired to prevent the British occupation of the Nile Valley, it was easy for her to protest against that occupation and to make it, if she thought it worth while, a *casus belli*. Then we could have discussed the matter. But it was as much below the dignity of a Great Power, and beneath the courtesy practiced by educated nations, for the French Government to embark on this vile intrigue as it would be for the German Emperor to write a facetious and insulting letter to the President of the United States, criticising the color of his hair or the length of his nose. One of the mushroom ministries of France—a thing that to-day is and to-morrow is "conspued"—had made the great nation, that capriciously amuses itself by being governed in that way, ridiculous and impolite. That is not our affair. I will not venture to suggest improvements to the French nation in their form of government. The true democratic principle is that each community should judge for itself, has the right to judge for itself, and is bound to judge for itself. We cannot consider the internal state of France. We must look to our own concerns.

First of all, this country was determined to have Fashoda or fight. Had we not possessed what we believe to be a legal claim, we should have said that it was ours by right of conquest, and that great nations justify their actions before God, not men—a convenient theory for a strong nation to adhere to and one which, after the recent war between Spain and America, we could not claim any originality in adopting. But we possessed a legal right so indisputable that the French Government have bowed to it with wisdom and with propriety. The field is open for negotiations. What should be the true policy of Great Britain ?

I do not myself believe that our generation will get much value out of the Nile Valley. For in what does the Soudan consist? It is, as it were, a single thread of blue silk drawn across a great brown nugget; and even the blue thread itself is brown for many months in the year. Where the waters of the Nile soak into the banks, there grow thorn bushes and poisonous weeds. Where the inhabitants splash the water over their scrappy fields—perhaps fifty yards square—there are hard-won crops. This belt of vegetation is rarely more than a few hundred yards broad. And the rest is desert—miserable, aching, desolate desert. There is plenty of room to lie down and die in. But it is no place for a man to live in.

The question will readily occur: Why worry about such barren places? It must not be forgotten that the sources of the Nile are physically as much an integral part of Egypt as the roots are an integral part of the tree. The river is also the great waterway of North Africa—the artery by which alone the land can derive nourishment and faculty of development. The French, it is said, are anxious to have "a door on the Nile," a commercial port through which they can introduce their commerce to the riverain peoples. But we English are a free trade nation. Our doors are open. It is as easy for the French to send their merchandise up and down the Nile as it is for the English or the Egyptians or the Americans. Nevertheless, it is clear that the more traffic that passes up and down the Nile, the better for the peoples that dwell on its banks; and if the possession of a door of their own would encourage the French to increase the traffic on the Nile, there does not appear to be any reason why they should not be given their "door"—at a fair price.

We are arrived at a question of price—after all the "motor muscle" of most human transactions. What is the price that France should pay for so good a gift as "a door on the Nile?" It is scarcely likely that we should be so stupid as to abandon the substance of Bahr-el-Ghazal for the shadow of Fashoda. We do not mind how much French merchandise passes up the Nile, provided that the French will recognize that that river flows between banks on which the Union Jack is firmly planted. If France is prepared to recognize that our occupation of Egypt is likely to be indefinitely prolonged, and as an earnest of that recognition will abandon her power to interfere in and obstruct the financial ar-

rangements of that country, then we may perceive the groundwork of a bargain, which might not only be satisfactory to both high disputants, but will also enable us to avoid the employment of that superior physical force, of which we are so reluctant to avail ourselves, but which is undoubtedly at our disposition. If, however, the French Government insist on making political capital out of their raid on Fashoda, then it is impossible to guess what terrors and tragedies the obscurity in which the future is shrouded may contain. Two facts, one moral, the other material, should, however, be held in view. There is a volume of opinion in Great Britain favorable to the maintenance of the Egyptian territories on the Upper Nile wholly disproportionate to the value of those regions. The construction of the Soudan Military Railway has brought Omdurman to within a fortnight of London, and enables the British Government to send very speedily an army of 40,000 men into the heart of Africa and feed them for as long as may be necessary or even desirable.

I have written thus with frankness what are the views of a very great number of Englishmen. I venture to think that they will not seem unreasonable or unjust to another great community with whom we are united by the sympathy of a single language and consciousness of a common aim.

WINSTON SPENCER-CHURCHILL.

THE WORK OF THE PEACE COMMISSION.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, LATE UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

THE editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has requested me to answer, as best I can, the following question: Now that the war with Spain has ended gloriously for our arms by land and sea, have the diplomatic negotiations that have so far taken place with a view to its final settlement been of such a character as to secure to us the full fruits of victory in the manner best calculated to promote the ultimate interests of this country, and its honor as a great humanizing and civilizing force in the family of nations?

All English-speaking peoples, whether in the old land or the new, are deeply infected with the love of precedent. Whenever a new case is to be decided, the tendency always is to examine closely the record of the last transaction of a like character, so that the principle then settled may be applied to new conditions with as little change as possible. In obedience to that instinct, we should not now fail to re-examine the instructions directed to the last peace commission that defined the principles through which statesmen of a preceding generation deemed it proper and honorable to secure the fruits of victory when dealing with a weak and vanquished antagonist. When through the exercise of our giant strength we had crushed Mexico, we refused, as she lay helpless at our feet, to take from her a single square mile of territory by right of conquest. Our commissioners were instructed to offer her $15,000,000 in cash, and the assumption upon our part of more than $3,000,000 due from her to American citizens, as compensation for the area out of which has been carved California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah and New Mexico. Thus, through the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, was established a new

principle of national morality which stands alone perhaps in the annals of nations.

For the first time since the conquest of Mexico we have at this moment another vanquished nation at our feet to whom we owe all the consideration and justice that can be due to the weak from the strong. Spain has been an old and a good friend, with whom we have never before broken off diplomatic relations. She has suffered a long series of misfortunes, that have deprived her of more than 7,000,000 square miles of territory in this hemisphere since the year 1800. Cuba and Porto Rico are the last of that once splendid heritage. If it be true, as it undoubtedly is, that Spain has been thus reduced through the inherent vices and weaknesses of her colonial system, it is certainly no less true that the present generation of Spaniards are not specially responsible for something that came to them through inheritance. I lived long enough among them to know that the Spanish nation as a whole is generous, brave and sympathetic. Only such a nation could have produced such high-thoughted and honorable men as Castelar, Canovas, Sagasta, the Duke of Tetuan, Moret, Montero Rios and the Duke of Almodovar. And yet, despite such personal feelings, I deemed it my duty a year ago, after my return from Spain, to try and arouse the people of this country to a realization of the fact that it was our duty to resort to armed intervention, in order to deliver the people of Cuba from an intolerable oppression that constituted a blot upon modern civilization.

When I now look back upon the condition of things then existing, it seems almost incredible that those who were then administering our foreign affairs should have been so blind as to the nearness of the impending and inevitable conflict. That such blindness did then exist there can be no question. President Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University, in a recent address at Princeton, after reviewing existing conditions, said: "If it is true, as a member of the Cabinet has said, that war came like a flash of lightning out of a clear sky, and, as the President afterward affirmed, that 'the storm broke so suddenly that it was here almost before we realized it,' it is equally true that the nation is not ready for the new problem of civil government upon which it is entering." I know that the first part of that statement is literally true, because in October, 1897, I was specially sum-

moned to Washington to confer with the President upon the real situation in Spain, with which I was supposed to be specially familiar. He received me with the greatest kindness, and impressed me as being a wise, large-hearted, patriotic man, with an eye single to the good of his country. And I believe that he should have the support of all good men, regardless of party, in his effort to bring the many knotty problems now involved in our foreign relations to a successful and honorable conclusion. We should learn wisdom from the indisposition of English statesmen to carry their internal party differences into their foreign policy.

At the time to which I refer, the President was most unfortunate in having no experienced person at the head of the State Department. The result was that my conference with him was cut short abruptly before I had the opportunity to set before him in a second interview the most important part of what I desired to say to him. Under such circumstances, I deemed it my duty, in view of the prevailing blindness, to lay before the country in November, 1897, through this REVIEW, a summary of the situation as it then appeared to me, in an article which would never have appeared had either the President or his advisers intimated that they deemed its publication in any way detrimental to the public interest. The editor of this REVIEW was so informed at the time. Regardless of the clamor then raised upon the Stock Exchange, by short-sighted men who refused to be told that war was inevitable and that we should prepare for it in season, it can hardly be denied that the article in question did more than any other one thing to acquaint the country of the real situation, and subsequent events have shown that my prognosis was correct in every particular. If I could only have secured a full hearing after I had been summoned for that express purpose, perhaps no one would have had occasion to say that "the storm broke so suddenly that it was here almost before we realized it." Three months before I departed from Spain, I told the Minister of State, as friend to friend, that, in my judgment, diplomacy had exhausted its resources, that Cuba was lost to Spain and that war with this country was inevitable.

Eager as I was a year ago to see the blow struck by which Cuba has been released from Spanish dominion, I am no less eager, now that that end has been accomplished, to see Spain treated with that equitable consideration which should be sug-

gested by our dealings under like circumstances with Mexico. What is the present prospect of such a consummation? At this date, November 22, we are informed by cable that the American commissioners at Paris have presented their ultimatum, involving a refusal to arbitrate as to "the control, disposition and government of the Philippines," a question expressly submitted by us in the protocol to the judgment of a mixed commission in which Spain was given an equal representation. After refusing to permit the commission to pass upon that question, and after refusing arbitration, we have summarily demanded the surrender of the entire Philippine archipelago, and, as a salve to Spain, we have tendered in mitigation $20,000,000. In order to prevent all outside interference, we have declared for the "open door" to trade, so as to hold England at our side, eager as she is to secure us as an ally in her Eastern policy. With her aid there is no doubt that we can subject Spain, despite the interference of any Continental nation, to any injustice we may see fit to heap upon her. If there was no such thing as moral accountability the path we are pursuing would certainly lead to a brilliant conclusion. But unfortunately for us, there is such a thing as a forum of conscience, and in that forum we must answer for the first great act that marks our advent as a world power. A leading journal of Paris has thus formulated the accusation we will be called upon to answer: "How miserable is the fate of our Spanish neighbors. American rapacity has not left them an inch of territory they have possessed in America since the time of Columbus, or in Oceanica since Magellan." Upon what grounds can we justify in the eyes of posterity this vast ravishment?

We went into the war professedly to work out a great humanitarian end in the interest of civilization. The war was short and one sided, and at the present moment no one seems to be interested in the special object for which it is said to have been undertaken. The only questions now dominant are those involving the annexation to the United States of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine archipelago, without the assumption of any obligations and without the payment of any substantial compensation to anybody. I for one believe that these great results are the natural and inevitable outcome of our expansion, that is moving us on through the agency of immutable laws beyond our comprehension and control. And I am equally sure that it would

be impossible for us to make any adequate compensation for the priceless possessions now passing under our control. And yet, true as that may be, there is no reason why we should become callous to all sense of law, and in that spirit attempt to deal with Spain in a way that will surely shock the moral sense of the world. At the last accounting, the war has only cost us directly about $165,000,000, and as compensation for that outlay we have appropriated Porto Rico, which can hardly be valued at much less than double that sum. There was no reason, therefore, why we should have been so unwilling, in dealing with Cuba and the Philippines, to recognize those reasonable and natural equities which, under the laws of nations, follow acquired territory.

In my humble judgment our commissioners made a fatal mistake and lost a precious opportunity, through the narrow, technical and uncandid spirit in which they refused every proposition made by Spain looking to a recognition by somebody of some part of the Cuban debt as a charge upon that island. We have frankly admitted in the case of the Philippines that, so far as the debts of those islands represent pacific expenditures, that is, expenditures for the betterment or improvement of the country, they must, as lawyers say, "run with the land," and in that way constitute a charge upon it. Upon what ground have we attempted to reject the application of that elementary principle of law and common honesty to the case of Cuba? The commissioners say that it cannot be there applied, because we do not intend to accept sovereignty over that island. What does the protocol provide upon that subject? Its declaration is (Art. 1), that "Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba." Where is that sovereignty to go the moment that the evacuation of the island by the Spanish troops has been accomplished? There is no question upon that subject. It is now passing into the hands of the United States, whose army is already in possession of a part of the conquered territory, in which our military officers are acting as governors and administrators of the Cuban revenue system. Everybody knows that by January 1 Cuba will be in the military possession of the United States, and that a military government will be established throughout her borders which will rigidly enforce all laws now existing, for the purpose of collecting revenue, both external and internal. That condition will continue to exist until Congress orders otherwise.

When our contemplated military occupation of Cuba has been completed, why will we not then be in possession of the sovereignty over the island which Spain has relinquished? Our commissioners say that our sovereignty will not then be perfect, because Congress has made a declaration that leads us to believe that a day will come when we will transfer to the Cuban people the sovereignty which Spain has temporarily deposited in our hands for their ultimate benefit. Let us assume all that to be true, and still the fact remains that, as soon as our military occupation of Cuba has been perfected, we will be endowed with what the writers upon International Law call technically a "qualified," as distinguished from an "absolute," sovereignty. As Professor Woolsey (§37) has happily expressed it: "A state which is under the protection of another may be sovereign in some respects, but not absolutely sovereign. Such was the republic of Cracow, until absorbed by Austria in 1846; such were the Ionian Islands under English protection until ceded to Greece; such were also Moldavia and Wallachia under that of Turkey, together with Servia and Egypt under a different dependence. . . . Egypt, still nominally under the suzerainty of Turkey, is practically in the hands of its English trustees." That is a case directly in point. The moment our military occupation of Cuba is complete, we will be trustees in possession of the island and its revenues, just as England is in possession of Egypt. In the one case the ultimate sovereignty is in theory in the Sultan of Turkey, and in the other in the Cuban people. Let us assume that perfect good faith will be observed in both cases; that some day, perhaps the same day, the Sultan and the Cuban people will come into their own. In the meantime, what is the legal duty of the trustee in possession of both the island and its revenue, to the holders of that part of the pre-existing debt for "pacific expenses," which is a lien running with the land? Has England, as the trustee in possession of Egypt and its revenues, attempted to repudiate the Egyptian debt, or disavow it as a charge upon the country, upon the ground that she has only a "qualified" sovereignty? Upon the contrary, she faithfully applies a part of the revenues that she collects as trustee to its maintenance. So, then, when we view the question in its true light, our contention that we should disavow the entire Cuban debt, and refuse to recognize any part of it as a legal charge upon the revenues of the

island, because perchance our control over those revenues may some day cease, is a mere juggling device. Our Commissioners should never have belittled either themselves or the country by making such a specious contention. They should have frankly admitted the same rule for Cuba that they admitted for the Philippines—that the amount of "pacific expenditures" made by Spain for the permanent improvement of the island should be recognized as a legal charge upon it.

How could that amount have been ascertained? It was reported in the newspapers, without contradiction, that the revolutionary government of Cuba offered not long ago, if it were permitted to deal directly with Spain, to assume an hundred millions of the so-called Cuban debt as a just burden upon the island, in the event its absolute independence should be recognized. Apart from that admission it is quite certain, when the immense work done by Spain in Cuba during centuries is taken into account, that some such sum as a hundred millions would be a very moderate estimate of that part of the Cuban debt that really represents pacific expeditures. If Spain had been met upon that proposition in a broad and equitable spirit, instead of with that juggling device as to sovereignty that no international lawyer can justify, the whole matter might have reached a consummation that would have pacified Spain and have vindicated us in the eyes of the world, without the imposition of any burden whatever upon the Treasury of the United States. If we had admitted that that part of the Cuban debt, which the revolutionary government was willing to assume in the event of its independence, should remain as a charge upon the island and its revenues during our possession of both, Spain would have been thus relieved to a substantial extent of the financial burden with which she is now overtaxed. And then the same method of compensation should have been extended to the Philippines, not simply for the benefit of Spain, but for the benefit of the taxpayers of the United States, who need not be called upon to make any direct contribution whatever.

There is no reason why such a settlement should embarrass us in our future dealings with the Cuban people. If, like Pharaoh, we shall some day soften our hearts and let them go, the moral duty will then devolve upon them as a nation to provide for and maintain the debt, for which we would only be responsible while the

revenues of the island remain in our hands. If, on the other hand, Cuba is some day annexed to the United States, as it no doubt will be, then our specious plea that we do not intend to accept sovereignty will lose its *raison d'etre* absolutely. Let us look ahead and contemplate a certain possibility. Suppose we shall hereafter conclude that our promise of independence to Cuba was made under a misapprehension of fact, and—as it was improvidently made —that it has become our duty, not only to the Cubans but to ourselves, to convert our qualified sovereignty into an absolute one. Will it not then be rather embarrassing to explain why we refused to recognize any part of the Cuban debt as a charge upon the island, upon the sole ground that we never intended to assume sovereignty over it? This may become a case in which honesty will prove to be the best policy, and the Senate should be careful to see that no treaty of peace shall be concluded that may prove a stumbling block in the near future.

But, apart from all mercenary or interested considerations, we should remember the vast moral responsibilities devolving upon us at this fateful moment in our national history. We have made our debut as a world power, and have assumed in this hemisphere that kind of predominant influence that is exercised by the six great powers in the European concert. In the exercise of such a mission we should remember, as Senator Hoar said the other day, that we are no vulgar military republic, but one of the vanguard of modern civilization. Spain lies broken and distracted at our feet, with no navy, no money, no friends to aid her in the hour of her calamity. At such a moment shall we rise to the dignity of the situation and treat her as the good Samaritan treated the wounded traveller by the wayside, or shall we make her the victim of a spoliation that will pass into history as the most heartless that has happened since the dismemberment of Poland?

HANNIS TAYLOR.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE DECISION AGAINST RAILWAY POOLING.

WHEN the anti-trust law was before Congress it was proposed to make it apply to railways. This was objected to, probably on the ground that there was no need to place railways under the operations of this law when they were already regulated by the inter-state commerce law. The amendment proposed, by which railways were to be specifically included in the anti-trust act, was abandoned, and railways are not mentioned in it as being subject to its provisions.

The act, however, is so broad in its terms that, inasmuch as it does not specifically exempt railways from its operations, it is not surprising that the Supreme Court has decided that its provisions apply to the Trans-Missouri Association agreement and the Joint Traffic Association Agreement, because the object of those agreements was to avoid the "natural direct and immediate effect of unrestrained competition"—lower rates; and they were contracts "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States."

That the Joint Traffic Association and other kindred associations are a violation of the law is clear, but it is not because, as the Supreme Court says, "the natural, direct and immediate effect of competition is to have lower rates, and to thereby increase the demand for commodities, the supplying of which increases commerce;" for, within reasonable limits, the demand for commodities is not increased by low rates. Excessively low rates may stimulate the movement of commodities for the time being, but that movement will be offset by a less active movement thereafter. Low rates do not necessarily increase consumption.

It was clearly the purpose of the anti-trust law to endeavor to prevent any agreement by which the price of any commodity would be regulated, and transportation is, to all intents and purposes, a commodity. The decision of the Supreme Court, therefore, is right, while the law is wrong, and every interest, except railways, that seeks to evade its provisions is able to do so.

The effect of the decision is only to emphasize the difficulty under which railways labor. That it ends the Joint Traffic Association is not much loss. That Association has not succeeded in maintaining rates, nor has it proven of much advantage to the roads which were members of it. The same may be said of other associations: they did not succeed in accomplishing their object—the maintenance of rates. They were more or less of a makeshift, the best that was practicable, inasmuch as the law prohibits pooling. A decision which ends them, therefore, may be looked upon with some equanimity.

It is manifest that the anti-trust act is at variance with the inter-state

commerce act. The requirements of the latter cannot be complied with except by violation of the former. The gist of the inter-state commerce act is against discrimination, either in favor of persons or places. A just relation of rates cannot be reached except by agreements between roads, and such agreements are declared to be unlawful.

The anti-trust law is hurtful to railways, not because it ends the Joint Traffic Association or the Trans Missouri agreement, but because it forbids all agreements between railways with respect to trains or traffic. It is hurtful to the public, because it produces instability of rates—the curse of commerce—and an unjust relation of rates.

The Supreme Court could not have fully considered the difficulties which beset railway managements when it said: "It is probable that good sense and integrity of purpose would prevail among the managers . . . and the managers of each road might yet make such reasonable charges for the business done by it as the facts might permit." Neither good sense nor integrity of purpose will maintain reasonable rates unless an agreement to maintain them is permitted, with a provision for the pooling of competitive traffic. There are too many roads competing for the business.

The Supreme Court says: "Railroad companies may, and often do, continue in existence and engage in their lawful traffic at some profit, although they are competing roads and are not acting under agreement or combination with their competitors upon the subject of rates." This is hardly true. It is often the case that, where traffic is competitive between two roads, those two roads refrain from destructive competition, but in all instances the rates are made the subject of agreement. To prohibit such agreements is disastrous both to the shipper and to the railway, and the effect will inevitably be the weakening of all roads, both financially and physically.

In the end there will be few railways that can stand the process. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that only the weaker lines will be forced to the wall, and that they will be absorbed by the stronger. The stronger roads will not be sufficiently strong to absorb the weaker, and while capital is so readily acquired for the construction of useless lines, the process of the absorption of the weak lines will be endless.

The only remedy, then, for the existing state of things is, first, to permit agreements among roads as to rates, and, secondly, to permit pooling. It generally happens that, where only two roads are interested, they are able to keep agreements as to traffic. As concerns traffic in which there are several roads interested, there seems to be no help but by permission to pool. It is probable that in all cases they would not maintain agreements, even if permitted to pool. The strife of competition and the multiplicity of lines will operate to break any agreement that may be formed, but this is the best that can be done.

There exist roads which cannot obtain any considerable part of competitive business, in which a number of strong roads are interested, unless it is given them by the stronger roads, or obtained by cut rates. Pooling permits a share of the traffic, or its proceeds, to be given to the weak lines. When this is done, there will be some hope for a better state of things.

ROSWELL MILLER,

President of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway.

FINANCIAL WRONG IN PORTO RICO.

On July 27 our troops seized and occupied Ponce; there on the 28th the national emblem was unfurled, and there also on the 28th General Miles issued a general order fixing the exchange of the custom house at the rate of 2 to 1. The officials employed there by Spain are now salaried and retained by the United States, and the rate remains the same, much to the advantage of native merchants.

There are 100 centavos in a peso, a silver coin which in size and weight resembles its American prototype, the bullion value of which is thirty-two and one-half cents. The gold, which is at the high premium of about 35 per cent. above the baser metal, has no fixed value and constantly vacillates. The paper has a value slightly above that of silver, though redeemable in gold at some 65 per cent. below its face value. Therefore, although a gold five peso piece, a five peso note, and five silver pesos are identical in face denomination, yet they respectively exceed the latter by the percentages of eighty-five and twenty. The only bank now under the jurisdiction of the Union, the only one except that of San Juan, has been giving but one hundred and seventy centavos for one dollar of the United States (*i. e.*, 1.75:1), but recently this rate was reduced to only one hundred and fifty centavos for a dollar (*i. e.*, 1.50:1). For several months this bank paid 1.75:1; the merchants from 1.60:1 to 2.00:1; now all dealers about Ponce have followed the lead of their bank, compelling the rate of 1.50:1 for our silver, our notes and our gold. This exchange allows but seven and one-half pesos for a five dollar bill. At the same time the same bank pays eleven pesos for the English sovereign, valued at $4.86\frac{1}{2}$; eight pesos for the French louis, valued at $3.72. Countless shops, although not permitted the bank charter, are willing to oblige the soldier and the citizen of the Union by exchanging his money at the almost net gain of 51.25 per cent. Most banks are content with 1 per cent. on exchange, but not so our ambitious Porto Rican; for him the "Buenos Americanos" means something before a sentiment.

If the spirit of Gen. Miles' order to the customs had been respected in all other custom houses taken, and if general orders had been published by the commander in charge of the forces on the island, or if this privilege had been given to those generals whose troops garrison the different districts and towns, in order that the rate of 2 : 1 might be maintained throughout, there would have been far less injustice done to the interests of the government and great confusion would have been thereby eliminated. If 2 : 1 had been the settled rate, all territory occupied by our forces would have had to conform to a dictate which would have met the approval of those conducting trade upon sound principles. Therefore, to avoid the vastly different and varying changes in rates of different districts, none of which are settled by any law or order, Gen. Grant encouraged the merchants in those places garrisoned by his brigade to trade on the basis of 2 : 1. At the same time the co-operation of the other generals then having commands stationed on the island was solicited, in order to fix this rate for all simultaneously. Most unfortunately, however, this scheme failed through lack of support, and in justice to the inhabitants the old rate of 1.75 : 1 was resumed. And also, most unfortunately, this was at a time when the brigade was paid for three months in arrears; thus the men were compelled to pay $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more on their purchases, which were many.

Native dealers would buy stuffs from a locality where the peso had a higher rate and a consequent lesser value than in the town in which the

stuffs were to be sold, using the difference to enhance their gain and as means to undersell their rivals buying material in their own locality. Thus merchants and wholesale dealers in parts where a high rate prevailed lost trade and money. To sum up the matter a dealer of Ponce, where there is a rate of 1.50:1, would buy goods at 12½ per cent. less in Guyama, where the rate is 1.75:1; this illustrates the market depreciation of the peso in the district of Guyama. At Ponce this merchant then receives our dollar in payment for articles to the value of a peso and a half. He then repairs to custom house, which, at a loss of 25 per cent., exchanges the dollar for two pesos. Ergo, the merchant makes his nominal gain on the sale; an additional amount from the raise in prices at our occupancy of the territory; 12½ per cent. by buying stock in an alien district; 25 per cent. from the United States. Computing the normal gain to be 25 per cent. net, prices being almost a third more, a clear gain of 100 per cent; this and the gain by the two exchanges permit the wily Porto Rican, more often a Frenchman or a Spaniard, a net profit of 162½ per cent.—not at all bad for a country shop, and quite deserving of enconiums for business ability.

As the national emblem will be unfurled at the capital before this is published a radical movement should be instituted immediately; if not bv Congress, then the power should be vested in the military governor by authority of the President. Owing to the dissimilar habits, conditions, interests, institutions and environment, the administrator of Porto Rico must have a greater scope and more arbitrary power than his brother on the mainland. This he will use as his discretion and judgment dictate, and be thereafter held accountable to the administration. Congress cannot, nor can an individual, unless he has remained on the island, thoroughly studied the native element and felt the pulse of its life, understand the condition of his patient, and know the correct physic for her well being.

The most successful of colonizers, our British cousins, understand this, and invest in their viceroy (vice king) almost supreme power; although he is accountable to the home government for his acts, yet they recognize he must know the conditions far more thoroughly than it is possible for them. Therefore, he knowing cause and effect among the natives, they judge him more by the results than by his acts, which cannot be intelligently interpreted by those in an environment so different. Consequently they select a man of talent; they trust to his loyalty to honorably represent the interests of his government, depend upon his ability to honestly minister to the welfare of his province.

To solve the money problem, all Porto Rican currency should be immediately called in. The baser metal not being redeemable in gold at face value should be exchanged at bullion for the national coin. The gold would be worth near its face value; *i.e.*, a gold five peso piece would bring about $4.75, a silver peso about 33 cents, copper about two centavos for a penny. The paper should be received on a silver basis, as it is not redeemable at face value in gold, and its purchase will be a total loss to our government.

Owing to the fact that all large land owners and producers lived abroad the native currency is very limited, and so could be easily collected within a month.

This will, at a stroke, end, at very small cost, injustice to the natives, to our citizens, and to the nation herself.

CLARENCE WIENER.

CONCERNING ETHICS AND ETIQUETTE.

THOSE who are interested in the larger and deeper questions of life are apt to feel impatience respecting the details, and to ignore, or even attempt to abolish, what they regard as the artificial rules which society has agreed upon as essential. "Let a man do what is right," they say, "let his actions be inspired by the fundamental virtues of honesty and good will; but let the *manner* of the doing be a matter of indifference." However, while it is true that etiquette deals to a large extent with the way in which things should be done, it occasionally takes the imperative mood with regard to actions themselves, and it is also true that ethics is sometimes deeply concerned with the manner of our deeds; for there are vital moral principles involved in many apparently unimportant social forms; as the way in which we salute our neighbor may serve to indicate good will or the reverse. Undoubtedly morals are more than manners, but the greater includes the less and is not complete without it. A careful consideration of the connection between ethics and etiquette should, therefore, be both instructive and interesting; but it is not my purpose here to do more than lightly touch upon some of the most obvious points of contact.

The true relation of etiquette to ethics is indicated by William DeWitt Hyde, in his valuable little book on "Practical Ethics," where he says: "It is neither possible nor desirable to solve each question of conduct as it arises, by conscious and explicit reference to rules and principles. Were we to attempt to do so it would make us prigs and prudes." The proper service of etiquette is to strengthen and simplify the social life by enabling us to do what is right and best without waiting to think about it. The forms and customs which do this may be called true etiquette and those which do not so serve, the false. As Emerson, in his essay on "Manners" has said: "Manners aim to facilitate life, to get rid of impediments, and bring the man pure to energize. They aid our dealing and conversation, as a railway aids travelling, by getting rid of all avoidable obstructions of the road, and leaving nothing to be conquered but pure space."

This suggests the great advantage which they have who are well born and well bred, inasmuch as the fundamental and reasonable rules of society are as second nature to them. They are saved all the friction of worry as to whether this is right, or that is the proper form, and so they glide through life with far greater ease than less fortunate ones, who must either study the rules of the game, or expose themselves to innumerable chances of annoying and being annoyed because of their ignorance.

In the important affairs of life it is the duty of each individual to inquire into and decide for himself the action which he should take; but to do so in all the little matters of daily existence would be intolerable labor, and we should be thankful that, while the matter of being well born is one which we cannot control, some acquaintance with etiquette is possible for nearly all in these days. It is unfortunate that those who attain positions of prominence in society, and have most influence on the forms which govern the same, are not always possessed of a very high ideal; yet we may hardly doubt that the opinions of the majority will be in accord with the accepted laws of morality, so far, at least, as outward forms are concerned; and in matters of social intercourse we ought to be generally safe in accepting without inquiry the decisions of those who have made a specialty of the subject.

I saw it casually mentioned in a newspaper article not long since that

New York was the only city in America where pedestrians had thoroughly learned to pass to the right. If this be true, it is certainly strange that a rule at once so simple and so conducive to comfort should not yet be fully appreciated and faithfully followed by an enlightened democracy. It goes to show that large numbers of the people have taken too literally the maxim, "Put yourself in his place." It is not impossible that among the many who aggravatingly persist in impeding the traffic and rousing the angry passions of those whose haste they retard, may be found more than one broadminded and benevolent philosopher, who prides himself on his fine sense of justice, but who has not time to think of such little matters as the manner and place of his promenade, and who has unfortunately missed what may be called a mechanical training in etiquette.

In these days, when women as well as men are devotees of golf, wheeling, tennis, and other active sports, languid elegance has somewhat gone out of style. Might it not be a benefaction to revive it, in moderation? at least to make it the fashion to do certain things leisurely? In some circles it is still considered correct to arrive late at the theatre, and even at church service; but the only excuse that could exist for such disturbance of the audience or congregation is lost when the tardy ones enter, as is now the rule, with such bustle and fuss as preclude any idea of leisurely comfort. If you wish to give to others that pleasure, bitter sweet, which arises from mingled admiration and envy, whether you go to church or theatre get ready in good time, and then go thither, on foot if you must, but in any case with "elegant ease." 'Tis not to be doubted that those who can "stroll" to the play, with calm and receptive minds, have far more delight, and are therefore more delightful to look upon, than those who dash there frantically with a carriage and pair, probably already exhausted, mentally and physically, by the excitement or the boredom of a large dinner-party.

In his entertaining if not highly instructive book on "Society as I Have Found It," Ward McAllister quotes the words of a friend, whom he describes as himself the most polished, courteous and fascinating gentleman of that or any other period. "'My dear fellow,' he would say, 'for heaven's sake, go slow; you tear through the streets as if at some one's bidding. A gentleman should stroll leisurely, casting his eyes in the shop windows, as if in search of amusement, while you go at a killing pace, as if on business bent. The man of fashion should have no business.'" We cannot all be men of fashion, and some of us would not greatly care to be; but we may all enjoy leisure at one time or another, and it costs nothing to share our enjoyment with others by letting them see us at peace with the world and ourselves.

Fussiness always means discomfort, not only for the fusser and the fussee, if we may so designate them, but for all who are within sight and hearing. Etiquette rightly forbids the slightest tendency to this; and it is "bad form" to take any notice whatever of mishaps unless practical assistance can be rendered. So, to lose one's temper inwardly, is in some aspects worse than to relieve the feelings by any approach to profanity; yet swearing is essentially vulgar. The relief it affords to those indulging is overbalanced by the discomfort it imposes on the hearers; and to "consume one's own smoke," as Carlyle was so fond of preaching in spite of his practice, is here the golden rule. "All that fashion demands is composure and self-content," says Emerson, and on the whole he is right, though we could wish the demand were more fully complied with.

True consideration for others rightly disposes us to appear as comfortable

as circumstances will permit; but if the motive is wrong, as where the desire is to appear superior, of a finer type than the common mass of humanity, we are apt to be led astray. Thus, in the matter of carrying parcels, it is quite desirable that we should, so far as possible, avoid the appearance of being burdened; but when a man meets a lady of his acquaintance and fails to take upon himself the care of any packages she may have, he marks himself as either a boor or a snob. In the same way, we are justified in making ourselves comfortable in a public conveyance; there is even something very irritating in the attitude of those people who are continually solicitous for the comfort of others; who, on railway or street cars, are forever on the point of rising from their seats, ready to surrender them before they are wanted, or rushing to open or close windows, to which it is the duty of conductor or porter to attend. On the other hand, he or she, for that matter, who ignores the real needs and comfort of others, monopolizing unnecessary space in a crowded hall or car, or talking loudly in concert room, theatre, or reading room, is an offender. It is curious to notice how careless, or defiant, some otherwise well bred people are in these matters. For one example out of many, notice the open cars that run upon the streets in summer; the kind on which the seats run the entire width of the car, with entrance from one side only. Those who first enter will almost invariably sit down at the entrance, making it necessary for all who come later to push by them, often a difficult matter, and one involving discomfort for all concerned. There seems no excuse for this, unless the first comers suppose they will want to alight first (which can only be a matter of conjecture), and desire to secure easy exit for themselves.

But the behavior of people in crowds would make an interesting study, of itself. In an ordinary crowd the majority are apt to be unacquainted with any formal etiquette, and the rest seem to forget all they ever knew; only those who are possessed of natural politeness and unfailing good nature are saved from becoming savages under such circumstances. Of course it is unpleasant for people of refined nature to be brought into very close contact with the ruder populace; and it very frequently happens that the very ones who have had most training in courtesy are the most disagreeable when in the midst of a crowd. The nerves of the common people are less easily disturbed; and the physical discomforts common to crowds are not greater than they are accustomed to in ordinary daily life. Unless you can be sure of bearing yourself with courtesy and good humor, you should avoid crowds, for your own sake, as well as out of consideration for others. If, from choice or necessity, you flock with birds that are not all of your own fine feather, your aim should be to respect the rights of others, without relinquishing your own. You are not a door-mat, to allow yourself to be trampled upon without remonstrance; nor yet a cur, to snarl and snap at those who, perhaps through no fault of their own, encroach upon you too closely. Even in the highest circles people are apt to lose their heads, to say nothing of their hearts, when massed in large numbers; as witness the frays that are reported to take place among the fair "gentlewomen" who attend the Queen's drawing-room.

It is to be feared that under such circumstances women are more frequent offenders than men; perhaps the finely strung and sensitive feminine nature is more easily thrown out of gear. Watch the line formed in the post office during busy hours by those who desire to purchase stamps or get their mail. Every man as he comes in resignedly takes his place at the foot of the line; or if, after consulting his watch and measuring with his eye

the length of the line, he concludes that he cannot spare the time necessary to advance from head to foot, he quietly leaves, to get his stamps elsewhere, or go without them. But a woman will exclaim impatiently on first entering. Then, if she does not actually try to push her way in at the front, she will stand at the foot of the line for a few moments, fretting and fuming, and telling everyone about her that she "really hasn't time to stand there." As likely as not, after advancing a few paces, she will give it up and rush off to return again shortly to find the line as long as ever and herself once more the last unit thereof. Even when a woman is not actually in a hurry she is apt to imagine she is when she sees others in front of her; like a nervous racehorse she at once begins to fret and fume because of an innate desire to "get ahead." This of course is not true of all women, nor does it fail to apply to a few of the other sex; and in any case it is not so much an inherent defect of character as the result of a lack of training in what has been called "the painful art of patience."

Men and women alike will do well to "read, mark, learn and inwardly digest" the following words of Dr. Hyde, if I may be permitted to give another quotation from so tempting a source. "Politeness is proper respect for human personality. Rudeness results from thinking exclusively about ourselves and caring nothing for the feelings of anybody else. The sincere desire to bring the greatest pleasure and the least pain to everyone we meet will go a long way toward making our manners polite and courteous." And Ward McAllister has said, in the same strain, though in an evidently lower key: "My understanding of a gentleman has always been that he is a person free from arrogance, and anything like self assertion; considerate of the feelings of others; so satisfied in his own position that he is always unpretentious, feeling he could not do an ungentlemanly act; as courteous and kind in manner to his inferiors as to his equals." Beside this definition it is well to place that given us by Emerson: "The gentleman is a man of truth, lord of his own actions, and expressing that lordship in his behavior, not in any manner dependent and servile, either on persons, or opinions, or possessions. Beyond this fact of truth and real force, the word denotes good-nature, or benevolence; manhood first, and then gentleness."

In an address upon the subject of society, Rev. Minot J. Savage has declared: "I have said we are all exclusive. When we have put our arms of sympathy around all those we care to know, we have shut out a good many more than we have taken in. If any lady of this congregation should start out with the intention of becoming acquainted with everyone else in it, if she was able to succeed, it would not be long before her acquaintance would be of little worth." This is a truth hard to recognize. Youthful, ardent souls are apt to imagine that their large sympathy is in fact infinite; they are ready to exclaim, with Meg's baby in "Little Women," "I loves evvybody." But suppose you watch for a little while the human stream that flows through the streets of a large city; stand at the approach to Brooklyn Bridge of an evening, or at the entrance to the ferries in San Francisco, or any similar spot; look along the seemingly endless line of tired faces; then consider whether any mortal heart could bear the awful burden of even knowing about all the individual sorrows, cares and anxieties of those who make up even one of those throngs. Courage and strength fail us at the bare idea, and we are tempted to long for the seclusion of the oyster or the clam. Since the ideal of universal love, and the longing to attain thereto, are so common to men, we are led to believe that it will one day become an actuality; perhaps for the race, in generations to come, per-

haps for each individual in a future state, when intercourse shall have become possible through other means than those provided by the too easily wearied body of this earth; but at present we are subject to the flesh, and it is useless, even dangerous, to attempt to ignore the fact. Our capacity for love, and the joy of fellowship, may be and should be, increased by exercise; but the exercise must be moderate, the expansion gradual.

In the meantime it is a pleasant and safe course to have always ready a kindly greeting or a cheerful response for any with whom we may chance to be thrown; and this without waiting for any *abracadabra* of a formal introduction. To do so does not require an artificial or hypocritical politeness; we can honestly wish people well without any great effort. "If we think of our neighbor as he thinks of himself we cannot help wishing him well," says Dr. Hyde, with a touch of humor. And a very slight expression of such well wishing, involving no burdensome confidences or intimacies, will serve to convey the feeling of kindliness.

But I am wandering rather far from my chosen subjects, or from the second of them at least. After all, etiquette is a very limited field, and as soon as we begin to consider the realities of life we are apt to lose sight of it altogether.

Yet is it not a study to be sneered at; nor should we be willing to leave it altogether in the hands of those who would degrade it to a merely artificial code of social procedure. Let us rather attempt to aid its extension and development along the highest lines, infusing into it the spirit of Lord Chatham, the who has somewhere said: "Politeness is benevolence in trifles; the constant preference of others to ourselves in the little daily occurrences of life." And let us always bear in mind the wise words of Goethe: "There is a politeness of the heart. This is closely allied to love. Those who possess this purest fountain of natural politeness find it easy to express the same in forms of propriety."

GERALDINE MEYRICK.

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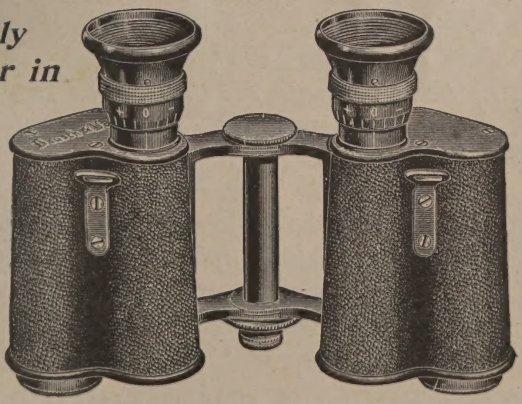

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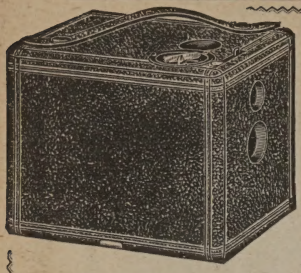

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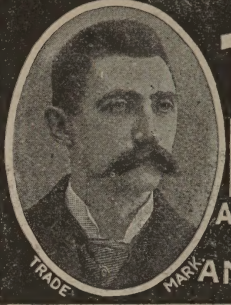

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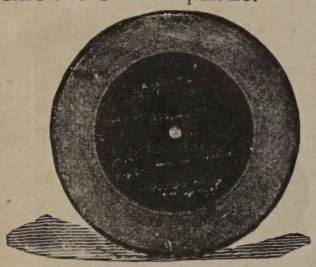

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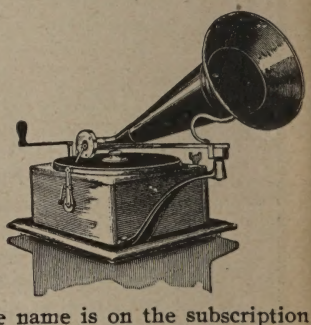

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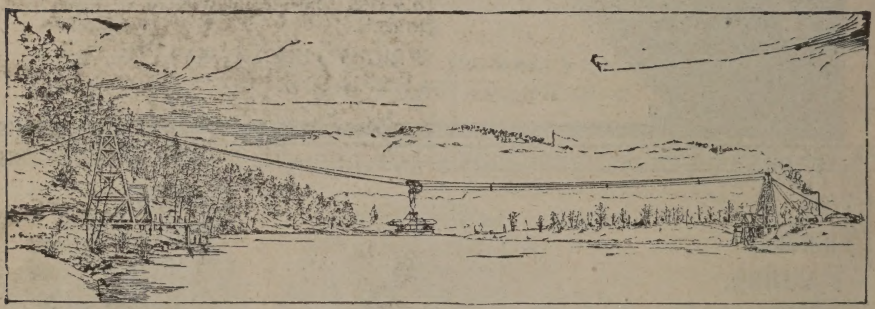

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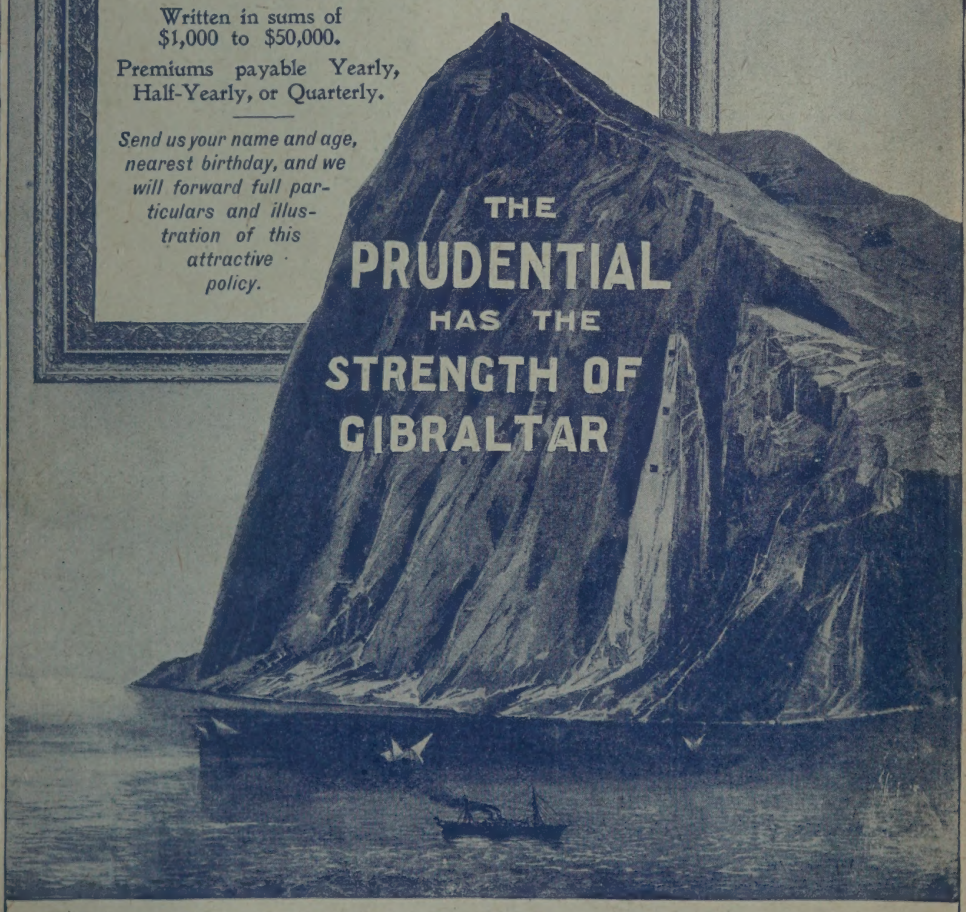

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